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COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE AND VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING SUBJECTS:

BUT CHIEFLY SUCH AS RELATE TO THE

[illegible]ORY AND CONSTITUTION

OF

[illegible]DOMS.

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[illegible] MANUSCRIPT, IN THE ROYAL, [illegible] PRIVATE LIBRARIES;

PARTICULARLY

THAT OF THE LATE LORD SOMERS.

THE SECOND EDITION,

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND ARRANGED,

BY

WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

VOLUME SEVENTH.

The bent and genius of the age is best known, in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers that come daily out, as the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation. PREFACE TO KENNET'S REGISTER.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, una parte audita tantum et inaudita altera, licet æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.
LD. COOK & JUST. INST.

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1812.

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TRACTS

DURING

THE COMMONWEALTH.

THIRD CLASS.

MILITARY TRACTS.

THE

SOMERS

COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

THIRD CLASS.

MILITARY TRACTS.

Pontefract Castle. An Account how it was taken, and how General Rainsborough was surprised in his Quarters at Doncaster, Anno 1648. *In a Letter to a Friend. By Captain Thomas Paulden. Written upon the Occasion of Prince Eugene's surprising Monsieur Villeroy at Cremona,* 1702.

Sic parvis componere magna solebam.——VIRG.

This is a modest and distinct account of one of the most remarkable enterprises performed by the cavaliers, being equally happily planned and boldly executed.

SIR,

I received your letter, wherein you tell me, that the late news of Prince Eugene's surprising the Marshal Villeroy, in his quarters at Cremona, put your self and some of my friends in mind of the surprise of General Rainsborough, at the siege of Pontefract

Castle, in the late civil wars of England; and I being the only person now living that was an actor in it, you are pleased to desire a particular account of it, which, as far as I know, was never yet fully published.

I appeal to you, and all that know me, if ever I had the vanity to boast of it, or so much as mention it, but sometimes at the request of a friend, as I do now at yours; tho' I had rather refuse to comply even with your desire at this time, than be thought so vain as to make any comparison (other than of small things with great) between such a particular action in our own country, and so public and glorious an one as that of Prince Eugene on the stage of Europe, which failed but by one accident, of having been yet much more glorious.

But this I may say without vanity, that our design was honourable, not to kill a general in the midst of his army, but to take him prisoner, and thereby to save the life of our own general, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, then a prisoner, and condemned to die, under whose command we had served in the precedent war.

It may not be unacceptable to you, being a Yorkshire man, to know the most minute particulars of this enterprize, we being all Yorkshire men who had a share in it.

And, first, let me tell you how we took the castle, which was a garrison for the parliament, as they call'd the government, then establish'd in a small part of the house of commons, and a very small number of the lords, sitting at Westminster.

Pontefract, commonly called Pomfret Castle, was thought the greatest and strongest castle in England. It was the ancient inheritance of the Dukes of Lancaster, called The Honour of Pomfret; and it had the honour to be the last garrison in the war begun in 42, that held out for the king.

In the year 1648, the first war being over, we, that had served the king in it, submitting to our common fate, lived quietly in the country, till we heard of an intended invasion by Duke Hamilton. Then we met frequently, and resolved to attempt the surprising this castle, of which Colonel Cotterel was governor for the parliament, having under him a garrison of an hundred men, most of them quartered in the town of Pomfret, and in no apprehension of an enemy.

The design was laid by Colonel Morice,* (who, in his youth, had been page to the Earl of Strafford,) my two brothers, who were captains of horse, and my self, captain of foot, and some others. We had then about three hundred foot and fifty horse of our old comrades privately listed.

We had secret correspondence with some in the castle; among the rest with a corporal, who promised, on a certain night, to be upon the guard, and to set a centinel, that would assist us in scaling the walls by a ladder, which we had provided and brought with us. But the corporal happened to be drunk at the hour appointed, and another centinel was placed where we intended to set our ladder, who fired upon us, and gave the alarm to the garrison. They appearing upon the walls, our men retired

* The narrator sinks the means which Morice used to facilitate the enterprise, and which certainly did not tend much to gild it. This gentleman had been at first upon the king's side in the civil wars, and, upon some offence given by him, or disgust taken, had engaged in that of the parliament; but being deprived of his commission, which he bore in the latter service, he meditated a signal revenge. With this view he ingratiated himself with the governor of Pomfret so much that he used to reside in the castle for a week together. The discourse often turned upon the chance of its being surprised, and Morice even ventured to name to him some of his own cavalier associates, together with others equally strangers and adverse to his purpose, as those from whom such danger was to be apprehended. He was thus enabled, and even encouraged, by the governor to maintain his communication with the royalists; and when the former was informed by letters of the danger he run from Captain Morice, he used only to laugh at the intimation, and shew the letters to his supposed friend. Morice even contrived to have some influence in recruiting the garrison, and in obtaining the dismission of such soldiers as he did not like. He became also intimate with every place about the castle, the way in which it was guarded, and so forth, so that he was easily enabled to execute the plan mentioned in the text.

in haste, leaving the ladder in the ditch, whereby the next day they within knew that it was no *false* alarm, but that there had been a real attempt to surprise the castle.

They took not a man of us; our foot dispersed themselves in the country; and half of our horse marched to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had then taken Berwick and Carlisle. The rest, being twenty or thirty horse, kept in the woods, while we sent spies into the castle, and found that our confederates within were not discovered, nor our design betrayed, but only failed by the corporal's being drunk.

The ladder being found the next morning, made the governor call the soldiers out of the town to lodge in the castle; in order to which he sent his warrants into the country for beds to be brought in by a day appointed.

We had notice of it, and made use of the occasion. With the beds came Colonel Morice and Captain William Paulden, like country gentlemen, with swords by their sides, and about nine persons more, dressed like plain countrymen, and constables to guard the beds, but arm'd privately with pocket pistols and daggers.

Upon their approach the draw-bridge was let down, and the gates opened by our confederates within. Colonel Morice, and those who were with him, entred into the castle. The main guard was just within the gate, where our company threw down the beds, and gave a crown to some soldiers, bidding them fetch ale to make the rest of the guard drink; and, as soon as they were gone out of the gate, they drew up the draw-bridge, and secured the rest of the guards, forcing them into a dungeon hard by, to which they went down by about thirty stairs; and it was a place that would hold two or three hundred men.

Then Captain William Paulden made one of the prisoners shew him the way to the governor's lodging, where he found him newly laid down upon his bed, with his cloaths on, and his sword, being a long tuck, lying by him. The captain told him the castle was the king's, and he was his prisoner; but he, without answering any thing, started up, and made a thrust at the captain, and defended himself very bravely, till being sore wounded, his head and arm cut in several places, he made another full and desperate push at the captain, and broke his tuck against the bed-post, and then asked quarter, which my brother granted; and he, for the present, was put down among his own soldiers into the dungeon.

Notice was immediately sent to me, lying hard by, of the taking of the castle, upon which I marched thither with about thirty horse; and, it being market-day, we furnished our selves with all manner of provisions from the town.

There came speedily to us, in small parties, so many of our old fellow-soldiers, that our garrison at last was encreased to five hundred men, which, at the rendring of the castle afterwards, were reduced to one hundred and forty.

We found in the castle a good quantity of salt and malt, with four thousand arms, and good store of ammunition, some cannon, and two mortar-pieces. We expected a siege very suddenly, and got what provisions of corn and cattle we could out of the country.

Particularly in one sally, having notice that there were at Knotingly, three miles from the castle, three hundred head of cattle, bought up in the north, going into the south, under a guard of two troops of horse, we marched out at night with thirty horse and half a dozen foot, with half-pikes to drive the cattle. We faced the troops that guarded them, while our foot drove the herd towards the castle; then we followed, and kept betwixt them and danger, the enemy not daring to charge us, and so we came all safe with our purchase into the castle. This, and other provisions we got in by several parties almost every night, enabled us to keep the castle above nine months, though we had not one months provision when we were first beleaguer'd.

For, in a very short time after, we were besieged by Sir Edward Rhodes and Sir Henry Cholmondly, and five thousand men of regular troops. But we kept a gate open on the south-side of the castle, which was covered by a small garrison we placed

in an house called New-Hall, belonging to the family of Pierrepoint, being about a musquet-shot or two from the castle.

Some time after we heard Duke Hamilton was beaten at Preston, in Lancashire, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale taken prisoner, and brought to Nottingham-Castle. He was general of the English at Preston, who behaved themselves bravely, and, in truth, did all that was done there. He had also, as I said, been our general; we had his commission for taking the castle, as he had the Prince of Wales's, and we were resolved to run any hazard to release him; for it was commonly given out, that they intended to bring him before Pomfret Castle, and to execute him in our sight, if we would not immediately surrender.

It being like to prove a tedious siege, General Rainsborough was sent from London by the parliament, to put a speedy end to it. He was esteemed a person of great courage and conduct, exceeding zealous and fierce in their cause, and had done them great service by land and also at sea, where he was for a time one of their admirals.[1] His head-quarters were for the present at Doncaster, being twelve miles from Pomfret, with twelve hundred foot. A regiment of his horse lay three or four miles on the east of Doncaster, and another at the like distance on the west.

Captain William Paulden, who commanded all the few horse in the castle, laid a design to surprise him in his quarters at Doncaster; not to kill him, but to take him prisoner, and exchange him for our own general, Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and it was only his own fault that he was killed, and not brought prisoner to the castle.

The design seemed the more feasible, because the general and his men were in no apprehension of any surprise, the castle being twelve miles off, closely besieged, and the only garrison for the king in England.

In order to execute this our purpose, Captain William Paulden made choice of two and twenty men, such as he most confided in. At midnight, being well horsed, we marched through the gate that was kept open, over the meadows, between two of the enemy's horse-guards, whom, by the favour of the night, we passed undiscovered. Early the next morning we came to Mexborough, a village four miles west above Doncaster, upon the river Don, where there was a ferry-boat. There we rested, to refresh ourselves and horses, till about noon.

In the mean time we sent a spy into Doncaster, to know if there was any discovery of a party being out, and to meet us, as soon as it was dark, at Cunsborough, a mile from Doncaster, which he did, and assured us there was no alarm taken by the town, and that a man would meet us at sun-rise, it being then the beginning of March, who would give us notice if all was quiet. Thither the man came accordingly; the sign he was to bring with him to be known by was a bible in his hand.

Captain William Paulden then divided his two and twenty men into four parties; six were to attack the main-guard, six the guard upon the bridge; four were ordered to General Rainsborough's quarters, and the captain, with the remaining six, after he had seen the four enter the general's lodgings, was to beat the streets, and keep the enemy from assembling.

We presently forcing the first barricades, and the guards there dispersing into the country, all the rest succeeded as we wish'd; the main-guard was surprised, we entring the guard-chamber, and getting between them and their arms, bid them shift for their lives; the same was done to the guard upon the bridge, their arms being thrown in the river.

The four that went to General Rainsborough's lodging, pretended to bring letters to him from Cromwell, who had then beaten the Scots; they met at the door the general's lieutenant, who conducted them up to his chamber, and told him, being in bed, that there were some gentlemen had brought him letters from General Cromwell. Upon

[1] Clarendon says there was not one whom Cromwell would not rather have lost than Rainsborough, as he depended upon him entirely for settling the seamen in his interest.

which they delivered Rainsborough a packet, wherein was nothing but blank paper. Whilst he was opening it, they told him he was their prisoner, but that not a hair of his head should be touched, if he would go quietly with them. Then they disarmed his lieutenant, who had innocently conducted them to his chamber, and brought them both down staires. They had brought a horse ready for General Rainsborough, upon which they bid him mount; he seemed at first willing to do it, and put his foot in the stirrup; but looking about him, and seeing none but four of his enemies, and his lieutenant and centinel (whom they had not disarmed) standing by him, he pulled his foot out of the stirrup, and cried, Arms, arms! Upon this, one of our men letting his pistol and sword fall, because he would not kill him, catcht hold of him, and they grappling together, both fell down in the street. Then General Rainsborough's lieutenant catching our man's pistol that was fallen, Captain Paulden's lieutenant, who was on horseback, dismounts and runs him through the body, as he was cocking the pistol. Another of our men run General Rainsborough into the neck, as he was struggling with him that had caught hold of him; yet the general got upon his legs with our man's sword in his hand; but Captain Paulden's lieutenant ran him through the body, upon which he fell down dead.

Then all our parties met, and made a noise in the streets, where we saw hundreds of their soldiers in their shirts running in the fields to save themselves, not imagining how small our number was. We presently marched over the bridge, the direct way to Pomfret Castle, and all safely arrived there; carrying with us forty or fifty prisoners, whom we met by eight or ten in a company. We took no prisoners at Doncaster; nor were any killed, or so much as hurt there, but general Rainsborough and his lieutenant, and they too very much against our will, because our main intention was defeated thereby, which I told you was to exchange and redeem our own general Langdale; who, however, the very night before, had fortunately made his own escape, and lived to see King Charles the Second's restoration, and to be made a peer of England for his eminent services in the war.

But to go on with our affairs at Pomfret, seeing you have also the curiosity to know what became of us at last. After the defeat of the Scots army by Cromwell at Preston and Wiggan in Lancashire, Major-General Lambert came against us; and then we were close shut up, without hope of relief, and our provisions very nigh spent, which put us upon capitulating; and they threw papers over the walls, offering honourable conditions, saving that six persons were to be excepted from any benefit of the articles, who were not to be named till after the articles were signed by the governor.

The governor, Colonel Morice, hereupon called the officers of the castle together, and we unanimously promised we would never agree to deliver any person up without his consent.

Upon this promise our governor sent six officers out of the castle to treat with the same number named by Major-General Lambert. Of our number I was one. When we met, we told them that we came to capitulate about the surrender of the castle, but they could not expect that we would deliver ourselves up to execution. Upon which Colonel Bright, the first of their commissioners, told us, that he had authority from Major-General Lambert to engage, that none of us that treated should be any of the excepted persons: we told him, that perhaps the governor might be one of them: he answered, that he did believe the major-general did not so much look upon the governor as some that had betrayed the castle to us when it was taken. So we parted for that time without concluding any thing.

At our return to the castle, we acquainted the governor with all that had passed; some of our commissioners telling him, that Colonel Bright had engaged he should not be excepted. The governor asked me what I thought of it. I plainly told him I thought he was intended to be one, and repeated to him the very words that Colonel

Bright had spoke, which made me suspect he would be excepted, because he had not engaged that the governor should not be, as he had, that we that treated should not, but left it ambiguous. Then one of our commissioners told him, that Lieutenant-colonel Crook had assured him, that our governor was none of the excepted; upon which he resolved we should go out and conclude, saying generously, that if he was excepted he would take his fortune, and would not have so many worthy gentlemen perish for his sake.

Upon this I desired the governor to send some body else in my place, for I had promised solemnly I would never consent to deliver him up; (which he would have had me sworn to before, but I told him my word should be as good as my oath.) So they went out, and concluded and signed the articles; and after signing of them, they brought to us, in the castle, the names of the excepted persons, whereof the governor was the first:

Their names were,

Colonel Morice, our governor,

Allen Austwick, Captain W. Paulden's lieutenant, as one of those that killed Rainsborough.

Blackborne, Captain Paulden's cornet; for the same reason.

Major Ashby,
Ensign Smyth,
Sergeant Floyd,
} These three had been our correspondents in the castle when we surprised it.

We were not obliged to deliver up any of these excepted person, but they had liberty to make their escape if they could, which they attempted on horseback the next evening by charging through the enemy's army. At that very time their guard unluckily happened to be relieving, so that the number was doubled they were to break through.

The governor and Blackborne charged through and escaped; but were taken in Lancashire about ten days after, (seeking for a ship to pass beyond sea) and brought to York, where they were both executed.

Smyth was killed in the attempt. Austwick, Ashby, and Floyd, were forced back into the castle, where they hid themselves in a private sally-port (which we had covered, designing to take the castle again by it when there should happen a fair opportunity.[1]) Thence they made their escape the next night, after the castle was surrendered, and all lived till after the king's return.

Thus ended the siege of Pomfret-castle, which was soon after *demolished*; so that now there remains nothing of that magnificent structure, but some ruines of the great tower, where the tradition is King Richard the Second was murdered.

I crave your leave to add what I had forgot to mention before, that we kept the castle till after King Charles the First was martyred, when we solemnly proclaimed King Charles the Second in it, and did not deliver it up till almost two months after.

Be pleased that I inform you farther, that my brother, Captain William Paulden, died of a fever in the castle a month before it was surrendered; my other brother, Captain Timothy Paulden, was killed in the fight at Wiggan, being then major of horse to Colonel Matthew Boynton, under the command of the Earl of Derby. I myself followed the fortune of King Charles in his exile, and was sent into England on several occasions for his majesty's service. I was once betrayed and brought before Cromwell, but I denied my name, and nothing could be proved against me: however he sent me to the Gatehouse in Westminster, from whence I made my escape with our old friend Jack Cowper, by throwing salt and pepper into the keeper's eyes; which I think has

[1] Lambert, who commanded the besiegers, did not seem very earnest in his search after the excepted persons, but rather expressed satisfaction that they had been able to shift for themselves. The garrison pretended that they had all broke through during the sally.

made me love salt the better ever since; as you and all my friends know I do, with whom I have eaten many a bushel.

I went again beyond sea; and, upon King Charles the Second's restoration, returned into England, accompanied with my old companion, Loyalty, and with the usual companion of that, Poverty. The first never quitted me; the other, by the favour and bounty of the Duke of Buckingham, was made tolerable.

And having now survived most of my old acquaintance, and, as I very believe, all who had any part in the foregoing story, being in the 78th year of my age, I am glad I have had this occasion of shewing my ancient respects and friendship for you, by obeying your commands in this particular; though you will not let me have the honour to mention your name otherwise than as a Yorkshire man and a lover of them, who had faithfully served King Charles the Second, as you your selfe had done.

After all, perhaps it will not be thought amiss, by our countrymen of Yorkshire at least, that I have lived on to this time; if for nothing else, yet for this, that when the memorable action at Cremona[1] shall hereafter be spoken of with the honour it deserves, this attempt at Doncaster may not be altogether forgotten by posterity.

Sir, I am
Your most faithful
Humble servant,

London, March 31, 1702. THOMAS PAULDEN.

An exact Relation of the Trial and Examination of John Morris, Governor of Pontefract-castle, at the Assizes held at York. Together with his Speeches, Prayers, and other Passages immediately before his Death, August 23, 1649. *Whereunto is added the Speech of Cornet Blackburne, executed at the same Time.*

Printed in the Year 1649.

(*Not in the State Trials.*)

This is the catastrophe of the gallant Colonel Morice. He was executed, as Lord Clarendon remarks, in the same place where he had first committed a fault against the king, and done service to the parliament.

Colonel Morris being demanded to hold up his hand, refused, and the indictment was read against him for treason for levying war against the late king and the parliament upon stat. Ed. 5. The court desired him to plead guilty or not guilty.

Col. Morris. My lords, under correction, I conceive this court hath not power to try me in this case; I being a martial man, I ought to be tried by a council of war.

[1] The town was surprised by Prince Eugene, and Marshal Villeroi, who had made it his head-quarters, was taken prisoner. But as the bridge over the Po was burned, by which the reinforcements expected by the Imperialists were cut off, they found themselves obliged to abandon Cremona the same evening it was taken.

Court. Sir, what do you say, are you guilty or not guilty? This is the second time you have been asked: Sir, if you will not answer the third time, we shall know what to do. Are you guilty or not guilty?

Col. Morris. My lords, I still conceive I ought not to be tryed here; if I have done any thing worthy of death, I appeal to a martial court, to my Lord Fairfax, major-general, or a general council of war: You have not any precedent for it, either for you to try me in this way, or me to suffer by it.

Court. Are you guilty or not guilty? This is the third time.

Col. Morris. My lords, if your honours will force me to plead, I conceive I am not guilty.

Court. How will you be tryed?

Col. Morris. My lords, I was never at any bar before; I am ignorant herein.

Court. Tell him what to say. [Upon that some near him told him, By God and the country.]

Col. Morris. By God and the country. After that, challenge is made for Colonel Morris to except against any of the jury. [Master Brooke, a great man for the cause, comes first returned, to be sworn as fore-man of the jury.]

Col. Morris. My lords, I except against this Brooke.

Court. Sir, he is sworn, and you speak too late.

Col. Morris. My lords, I appeal to himself whether he be sworn or no.

Mr Brooke. Sir, I am not to answer you, but the court. My lord, I did not kiss the book.

Court. Sir, that is no matter, it's but a ceremony.

Col. Morris. My lords, I beseech your honours that I may except against him; I know him, as well as I know my right hand, to be my enemy.

Clerk of Assize. Sir, he is recorded sworn; there is no disputing against the record.

Col. Morris. My lords, I must submit to your honours. After that, Colonel Morris challenges sixteen men, and my Lord Puleston thinking Colonel Morris *tedious* in excepting against so many, answers, Sir, keep within your compass, or I will give you such a blow as will strike off your head.

Col Morris. My lords, I desire nothing but justice, for by the statute of 14 Hen. VII. fol. 19. I may lawfully challenge thirty-five men, without shewing any cause to the contrary.

Court. It is granted. After a full jury, the indictment read, and evidence for the state very full, that Colonel Morris was governor of Pontefract, *which Morris being* very modest and civil, did not contradict any thing until his time of answer.

Col. Morris. My lords, I humbly desire a copy of my indictment, that I may know what to answer; I conceive I may plead special as well as general.

Court. Sir, you cannot by the law.

Col. Morris. My lords, I conceive there is a point of law in it, and I humbly desire to have council; for I conceive by the law, being attainted for high treason, I ought to have council by the statute 1 Hen. VII. fol. 23.

Court. Sir, I tell you you cannot have it.

Col. Morris. Then, my lords, I conceive I am not any way guilty to the indictment for treason. My lords, it is said to be against the king, his crown, and against his peace, whereby, my lords, I can make it appear I have acted only for the king, and nothing against him, which may appear hereby by my commission. The court looks upon it and answers:

Court. Sir, you are deceived, this is false, it is from the prince.

Col. Morris. My lords, it is very well known my Lord Fairfax hath his commission derived from the parliament, and upon that he grants commissions to his officers, which is all one and the same. The prince hath his from his father, and I have mine from the prince, which is full power, he being captain-general of his majesty's forces.

Court. Sir, have you nothing else to say?

Col. Morris. My lords, under correction, I conceive it is sufficient; for, by the same power, all judges, justices of peace, your lordships, your predecessors, and all other officers did act by the same power, and all process and writs of law were acted and executed in his name and by his authority.

Court. His power was not in him but the kingdom, for he was in trust for the kingdom; the king's highway and the king's coin being so called, is not his own but his subjects, and his natural power and legal power are different.

Col. Morris. My lords, under correction, I conceive his legal and personal power are undevisable, all one, and cannot be separated.

Court. Sir, all is one if the king bid me kill a man, is this a sufficient warrant for me to plead? No, sir, it is unlawful: Sir, have you no more?

Col. Morris. Sirs, I beseech your honours give me leave, I am upon my life.

Court. Speak what you will, sir, you shall be heard.

Col. Morris. Your servant, my lord; then, my lords, I conceive I have acted nothing against the parliament, for that which I acted it was for the king; and since the abolishing of regal power I have not meddled with any thing against the parliament, for that act was but inacted the 14th of July last, and before that time an act of abolishing kingly-government, that princely palace which I kept by his commission was demolished; my lords, I beseech your honours, that my commission may be read, to give satisfaction to the court.

My Lord Puleston. Sir, it will do you no good, you may as well shew a commission from the pope, all is one.

Col. Morris. My lords, I desire your lordships to do me that justice.

My Lord Thorp. For my part I am willing, if my brother be not against it.

My Lord Puleston. Sir, we held it for law to be void, it is to no purpose.

Col. Morris. Then if your lordships be not pleased to do me that justice that it may be read, I desire it may be restored me again. [Upon that Colonel Morris received his commission unread.] My lords, it seemeth strange that your honours should do that which was never done the like before, never any of your predecessors ever did the like; I wish it may not be to your own and your friends wrong, that you make yourselves precedents of your acting, and my self of suffering. But, my lords, I do not speak for saving my own life, for (I thank my God) I am prepared, and very willing to part with this lump of clay. I have had a large time of repentance, it being twenty-two weeks since my imprisonment; and I am sorry for those which are like to undergoe the same sufferings, if your lordships take away my life. And though I do not speak any way in glory, indeed at this present there is a cloud hanging over our heads, I desire there may be a fair sun-shine to dispel it. And though there were a world of plots in the kingdom when I took the castle, there is not wanting the same now, only the time is not yet come; and I was to be the fire-brand to Scarborough, so he (meaning Bointon) to Tinmouth, and that to others; and though you take away my life, there will be others which will take up the lintstock to give fire, though I be gone.

Court. Sir, you have little hopes to talk of any fire to be given here, having received such a total rout in Ireland.

Col. Morris. My lords, I should have been unwilling to have contradicted your late news concerning Ireland, but since you have given me a hint of it, you must give me leave to let your honours know, that I received letters from the Marquis of Ormond, dated the 3d of August, and yours is but the 2d, wherein he pleases to let me understand of the great care he hath of me, and that whatsoever shall befal me here, the like shall be to those which he hath prisoners there, which (as he saith) are good

store. Therefore, if your lordships did not at all value my person, yet methinks you should have some care of it for your own friends goods.

Court. Sir, have you no more to say?

Col. Morris. My lords, still I appeal to my commission, which I conceive is sufficient to defend me withal in what I have done, notwithstanding your power to the contrary.

Court. It is nothing at all, we have power to try you here.

Col. Morris. Then, my lords (under correction) lay-men may as well be tried at a martial court: which, if granted, those excellent acts of Magna Charta and the Petition of Right would be destroyed.

Court. But you are not looked upon here as a soldier; we shall do what in justice belongs to us.

Col. Morris. My lords, still (under correction) I have taken the oath of allegiance, and I conceive in that I was bound to do as much as I did or have done, though I had not had any commission at all. And I beseech your lordships that you will do me justice, and not incline to the right hand of affection, or the left of hatred, but to have an ear for the accused as well as for the accuser: Neither have I acted any thing contrary to my allegiance, which allegiance I was as willing to pay to the son as well as to the father. Now for my allegiance I owe to any person or authority, but to these I know none.

My Lord Thorpe. Sir, if you have any thing else to say, speak for yourself, for this is not much to the purpose.

Col. Morris. My lords, 'tis true, since you have rejected that authority which I acted by, I might as well have held my tongue at the first, and spake nothing, were it not for the satisfaction of the hearers; but if it must be so that you will make me a precedent, you must do with me as you did with my dear and honoured lord, [meaning the Lord of Strafford] making an act for the future, that this my suffering shall not be a precedent to any soldiers hereafter. Besides, my lords, this same statute which you alledge against me is, if that any shall act against the king, 'tis treason, which I have not done; but contrary, for him and by his authority. And there is an act of 11 Hen. 7. cap. 1. That whosoever they are that shall aid or assist the king at home or abroad shall not be questioned at all.

My Lord Thorpe. 'Tis true, sir, but Henry VII. then stood in a fickle condition, and being an usurper, made that act for his own safety; sometimes the Duke of York ruling, sometimes Duke of Lancaster and others contending, therefore it was enacted.

Col. Morris. My lords, but this same act of Henry VII. was later than that of Edward III. which you have laid against me, and as yet never repealed until this last act of 14 of July, before which time I had delivered up the place.

My Lord Thorpe. Well, sir, it seems you have not any more. What have you to say, Blackburne? After he had answered, the court commands irons to be laid on them.

Col. Morris. My lords, I humbly desire that we may not be mannacled; if you make any doubt of us, that we may have a greater guard upon us.

My Lord Puleston. Sir, you that have made such attempts through such guards as were of purpose set to receive you ought to be lookt to now. Yet if Master Sheriff please, I am content.

Col. Morris. Master Sheriff, I desire that this mannacling may be forbore: if you please to clap a guard of a hundred men upon us I shall pay for it. This is not only a disgrace to me, but in general to all soldiers, which doth more trouble me than the loss of my life. Master Sheriff, what do you say?

Master Sheriff. Sir, irons are the safest guards.

Col. Morris. My lords, hitherto (I thank God) I have not done any unsoldierly and

base act, and to begin now I will not do it to save my life; and though you look upon me Sampson-wise, I vow to God, I would not touch the pillars though it lay in my power to injure you, therefore I still beg pardon that I may not be mannacled.

Under-Sheriff. Come, sir, it cannot be helpt, we are commanded.

Col. Morris. My lords, I beseech you grant me this favour; it is not my life I beg, but to forbear this mannacling, which shame and dishonour doth more trouble me than the loss of my life.

Under-Sheriff. It must be done, and upon that did it, and carried him away. After dinner they were brought again, and the jury brought in their verdict, who found them both guilty of treason.

Col. Morris. My lord, I am here found guilty of treason by that villain Brooke, whom I know to be mine enemy, and the first man that I did except against; in which I conceive I have received hard measure, for none could have found me guilty of treason had they gone according to the letter of the law, which they did not.

My Lord Puleston. Sir, you speak too late, you are not to dispute it now.

Col. Morris. Neither would I, my lord, if this were a court of chancery, but being a court of law, bound up in express words and letter, I conceive I ought to dispute it, and my business better weighed.

My Lord Puleston. Well, sir, you are found guilty, therefore hold your peace.

Col. Morris. If I must suffer, I receive it with all alacrity and chearfulness, and I thank God I shall die for a good cause and the testimony of a good conscience, for which, had I as many lives as there are stars in the firmament, I would sacrifice them all for the same.

Court. Sheriff, gaoler, take them away, or Ile take you away.

Col. Morris. Well, I beseech God bless King Charles, and fight for all those that fight for him, or have fought for him.

The Confession of Colonel John Morris, and some Passages betwixt the Prison and Place of Execution.

When he was brought out of prison, looking upon the sledge that was there set for him, lifting up his eyes to heaven, knocking upon his breast, he said, I am as willing to go to my death as to put off my doublet to go to bed; I despise the shame as well as the cross; I know I am going to a joyful place; with many like expressions.

When the post met him about St James's church, that was sent to the parliament to emediate for a reprieve, and told him he could not prevail in it, he said, Sir, I pray God reward you for your pains; I hope and am well assured to find a better pardon than any they can give; my hope is not in man, but in the living God.

At the place of execution he made this profession of his faith, his breeding, his cause he had fought in:

Gentlemen, First, I was bred up in the true protestant religion: having my education and breeding from that honoured house my dear lord and master Strafford, which place, I dare boldly say, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet before it, I much doubt better than any will be after it, unless it please God to put a period to these distracted times: this faith and religion I say I have been bred in, and I thank God I have hitherto lived in without the least wavering, and now I am resolved, by God's assistance, to die in.

Those pains are nothing, if compared to those dolours and pains which Jesus Christ our Saviour hath suffered for us, when in a bloody sweat he indured the wrath of God, the pains of hell, and the cursed and shameful death which was due to our sins; therefore I praise the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous punishment, that

the like hath befaln others, who undoubtedly are most glorious and blessed saints with Christ in heaven; it is the Lord's affliction, and who will not take any affliction in good part when it comes from the haud of God, and what shall we receive good from the hands of God, and not receive evil? and though I desire, as I am carnal, that this cup may depart from me, yet not my will, but thy will be done: Death brings unto the godly an end of sinning, and of all miseries due unto sin; so that after death there shall be no more sorrow, nor cry, or pain, for God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes, by death our souls shall be delivered from thraldom, and this corruptible body shall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality.

Therefore blessed are they that are delivered out of so vile a world, and freed from such a body of bondage and corruption; the soul shall enjoy immediate communion with God in everlasting bliss and glory; it takes us from the miseries of this world and society of sinners, to the city of the living God, the celestial Jerusalem.

I bless God I am thought worthy to suffer for his name and for so good a cause, and if I had a thousand lives, I would willingly lay them down for the cause of my king, the Lord's anointed: the scripture commands us to fear God and honour the king, to be subject to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether to the king as supreme, or to those that are in authority under him: I have been always faithful to my trust; and though I have been most basely accused for betraying Liverpool, yet I take God to witness it is a most false aspersion, for I was then sick in my bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the officers and soldiers had done it without my consent, and then I was carried to Sir John Meldrum, afterwards I came down into the country, and seeing I could not live quietly at home, I was persuaded by Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Overton, Lieutenant-Colonel Fairfax, whom I took for my good friends, to march in their troops, which I did, but with intention still to do my king the best service when occasion was, and so I did; and I pray God to turn the hearts of all the soldiers unto their lawful sovereign, that this land may enjoy peace, which till then it will never do; and though thou killest me, yet will I put my trust in thee, wherefore I trust in God he will not fail me nor forsake me. Then he took his Bible, and read divers psalms fit for his own occasion and consolation, and then put up divers prayers, some publickly and some privately, the publick was this that follows:

A Prayer.

Welcome, blessed hour, the period of my pilgrimage, the term of my bondage, the end of my cares, the close of my sighs, the bound of my travels, the goal of my race, and the heaven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weakness, I have finished my course though in great faintness, and the crown of my joy is, that, through the strength of thy grace, I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my king's, the Lord's anointed's cause, without any wavering, for which and in which I die; I do willingly resign my flesh, I despise the world, and I defy the devil, who hath no part nor share in me; and now what is my hope? my hope, Lord Jesu, is even in thee, for I know that thou my Redeemer livest, and that thou wilt immediately receive my soul, and raise up my body also at the last day, and I shall see thee in my flesh, with these eyes and none other: And now, O Lord, let thy spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make supplication for me with sighs and groans that cannot be expressed; I submit myself wholly to thy will, I commit my soul to thee as my faithful Redeemer, who hast bought it with thy most precious blood; I confess to all the world, I know no name under heaven by which I may be saved, but thine, my Jesu, my Saviour; I renounce all confidence in any merits save thine; I thankfully acknowledge all thy blessings, I unfeignedly bewail all my sins, I stedfastly believe all thy promises,

I heartily forgive all my enemies, I willingly leave all my friends, I utterly loath all earthly comforts, and I entirely long for thy coming. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly, Lord Jesus receive my spirit.

The private were to himself, his hat being before his eyes; after this he put up divers ejaculations: As, I know my Redeemer liveth; Father, unto thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed it; O God, thou God of truth, Lord Jesus receive my spirit; and many of the like. And so he yielded to death.

The Speech of Cornet Michael Blackburn, immediately before his Death, August 23, 1649.

It is expected I should say something, and indeed it is my desire to say something, and but a little.

I am not a gentleman by birth, but my parents are of an honest quality and condition; I was brought up in the protestant religion, and in that religion I have lived, and in that I now die; I have some five or six years since engaged in this war, wherein I had no other end or intention but to do my king true and faithful service, according to my duty and the dictate of my conscience; I have not done so much service as I desired, but I have been always faithful to him, and wish I could have done him more; and for his son, the king that now is, I wonder any man of this kingdom should have the boldness or impudence to lift up his hand against him, to keep him from his crown, whereof he is heir apparent, and hath as good right and title to it by his birthright, as any man living hath of his inheritance or possession: I pray God bless him, forgive all my enemies, and, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

Declaration of his Excellency James, Marquis of Montrose, Earl of Kincairdine, Lord Graham, Baron of Montdieu, Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General for his Majesty of the Kingdom of Scotland, Anno 1649.

In tanta reipublicæ necessitudine, suspecto senatûs populique imperio, ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, in valido legum auxilio; quæ vis ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur; omnem votestatem ad unum redire pacis interfuit, non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium quam ut ab uno regeretur.

C. Tacitus.

The two following declarations of the heroic Marquis of Montrose were issued when he was about to undertake his last and fatal expedition in favour of the exiled family of Stuart. The parliament of Scotland were about this time on the point of treating with Charles II. so that the enterprise of Montrose to bring him in by the sword was singularly ill-timed. If the king had reserved this great general's talents for the moment of his march into England, it is at least possible that the rout of Worcester might have been prevented. But the unfortunate issue of Montrose's premature attempt was his sudden defeat and tragical execution.

Though it may seem both a public and a private injury rather than a matter of duty or just procedure to do any act whatsomever that can insomuch as appear to dispute

the clearness of this present service, or to hold such enemies as a party, the justice of his majesty's cause, the wickedness of those rebels, and my own integrity, being all of them so well and so thoroughly known as they are; yet the further to confirm the world, the more to encourage all who are to engage, and the powerfullier to convince many who have harmlessly been involved and innocently inveigled in those desperate courses, I do, in the name of his most sacred majesty, and by virtue of the power and authority granted by him unto me, declare,

That howbeit there have been and still are an horrid and infamous faction of rebels within the kingdom of Scotland, who most causelessly at first did hatch a rebellion against his late majesty of glorious memory, and when he had granted unto them, by their own acknowledgment, all their violent and most unjust desires, they were so far from resting, notwithstanding, satisfied, as that, being themselves able to find no further pretences, they did perniciously sollicite one party in the kingdom of England, to begin where shame and necessity had forced them to leave off; and when those of the English, being by much less wicked, would have often satisfied themselves by his majesty's extraordinary concessions, they then, not intending the desperate lengths which fatal success and their hollow practices did thereafter drive them to, did still thrust in, as oil to the fire and ganger to the wound, until they had rendered all irrecoverable: neither were they contented in the fox skin alone to act this their so brutish a tragedy, which indeed could never have served their ends, but while they had received all imaginable security at home, as their own very acts of parliament doth witness, wherein they say, "That his late majesty parted a contented king from a contented people," finding their rebel-brood, whom they had begot in England, beginning to lessen, and that his majesty's party appeared to have by much the better, they, not only contrary to the duty of subjects, but all faith, covenants, oaths, attestations, to which they had so often invoked God, his angels, the world and all, as witnesses, did enter with a strong army the kingdom of England, persecute their prince in a foreign nation, assist a company of stranger-rebels against their native king and those of the loyal party within that same kingdom; except for which, the whole world does know, his majesty had without all peradventure prevailed. And not ashamed of all this, which even many of their own party did blush to avow when his late majesty was, by God knows how many unhappy treacheries, redacted to think upon extreme courses for his safety, he was pleased, out of his so much invincible goodness and natural inclination towards his native country, notwithstanding all their former villainies, to chuse that ignoble party to fall upon their king, that those whom his greatness and their duty could not oblige, his misery and their compassion might perhaps move with pity; yet, too justly feeling their punic faiths, he first resolved to engage them by a treaty: after which, when, by many intercourses, his majesty had received all manner of assurances, which, though shame would make them willingly excuse, yet guilt will let them have nothing to say for it, it being so undeniable, and to all the world so known a truth, casting himself in their hands, they, contrary to all faith and paction, trust of friends, duty of subjects, laws of hospitality, nature, nations, divine and human, for which there hath never been precedent, nor can ever be a follower, most infamously and beyond all imaginable expression of invincible baseness, to the blush of Christians and abomination of mankind, sold their sovereign over to their merciless fellow traitors to be destroyed; with whom, how they have complotted his destruction, their secret intercourses both before, in the time, and since this horrid murder, do too evidently declare. Of all which villainies they are so little touched with the guilt as they now begin with his majesty upon the same scores they left with his father, declaring him king with provisos; so robbing him of all right, while they would seem to give some unto him: pressing him to join with those who have rigged all his dominions in rebellion, and laid all royal power into the dust, that in effect he would condemn the memory of his sacred father, destroy himself, and ruin his faithful party within all those dominions. These are those who at first entered England, solliciting all to rise in this desperate rebellion, as the prologue of their en-

suing tragedy; who were the chief and main instruments of all the battles, slaughters, and bloody occasions within that kingdom; who sold their sovereign unto the death, and that yet digs in his grave; and who are more perniciously hatching the destruction of his present majesty, by the same bare, old, out-dated treacheries, than ever they did his sacred father's: yet the people in general having been but ignorantly misled to it, whose eyes now for the most part God has opened, and turned their hearts, at least their desires, to their dutiful obedience, and that there has still been a loyal party who have given such proofs of their integrity, as his majesty is moved with a tender compassion for those righteous sakes, in behalf of all who at last have remorse for their former misdemeanors, his majesty is not only willing to pardon every one, excepting such who, upon clear evidences, shall be found guilty of that most damnable fact of murder of his father, who, upon sight or knowledge hereof, do immediately, or upon the first possible conveniency, abandon those rebels, and rise and join themselves with us and our forces in this present service; but also to assure all who are or will turn loyal unto him, of that nation, that it is his majesty's resolution, which he doth assure and promise unto them upon the word of a prince to be ever ready to ratify so soon as it shall please God to put it in his power, according to the advice of the supreme judicatures of that kingdom, all that has been done by his royal father in order to their peace, desiring nothing more but their dutiful obedience and faithful services for the revenge of the horrid murder of his father, his just re-establishment, and their own perpetual happiness under his government.

Wherefore all that have any duty left them to God, their king, country, friends, homes, wives, children, or would change now at last the tyranny, violence and oppression of those rebels, with the mild and innocent government of their just prince, or revenge the horrid and execrable murder of their sacred king, redeem their nation from infamy, themselves from slavery, restore the present and oblige the ages to come, let them as Christians, subjects, patriots, friends, husbands, and fathers, join themselves forth with us in this present service, that is so full of conscience, duty, honour, and all just interests, and not apprehend any evils, which they may fear can fall, half so much as those they presently ly under; for though there may appear many difficulties, yet let them not doubt of God's justice, nor the happy providence that may attend his majesty, nor their own resolutions, nor the fortunes of those they are joined withal, resolving, with Joab, to play the men for their people, and the cities of their God; and let the Lord do whatsomever shall behappen, they may at least be assured of Crastinus's recompence, that, dead or alive, the world will give them thanks.

MONTROSE.

The Declaration of the Right Honourable James, Marquis and Earl of Montrose, Lord Greem and Mugdock, Captain General of his Majesty's Forces, raised and to be raised for his Service, in his Kingdoms of Great Britain, concerning his Excellency's Resolution to settle his Majesty, Charles the Second, in all his Dominions, July 9, 1649. Printed 1649.

A Declaration of the Earl of Montrose, &c.

ALTHOUGH the universal and just reputation of that cause, in which at present I am engaged; the barbarity of those rebels, against whom I am designed; my manifest constancy and fidelity to the trust reposed in me by the late king of ever blessed memory; my honest and honourable behaviour in the late wars; my candid and sincere profession of the true protestant religion, might very well wipe away all those foul and base aspersions which my enemies (and not so much mine as his majesty's) have ma-

liciously thrown upon me, and remove all those jealousies and causeless suspicions which many have erroneously conceived against me; yet, that I may clearly demonstrate my disposition and passionate desire to give the world full and perfect satisfaction of the candour of my intentions in this present design, I will, this third time, open the book of my soul, and clearly deliver the very sense of my heart and tenor of my resolutions, in the prosecution of this present engagement; wherein I shall neglect nothing that may win credit to my present undertakings, propagate his majesty's service to the best advantage, and stir up all his majesty's loyal subjects to an unanimous conjunction with me in this pious and honourable enterprise.

And, first, I must, with very affectionate regret, acknowledge myself to be deeply sensible of that harsh and uncharitable censure which the parliament and kirk of Scotland are pleased to pass upon me, giving a misinterpretation to the best of my actions; the very worst whereof, I am well assured, might have justly deserved an honourable reward: But such is the unhappy fate of some men (in which list I am unfortunately inrolled) that even their best actions are clothed with scandal, and their most faithful services rewarded with disgrace. But to shew that there shall be nothing wanting in me that may give any satisfaction to that kirk and kingdom, I do here solemnly protest, in the presence of almighty God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, and to whom I must one day give a just account of all my actions, whether good or evil, That I do intend, nor will act, nothing prejudicial to the well-being and present government of that kirk and kingdom; but will, with the utmost hazard of my life and fortune, preserve them in the full perfection of their glory and splendour; and, by God's assistance, will faithfully endeavour to settle his majesty, my dread sovereign lord, in the thrones of his kingdoms; to maintain and continue his just and undubitable prerogative, the privileges of the parliament, the authority of the kirk, and the immunities of the people; and shall freely leave the continuance or alteration of government, either in church or state, in his majesty's other dominions, to the judgment and discretion of his majesty and the parliaments thereof. And, by the same solemn protestation, I do further engage to intermeddle with nothing but the affairs of the sword; wherein as always, so my behaviour herein shall declare me a Christian as well as a soldier; most cordially desiring my proceedings herein no otherwise to be blessed, or blasted, than I shall exceed, or confine myself to the limits of my present declaration.

And, although the crimes of my combatants are loud and capital, common even in the mouths of the lowest vulgar, yet I shall think it no vain tautology to make a brief repetition of their tedious treasons, that the world may see with what justice and conscience I am backed, in pursuing their destruction, who have so far abused the credit of parliaments, that they have made them odious and terrible to the people. And certainly the world cannot but take notice, that their oaths, covenants, protestations, declarations, fastings, and thanksgivings, are no other but engines of fraud and deceit to cheat and delude the people; and their fears and jealousies, and so often suggested dangers, but landskips, or counterfeit thunders, to amaze and affright the admiring multitude, while, through large and specious pretences, and expectation of liberty and freedom, they are cunningly conveyed into a miserable and eternal bondage. These are they who, cancelling the sacred bonds of religion and loyalty, forfeited their trust both with God and man; and, in pursuance of their own base and ambitious ends, eight years since, in the name and under the authority of the parliament of England, waged war against their sovereign, and, under pretence of the defence and preservation of the protestant religion, his majesty's royal person, the privileges of parliament, the law of the land, and liberty of the subject, drew the overcredulous people into a most intestine and savage rebellion, to the utter ruin and subversion thereof. For, instead of settling religion in its ancient purity, they have set

open the flood-gates of confusion, and overflowed the church with a whole sea of unheard-of errors, heresies, schisms, and damnable blasphemies, to the scandal and ruin thereof: The privileges of parliament are quite broken, they have destroyed the very being thereof, not having left so much as a picture of a parliament: The law of the land is quite subverted and annihilated, the stream thereof being wholly turned into the arbitrary channel of their usurping wills: The liberty of the subject is subjected strangely to the insupportable slavery of their monstrous tyranny: And, for his majesty's sacred person, it was preserved indeed, but to a miserable catastrophe; for, after their many desperate and bloody battles, wherein they aimed at, but could not reach it, yet at length being delivered up to them upon their faith, and the faith of the kingdom, after a long and tedious imprisonment, wherein he was debarred from all the common comforts of this life, and when he had granted such large and free concessions, as even themselves had voted satisfactory and tending to the peace of the kingdom: yea, one of his greatest and most ancient enemies had ingenuously acknowledged in open parliament, to be such, so many, and so gracious, as were never before granted by any king in any age of the world: Yet even after all this, laying aside all principles of honour and honesty, nulling their own faith and the whole kingdom's, contrary to all their vows, protestations, and declarations, to the truth whereof they had so often called God to be a witness; and abjuring all their oaths, solemn leagues, and covenants, manifesting their thirsty appetites to royal blood, after a most disgraceful manner, they bring his sacred person to the mock-bar of jussice; where, after many taunts, scorns, and contempts, cast upon the brow of sovereign majesty, permitting Unjeckt, a villain, to spit in his royal face, their bloody president passed a grim and ugly sentence upon him, which, upon the thirtieth of January, 1648, was barbarously executed upon a scaffold, in the face of the sun and sight of his people, before his royal court-gate, where, as a traitor, they suffered his royal head to be chopped off by the hands of the common hangman. Nor did they cease to pursue their malice even after death, laying the odious scandals of tyrant, traitor, and murderer on his royal name; and yet employ their most exquisite skill to perpetuate his memory to posterity, in an infamous and loathsome character.

And, as if they had made a covenant with hell to banish modesty, and put on a resolution to be wicked, that their sin might be as boundless as their wills, and their rebellion as unlimited as either, they overthrew the foundation of government even in that instant that they declared to maintain it, and are entered into a solemn agreement to *abolish* monarchy, and in the room thereof to establish an eternal anarchy; and, to that end, have disinherited all the royal issue, and proclaimed that their act in the customary places with all solemnity.

For restoring of whom, and reducing all things both in church and state into their ancient and fit channel, although it hath always been my constant and solicitous request to his majesty, to give me leave to serve him only in a private command, yet I have received a commission under his royal hand and seal, whereby I have full and free authority to raise an army, and therewith to enter any part of his majesty's kingdoms of Great Britain, and there to fight with, kill and slay all that I shall find armed, or acting in rebellion against his majesty; and to give a free and absolute pardon to all such as, in apprehension of their offences, shall lay down their arms and submit to mercy. For the due execution of which commission, I declare that I will, by God's assistance, speedily enter the kingdom of Scotland, through which I will march into the kingdom of England, where I will receive into mercy all such as, by the fifth of November next ensuing, shall lay down their arms, and, renouncing their rebellion, humbly submit themselves to his majesty's obedience, and will give them such entertainment as I shall find compatible to their capacities. And I do further declare, that after that day I will receive none to mercy; and do solemnly protest never to lay

down arms, not doubting of God's assistance to hold them up, until I have reduced all rebels to their due obedience; and I will with all violence and fury pursue and kill them as vagabonds, rogues, and regicides; not sparing one that had any hand in that horrible and barbarous murder, committed upon the sacred person of our late dread sovereign, but utterly extirpate and eradicate them, their wives, children, and families, not leaving one of their cursed race, if possible, to breathe upon the face of the earth.

And I do now conjure all his majesty's good subjects, by all ties sacred and civil, by the duty they owe to God, by their loyalty to their sovereign, by their love to their native country, and by their tender affection to their dear wives, children, and posterity, that they make their speedy repair to Enderness in Scotland, or to any other place upon my march, and join with me in this pious and honourable engagement, for the defence of the protestant religion, the privileges of parliaments, the laws of the land, the due execution of justice, and their redemption from bondage; and, as a necessary means hereunto, for the speedy establishing of his majesty in his thrones, in power and greatness, wherein I doubt not but we shall meet with the blessing of God and prosperous success.

From Hofnia, in the kindgom of Denmark,
July 9, 1649.

The Answer of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England to Three Papers delivered in to the Councel of State by the Lords Ambassadors Extraordinary of the States General of the United Provinces. As also, a Narrative of the late Engagement between the English Fleet under the Command of General Blake, and the Holland Fleet under the Command of Lieutenant Admiral Trump. And likewise several Letters, Examinations, and Testimonies touching the same. Together with the Three Papers aforesaid of the said Lords Ambassadors Extraordinary; and the Letter of Lieutenant Admiral Trump therein mentioned, translated into English.

London, printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England. 1652.

In 1652, the parliament of England having no mind to quit their authority, or submit to the hazard of a new election, and irritated besides at the predominance of the Orange faction in Holland, so closely allied to the royal family of Stuart, took several steps indicative of a war with the United Provinces. They framed the celebrated Act of Navigation, which struck at the root of the Dutch carrying trade; issued letters of reprisal to such merchants as complained of injuries received from the States; and made formal complaints of the ancient cruelties of Amboyna, and the more recent murder of Dorislaus.

"The States," says Mr Hume, "alarmed at all these steps, sent orders to their ambassadors to endeavour the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, and took care, by their ministers at London, to inform the council of the state of that armament. This intelligence, instead of striking terror into the English republic, was considered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hostile resolutions. The minds of men in both states were

every day more irritated against each other, and it was not long before these humours broke forth into action.

"Tromp, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-two sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of the English. He was forced by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery disposition, it is not easy to determine, since each of them sent to his own state a relation totally opposite in all its circumstances to that of the other, and yet supported by the testimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended, having given a signal to the Dutch admiral to strike, Tromp, instead of complying, fired a broadside at him. Tromp asserted, that he was preparing to strike, and that the English admiral nevertheless began hostilities. It is certain that the admiralty of Holland had given Tromp no orders to strike, but had left him to his own discretion with regard to that vain, but much-contested ceremonial. They seemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former respect payed the English flag as a deference due only to monarchy. This circumstance forms a strong presumption against the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it must be remarked, to which Tromp was suspected to adhere, were desirous of a war with England."—HUME's *History of England, VII.* 212.

The combat was desperately maintained with dubious success, until night parted the combatants. When the States heard of the action, desirous to avoid a rupture, they dispatched Paw, pensionary of Holland, to lay before the parliament Tromp's account of its commencement, and to conjure them not to precipitate hostile measures. But the English parliament were determined on war; and the following copy of their answer to the Dutch ambassadors, together with Blake's narrative, was published with a view to inflame the mind of the British nation against the States.

The Answer of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to Three Papers presented to them by the Councel of State, from the Ambassadors Extraordinary of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces; the First whereof is dated the Third of June, the Second the Sixth of June, and the Third the Thirteenth of June, 1652, new Style, upon Occasion of the late Fight between the Fleets.

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England, calling to minde with what continued demonstrations of friendship and sincere affections, from the very beginning of their intestine troubles, they have proceeded towards their neighbours of the United Provinces, omitting nothing on their part that might conduce to a good correspondence with them, and to a growing up into a more near and strict union then formerly, do finde themselves much surprized with the unsutable returns that have been made thereunto, and especially at the acts of hostility lately committed in the very roads of England, upon the fleet of this commonwealth, the matter of fact whereof, stated in clear proofs, is hereunto annexed; upon serious and deliberate consideration of all, and of the several papers delivered in by your excellencies to the councel of state, the parliament thinks fit to give this answer to those papers:

The parliament, as they would be willing to make a charitable construction of the expressions used in the said papers, endeavouring to represent the late engagement of the fleets to have hapned without the knowledge and against the minde of your superiors, so, when they consider how disagreeable to that profession the resolutions and actions of your state and their ministers at sea have been, even in the midst of a treaty offered by themselves, and managed here by your excellencies, the extraordinary preparations of one hundred and fifty sail of men of war, without any visible occasion but what doth now appear, (a just ground of jealousie in your own judgments, when your lordships pretended to excuse it,) and the instructions themselves given by your said superiors to their commanders at sea, do finde too much cause to believe, that the Lords

the States General of the United Provinces have an intention, by force, to usurp the known rights of England in the seas, to destroy the fleets that are, under God, their walls and bulwarks, and thereby expose this commonwealth to invasion at their pleasure, as by this late action they have attempted to do: whereupon the parliament conceive they are obliged to endeavour, with Gods assistance, as they shall have opportunity, to seek repairation of the wrongs already suffered, and security that the like be not attempted for the future.

Nevertheless, with this minde and desire, that all differences betwixt the nations may (if possibly) be peaceably and friendly composed, as God by his providence shall open a way thereunto, and circumstances shall be conducing to render such endeavors less dilatory and more effectual then those of this kinde herefore, and more effectual then those of this kinde heretofore used have been.

HEN. SCOBELL, Cleric. Parliamenti.

A Narrative of the late Engagement between the English Fleet under the Command of General Blake, and the Holland Fleet under the Command of Lieutenant Admiral Trump, near Dover.

Upon Tuesday, the eighteenth of May, 1652, in the morning, General Blake being gone to the westward as far as Rye Bay eight days before, with twelve or thirteen ships, leaving Major Bourn in the Downs with eight ships onely, there appeared, upon the backside of the Goodwin, a Holland fleet of men of war, consisting of two and forty ships, one whereof had a flag on the main-top-mast head, the rest jacks and ancients; and being come unto the South-sands head, two of them bore up towards the English ships in the Downs, whereupon Major Bourn sent out the Greyhound to examine them, and to know the reason of their so near approach, who answering, that they had a message to the commander in chief in the Downs, were permitted to come in, and having saluted the flag, the two captains, named Tyson and Aldred, came aboard the said Major Bourn, and acquainted him that they were sent by Van Trump, to let him know that he had been riding about Dunkirk with his fleet, where, by reason of foul weather, they had lost many of their cables and anchors, and the wind being northerly, were driven further to the southward then they intended, which Van Trump thought fit to signifie, to prevent any misapprehensions or jealousies. And having said this, and received for answer, that the reality of what they said would best appear by their speedy drawing off from this coast, they departed to their fleet, and immediately upon their arrival with them, the whole fleet stood up to Dover, and came to an anchor within little more then shot of the castle the same day in the afternoon. Upon their coming before Dover Castle, and riding there with flag in the main-top, without saluting the castle, the castle made three shot at them, notwithstanding which the Dutch admiral kept up his flag, and rode there at anchor until the next day at noon, and exercised his musquetiers by discharging volleys of small shot many hours together. Upon Wednesday, about twelve o'clock, the Dutch fleet weighed anchor, and stood off towards Calice some four leagues into the south-east. About the same time the English fleet, under General Blake, coming from the west towards the Downs, discovered them, and supposed, by their course, they had been going back. Major Bourn likewise was in sight, coming from the Downs to joyn with General Blake. About an hour or two after, the Holland fleet altered their course, came back again, made all the sail they could, and bore directly with General Blake, Van Trump, the headmost, with his flag in the main-top, and being come within shot, the general shot a gun at his main-top, and then two single shot more; whereupon Trump shot a single shot through the generals flag, and then immediately gave the first broad-side, and took in

his pendants, and hung out his red flag under the Holland colours, which was the signal on their part for their whole fleet to ingage, and so the fight began, which happened between four and five a clock in the afternoon, and continued until nine of the clock. In the fight the English took two of the Holland fleet, one whereof, having six foot water in the hold, they left, taking the captain and officers aboard; the other being a ship of thirty guns. General Blake lay all night where the fight began, or near thereabouts, and the Holland fleet was espyed about four leagues distant towards the coast of France next morning.

The truth of this relation appears in the letters of General Blake, Major Bourn, and others in the action, by the examinations of the Dutch captains, and other officers taken in the fight; the instructions given to the Dutch captains and commanders, and other papers, all which are hereunto annexed.

And whereas Van Trump, in the account he gives of this action, makes the occasion of his coming back upon the English fleet, the guarding of some merchant men richly laden from the Streights, which had been in fight with some of our friggots. That action is set down in a letter written by Captain Yong, (hereunto also annexed,) whereby the occasion, beginning, and ending thereof is declared; and, besides, these very ships which he pretends to come to protect or rescue, upon Saturday before had past by General Blake, and were gone to the eastward.

General Blakes Letter.

Right Honourable,

I have dispatched away this express to your honors, to give you an account of what past yesterday between us and the Dutch fleet, being in Rye-Bay. I received intelligence from Major Bourn, that Van Trump, with forty sail, was off the South-sand head, whereupon I made all possible speed to ply up towards them, and yesterday in the morning we saw them at anchor in and near Dover-road. Being come within three leagues of them, they weighed and stood away by a wind to the eastward, we supposing their intention was to leave us to avoid the dispute of the flag. About two hours after they altered their course, and bore directly with us, Van Trump the headmost; whereupon we lay by, and put our selves into a fighting posture, judging they had a resolution to ingage. Being come within musquet shot, I gave order to fire at his flag, which was done thrice. After the third shot he let flie a broad-side at us. Major Bourn, with those ships that came from the Downs, being eight, was then making towards us. We continued fighting till night, then our ship being unable to sail, by reason that all our rigging and sails were extreamly shattered, our mizen-mast shot off, we came, with advice of the captains, to an anchor about three or four leagues of the Ness, to refit our ship, at which we laboured all the night. This morning we espyed the Dutch fleet about four leagues distance from ours, towards the coast of France; and, by advice of a councel of war, it was resolved to ply to windward, to keep the weather gage; and we are now ready to let fall our anchor this tide. What course the Dutch fleet steers we do not well know, nor can we tell what harm we have done them; but we suppose one of them to be sunk, and another of thirty guns we have taken, with the captains of both; the main-mast of the first being shot by the board, and much water in the hold, made Captain Lawsons men to forsake her. We have six men of ours slain, and nine or ten desperately wounded, and twenty-five more not without danger, amongst them our master and one of his mates, and other officers. We have received about seventy great shot in our hull and masts, in our sails and rigging without number, being engaged with the whole body of the fleet for the space of four hours, and the mark at which they aimed. We must needs acknowledge a great mercy that we had no more

harm; and our hope the righteous God will continue the same unto us, if there do arise a war between us, they being first in the breach, and seeking an occasion to quarrel, and watching, as it seems, an advantage to brave us upon our own coast, &c.

Your humble servant,

From aboard the James, three leagues off the Hydes, the 20th of May, 1652. ROBERT BLAKE.

The Information of Captain William Brandley, taken before his Excellency the Lord General Cromwel, and Denis Bond, Esquire, at Dover, the 22d of May, 1652.

Who saith, that Wednesday morning, leaving General Blake off from the Nesse with eleven ships, (viz.) the James, Victory, Garland, the Speaker, Ruby, Saphire, Centurion, Star, Portsmouth, Martin, Mermaid, and a merchants ship in the States service, and between seven and eight a clock in the morning came to Dover-road, and fell in among part of Van Trump's fleet, and hayling several of their ships, and asking who wore the flag, he was answered by three or four of them, That he was Van Trump, and that they should well wit, as his own men who were aboard with him, that understood Dutch, did interpret to him; whereupon this informant went home to his own general, being some three leagues to westward of him, to whom he gave the said accompt, which, so soon as he had done, his general made all the haste he could to Dover-road with those ships that were with him, and being come about three leagues onward of his way, he, this informant, and the rest of the fleet, discerned Van Trump and his fleet weighing their anchors, and perceived them to make towards the French coast, about four leagues from the place where they anchored, and General Blake steering his course towards the Downs to the rest of his fleet, for which this informant had seen the orders of the councel of state to him so to do, and being come up as high as Holstone, they perceived a ship came from the eastwards towards the Dutch fleet, not being able to fetch Van Trump, being to the leeward of him, shot off a piece; and Van Trump bore up to the said ship, and within a quarter of an hour after Van Trump shot off a piece, and put abroad his pendant, and bore up on General Blake and the fleet that was with him; and a little to the east of Sandgate Castle he came up with all his fleet, being two and fourty sail, to General Blake, and himself being the head-most ship, having his flag on his main top, came within shot of General Blake; whereupon General Blake shot at his flag, and he not taking the same down, he shot a second, and a third, upon which Van Trump taking in his pendant, put out his red flag under his Holland colours, and presently after gave a broad-side to General Blake, and thereupon General Blake answered him with another, and both the fleets were engaged.

WILLIAM BRANDLEY.

The Examination of Bastean Tunemant, late Captain of the Ship called the St Lawrence, taken before his Excellency the Lord General Cromwel and Dennis Bond, Esquire, at Dover, 22d May, 1652.

Who saith, he came from Flushing about fourteen days since, under the command of Admiral Van Trump, with two and forty sail of ships, and that they lay with their fleet about four days between Zealand and Dunkirk, and from thence they came to Dover-Road on Tuesday last, about ten a clock in the morning, and there anchored until Wednesday about twelve a clock, and then weighed anchor; they made off towards the French coast about two Dutch leagues, where a ship of the States of Hol-

land came up towards them, and made a waft with his flag to Van Trump, who bore up to that ship; and he saw a boat go from that ship aboard Van Trump, who thereupon presently made all the sail he could, and came through all his fleet, and made with all the haste he could towards General Blake and his fleet; and being come near him, he shot a gun without a ball, and then two guns more with balls, as he was informed; whereupon Van Trump shot one shot at General Blake, and then presently fired a broad-side at him, who fired his guns lustily again at him, and the fight began about four a clock in the afternoon, and continued till night. And he saith, that his ship onely was taken; and being demanded what was their signal to fight, he saith, that when their admiral hung out his red flag under the States colours, they were to fall on: And saith, that when he saw their admirals red flag hung out, he perceived they were in earnest, and then he did the best he could.

BASTEAN TUNEMANT.

The further Examination of Bastean Tunemant, Captain of the St Lawrence, taken the same Day, before the Persons aforesaid.

Who being demanded, whether he with four other Dutch ships were not met by the Andrew, and two other English ships, near Calice, about five weeks since, and whether they did strike top-sails to them, he saith they did meet those English ships, and did strike their top-sails to them; and after their arrival in Holland, their admiral, Van Trump, asked this examinant why he did strike sail to them, saying, "Were you not as strong as they? and, being so, why were you afraid?" And further saith, that the owners of their ships did likewise use words to them to the same effect.

The Examination of Cornelius Teby, late Lieutenant to the Ship St Lawrence, taken the same Day, before the Persons aforesaid.

Who saith, about fourteen days since he came from Flushing, and joyned with Admiral Van Trump to the east of Ostend about ten days since, and lay three days between Dunkirk and the North-furlong, and came from thence to Dover-road on Tuesday, between ten and eleven a clock, having two and forty sail of ships, and there they anchored until Wednesday about one a clock, and then weighed anchor and made towards the coast of France about four or five leagues, where, he saith, there came a ship from the west-ward, and spake with their admiral, who thereupon presently bore up to General Blake, and when he came near, General Blake made a shot without a ball at their admirals flag, and after that two more shots, and their admiral did not take down his flag, but made one shot at General Blake, and presently after fired a broad-side, and then General Blake fired at him; and as soon as their admiral had fired his broad-side, he hung out his red flag under the States colours, and upon that their whole fleet engaged according to signal and orders. The fight began about four a clock, and continued about four hours. He saith, the said ship Lawrence was a merchants ship hired by the States of Holland for four moneths, at 1300 gilders per moneth.

CORNELIUS TEBY.

The Examination of Shipco-Focus, Captain of the St Mary, of Amsterdam, now Prisoner, taken the same Day, before the Persons aforesaid.

Who saith, that about fourteen days since he came from Texel, and joyned with Admiral Van Trumps fleet before Skevelyn, and laying three or four between Zealand and Dunkirk, they came on Tuesday last, about noon, to Dover-road, where they anchored until Wednesday twelve a clock, and then weighed anchor. They made off towards the coast of France about two or three Dutch leagues, where a ship from the westward made towards their admiral, who immediately heaved out all his sails, and made towards the English fleet, that came from the westward with General Blake. How the fight began he knoweth not, being a great distance off; but seeing his admiral fight, he fought likewise, according to his orders.

SHIPCO FOCUS.

The Examination of Peter Johnson, Lieutenant to Shipco Focus, Captain of the St Mary, of Amsterdam, taken the same Day, before the Persons aforesaid.

Who saith, about fourteen days since he came from Texels, and joyned with Admiral Van Trump at Skevelyn, about three days after, and after they lay about three days between Dunkirk and the North-furlong; and from thence they came to Dover-road on Tuesday, about ten a clock in the morning, and anchored there till Wednesday about twelve a clock, and then weighed anchor and made towards the French coast about five leagues, where a Dutch ship of war came up to them, and spake with Admiral Van Trump, who thereupon bare up with all the sail he could to the English general and his fleet; but who began first to shoot he knoweth not. And being asked why he fought, he saith, that when the admiral hung forth his red flag, they were to do the best they could; and seeing their other ships fight, they fought likewise.

The further Examination of Cornelius Teby, Lieutenant to the above-named Captain Tunemant, taken the same Day, before the Persons aforesaid.

Who saith, that his captain told him, that Admiral Van Trump blamed him for striking sail to the English ships, saying, that he had marryed a young wife, and therefore was afraid, and made haste home.

CORNELIUS TEBY.

We, whose names are hereunder written, do humbly take leave to certifie the state of the business betwixt us and the Dutch fleet, (viz.) Upon the nineteenth of this present May we had intelligence that they were off the South-foreland, consisting, in the whole, of about forty-two sail. We plyed up with our ships as fast as possible, and being off Foulston, espyed the Dutch fleet to ride at anchor near Dover. As soon as the tide presented, we plyed towards them; whereupon they weighed and stood to the southward, three leagues to the windward of our ships: we thereby imagining they had not any intent to ingage with us, laid our ships about, and within half an hour Van Trump, with all his fleet, bore up upon us; and being near, our general gave order to fire at the Dutch flag to strike, which, they refusing, we shot again; they still refused to strike, but shot a piece at our flag, and shot it through, we then being within

musquet shot one of the other. Then the third time we fired a gun at his flag, which was no sooner done but he fired his whole broad-side at us, and so we engaged, and went on fighting from half an hour past four that afternoon till nine of the clock at night, and then we anchored to fit our ship in a posture for the next morning. The Dutch fleet being to the southward of us three leagues, next morning directed their course for France; whereupon seeing of them do so, we plyed up to the Downs. This we humbly certifie, and the truth thereof will upon all occasions testifie, and have hereunto subscribed our hands the 24th of this present May, 1652.

ROBERT MOULTON, jun.
ANTH. JACKSON.
JOHN GILSON.
JOHN REDWOOD.
HENRY CORADALL.

Major Bourn's Relation.

Upon the eighteenth of May, the wind being at north-east, the weather something haisie, about ten in the morning we saw a great fleet on the back side of the Goodwyn-sand, which lay with their sayls hayled up, and drove to the southward the later tyde of ebb in land. About twelve they were so nigh that we plainly descried them to be all men of war, consisting of one and forty in number, one whereof had a flag at the main top-mast head, the rest jacks and ancients, Hollands colours; at which time they were near the South-sands Head. There was in the Downs the Andrew, Triumph, Fairfax, Entrance, Centurion, Adventure, Assurance, Greyhound, and the Seven Brothers, all the rest of the fleet being with the general to the westward, by whose special command I wore a flag at the main top-mast head, the appearance of which, I humbly conceive, was one cause amongst others which moved their general to send two frigots towards me, which, as soon as I perceived plying into the road, I sent out the Greyhound to examine them, and know the ground of their approach, who returned this answer to the captain, That they had a message from their admiral to the commander in the Downs; at which he made sayl towards me, permitted them to come in. The two frigots came near, and saluted the flag, and then the captains came on board, whose names were one Tyson and the other Aldred, who brought this message from their admiral, Van Trump: That, by reason of much northerly winds, he with his fleet was put the southward farther then he intended, and having anchored the day before off Dunkirk, many of his ships had lost anchors and cables, and so were forced to leewards; but withal declared, that they had special command from their admiral to signifie thus much, that it was the onely cause of their coming to prevent any thoughts or misapprehensions, for that he had not the least purpose to offer injury to any of the English nation; but for fear least any noise or alarum should be given, either at land or sea, he thought good to send this message. And further, the one of them in discourse said, that their admiral, Trump, would have come himself into the road, but that he was not willing to breed any difference about his flag, forasmuch as he had not order to take it down. To whom I replied, That I presumed there would be no new thing required of them, and neither more nor lesse would be expected from them but what they knew to be the ancient right of this nation; and withal I desired them to return this answer from me to their general, That their message was civil, that our general was to the west-ward, whom I looked for hourly, and that received; and if what they delivered was so intended, I desired the reality thereof might be manifested by their speedy drawing off from this place with their fleet, for else this their appearance would be otherwise expounded; and so I dismissed them, who made sail to their ad-

miral, who lay off the South-sands Head. I expected them to come into the road every moment, and therefore was in readiness with the small strength I had under my charge. So soon as the two friggots before mentioned came back to their general, they all made sail, and stood toward Dover, and there they came to an anchor that tyde. At the first appearance of them, after I had made them certainly to be the Holland fleet, I did, according to my duty, give such an accompt thereof to the right honourable the councel of state as the time and other business would admit, and withal I immediately dispatched a ketch to our general, who met with the advise thereof that night about Nesse. All the next night we lay in readiness, our anchors apeck, and kept two friggots, one at a distance from the other, betwixt us and them, giving them instructions to make a signal to me either night or day, that I might understand their motion, whether toward the general or elsewhere, to the end I might the better be able to order my self and the party with me to the best advantage for security of the generals fleet and our selves. In the morning, about ten a clock, I received advice from the general, being a little to the west-ward of Foulstone, and, according to order received from him, calculated the time and tide so that we might most opportunely make conjunction of our forces. About twelve a clock I set sail out of the Downs, the wind being easterly. Immediately after I perceived the Hollanders to be under sail some of them, and the rest making ready. We steered alongst, and when we came as high as the South-foreland, the Hollanders fleet was got off the shore, and were half-channel over, plying to wind-ward towards Calice, at which time I saw our general and those with him; and within an hour after, or thereabouts, the Holland fleet bore up, and made sail toward him. We hastened towards him, and, hope I may say, seasonably came in, for by that time the guns were fired betwixt the admirals. We were with the body of their fleet, and ingaged with them from half an hour past four in the afternoon till it was dark. What execution we did upon them they best know, I shall not determine it; but surely they were sensible of us, for they did their utmost to decline us, and avoid our coming near, which we endeavoured by all means. But their admiral leading the van, they all made sail after him, and so shot themselves to leeward of us, and so left the rear of the fleet to us, which we endeavoured to sever from the rest, and accordingly did in part break the body; and some of us, who were the nearest, and had the advantage of the wind, fell upon the stern most, who I suppose found it hot work. The one of them of thirty guns we took, which fought stoutly; another of the same force so lamed, her main mast shot down, and having much water in hold, yielded; and the captain thereof came in to our boat to save himself, the night coming on, and no hope left him: I presume she sunk in the night. We, not knowing what might be the issue of this beginning, endeavored to finde out our general, to the end we might receive instructions how to order our selves in the morning, expecting certainly to prosecute the business then; for which end we presently came to an anchor, because we would be near them in the morning; but they did not stop, so that in the morning we could scarce discern them at top-mast head, by which we concluded that they were bound over to the coast of France, and were not willing to try it farther at this time, and therefore that evening plyed it up toward Foulstone, and between that and Dover anchored again, and the next day came into the Downs.

Your very assured friend and servant
in the work of God,

29 May, 1652. N. Bourn.

Instructions given to the Dutch Captains by Van Trump.

Martin Harperts Trump, Knight, and Lieutenant Admiral of Holland and West Frizeland, &c.

That the Vice-Admiral Scout (or he that keeps the watch) at night, and all the captains belonging under his colour already present, or those that are yet to come under his command, upon all occasion that may befal, may know how to govern himself duly, he is to observe the seventh and eighth article of his lieutenant admiral's instruction, whose content doth follow word for word.

The Seventh Article.

The commanders or captains of the squadrons already fitted, or yet to be prepared, are commanded to maintain and defend the ships of these countreys from all visitations or searchings, without comprehending all necessary questions in the sea, or demanding the shewing of their passes and bills of lading, which, according to the eighth article of the sea-treaty, made the seventeenth of December, one thousand six hundred and fifty, with the King of Spain, hereafter inserted in following words, may be required of whomsoever it may be, defending them against all and every one that would offend them, delivering them from the hands of any that may have taken them; and, in such cases, to use all their power to overcome such strong ships, doing all that may be requisite by their commissions and ordinary instructions, according to the custom of sea-faring men, to the service of the countrey.

"And to hinder that the said forbidden goods of counterband, whether they be marked or signed, and are regulated by the article immediately preceding, not to be carried to the enemies of the said King of Spain, and under pretence thereof to hinder the freedom and safety of shipping and commerce,

"It is agreed, That the ships of the subjects and inhabitants of the United Provinces come into any harbor of the said king, and intending to go thence to the countreys of his enemies, shall onely be bound to deliver and to shew to the officers of the Spanish ports, or other states of the said lord king, from whence they intend to part, to shew their passes, containing and specifying their lading of their ships, attested and marked with the ordinary seal and marks, and acknowledged by the officers of the admiralty in the parts whence they first are parted, shewing the place which they intend to sail unto, altogether in an ordinary and accustomed form; after which, having their passes in the said form, they are no more to be molested, nor searched or detained and stayed, under what pretext soever it might be."

The Eighth Article.

If they come to fight with other strange ships, because of freeing themselves, or hindering the visiting and searching of the ships of these countreys, and overcoming the same, they are to bring in, or to send such conquered ships, with sufficient information of what is past, that it may be right represented in the admiralty of the quarter out of which the conqueror did part. Datum in the ship Brederode, this 25 May, 1652.

Signed,

M. Harperts Trump.

Appendix.

It is further here commanded, That all commanders and captains under the said colour or flags, shall at all hours keep ready their canons and fore-arms, and coming towards any foreign ship of war, making all things ready, and making haste as much as weather and wind will give them leave, to go to the rest of our ships, and there remain in a good posture: That observing well the sign of war, defensive and offensive (by reason of freeing from searching or visiting of the ships of these countries, or otherwise) they may pass according to the sign, which sign of war shall be a red flag, under the prince, hanging and streaming on the admirals great. Which seeing every one, he shall endeavor to his utmost to do what possible he can against the parties advantage, taking them, and to bring the gotten ships under the flag, thereupon to resolve and to dispose as is fit; but as soon as the said red flag on the said admirals great rodol is taken in or off, all actions of hostility shall cease.

It is also expressly forbidden to make any unnecessary shots of honor, but rather to keep and well to manage the powder and shot of the countrey; but yet coming to any foreign ship of war, whereby it is requisite to give some salutation by shooting for the reputation of the countrey; in that case they are to observe and maintain in all honesty the honor of our countrey, according as the commanders or captains of the foreign ships of war shall do the like to the lieutenant admiral, or to those that are in his place and command; and also be wary to do no harm by the said shooting for honor.

Further, whensoever some cross the seas, and any of the fleet (whether he be under the colour or a part crossing) discovering any foreign ship, following the third article of his letter of commission, and understanding of any preparation or gathering of ships of war, wheresoever it may be, or that already some ships or fleet shall have passed; then he is to learn and observe very strictly the number of the said ships, their arming, guns, and men, of the said preparation, and likewise what course such a fleet that may be passed may have taken, and thereof advise, and send in all haste word to the admiral or commander for the service of the countreys, that thereupon order may be taken accordingly: and the general token or sign shall be to discover the sea, coming together, or to a rendezvous, to advertise together of such fleets as may be passed, whether they may be gone to any haven of our countreys or not, or concerning any matter important to the service of these countreys; and therefore at every half hour marked by his hour-glass, to shoot off a great piece of ordnance, whereupon every one hearing the unusual sign of that shot, is to answer in like manner, and in all haste go towards the place where the foresaid shot hath been made, that speedily he may meet with the other ships, and there to do what the admiral or commander, with the councel of war, for the good and service of these countreys shall finde fit to be done. *Datum ut Supra.*

Signed, M. Harperts Trump.

Captain Yong's Letter.

Right Honorable,

As I was coming to the westward to take the command of the West-guard the twelfth instant off the Start, I descried a fleet of ships about a dozen sail, coming from the southward, being admiral, vice and rere in the fleet, so that I did conceive them to be Sir George Ayscu's fleet; but I making sail off to them, found them a fleet of Hollanders came from Janua and Legorn; those three with flags were statesmen of war their convoyers, the other merchants ships, some upwards of thirty guns, and some

under; so I bore with the admiral, and did send him by my master, That he should strike his flag, and did desire a right understanding might be between us before any blood was shed in the controversie; on this the admiral took in his flag, and put abroad a pendent; he said he did belong to Amsterdam, but his name I know not, but the ship hath two wilde men or the like in her stern, and some other things between them, she hath some thirty-eight guns: so then the vice-admiral came up with me wth his flag abroad, being a ship of forty-two guns, so I called to perswade him to strike; he bid me come on board and strike it, so I sent my boat on board to perswade him to it to prevent the loss of blood, if it might be, but he sent me word by my master he would not strike; so then, being fitted for it, I came up very near on the weather-quarter; yet before I fired I called to the captain my self to take in his flag, but he said he would not; so then I commanded a broad-side and a volley of small shot to be fired on him, and I received the like from him again: Thus we past some four or five broad-sides each at other, though I was forced to be at some further distance from him then the first, I fearing the admiral would have laid me on board on the weather-side, he having fitted his ship and come up main-sail, and all to gain the wind of me, forced me to keep the wind of him; then Captain Reynolds being come up fair within shot of his weather quarter, having fired some six guns before at the rear admiral, as he came in amongst us; so he fired part of a broad-side at the vice admiral, just at that instant as he was taking in his flag, the Recovery being come up even within shot just as his flag was in, and the rear-admiral struck likewise: So I sent aboard the admiral, that I did demand the vice-admiral, either in his person or his ship, to carry into port, to make good what damage was done. He told my master he did not meddle in the least himself as yet, as long as it was onely about striking the flag, the which he said was now taken in; but if I sought any further matter, as the surprisal of him or the ship, he was bound and would assist him, she being the States ship as well as he, not then knowing, or could take any notice of any further intentions: So I desired Captain Reynolds and Captain Chapman to come on board to consult with me what further to do in it, it being near night; and it was the judgment of us all not to proceed any further in it, the flags being taken in, by reason the treaty being between the nations at present, the case of breach of the peace might not be any way imputed on our part. I have received some damage in my hull, sail, and rigging, the which I shall soon, God willing, get repaired again; I had one man even as good as killed out-right, dyed since, and some four wounded, but I hope they will recover: For my own part, I bless the Lord for it, I am very well: I do believe I gave him his belly full of it, for he sent me word he had order from the States, that if he struck he should lose his head; but at length he did strike, which makes me conceive he had enough of it.

Your honours humble servant at command,

ANTH. YONG.

President, Plymouth Sound, May 14, 1652.

A Paper delivered by the Lords Ambassadors to the Councel of State, the Third of June, 1652, new Stile.

Most Honorable Lords,

We are here by reason of an unhappy and unexpected mischance; an horrible report hath amazed us, that a fight at sea should have been betwixt the fleet of this commonwealth and of the United Provinces, and that ours should have been the reason of this unfortunate business; that we began the fight, and that thereupon is fought most cruelly; and that from thence the rumour of the breaking of the treaty, and of open war (which should be very near at hand between the two nations) was spread.

We, astonished by this sad report, direct our selves to this honorable assembly, and do declare before God and out of all our hearts, that the fact, so as it is reported, is committed without the knowledge and against the will of the States of the United Provinces our lords, and of us their ambassadors. Moreover we do affirm, that the hearts of ours do desire nothing but unity, peace, league, and a very near friendship with this commonwealth, and hope that with all their wishes. In the mean while, we do think it not to be amiss if we give notice unto your honours, that we have received letters from the admiral of the fleet of the United Provinces, dated the thirtieth of the last moneth, wherein the occasion and reason of the said fight quite otherwise is declared then the common report is: for the truth of which business, we suppose to be convenient to inquire exactly; but this is worth observation in the mean time, that our Admiral Trump in the same letter doth declare plainly to have no other order from the lords the States, then to sail about and to view the shore and coasts of our country as far as Ostend and Newport, and no further. By which it doth appear as clearly as the sun is under heaven, that by all means the States of the United Provinces have had no mind to attempt any thing against the fleet or other ships of this commonwealth. If any thing then in this business be done otherwise then it ought to be, this doth not concern the said States, but them which have executed the said business, and let them make it good. We have been here now almost six months about the concluding of a league by special order of the said States, and have delivered some days ago to your commissioners a paper, in which not onely the different points touching the treaty, but also the means by which the same could be brought to a good agreement, and reconciled one with another, were sufficiently declared; so that we did expect nothing every day but a happy end to so good a work; and truly that excellent matter may in very few hours be finished. But who should ever believe that so noble a work, and desired with so many wishes of all honest men, and especially of all the churches of the reformed christian religion, should be cut off or hindred by any such imprudent and turbulent man (whosoever he may be) without knowledge and against the will of the lords the States? By law of nature and customs of all nations is very well known, that he to whom a charge is given in particular things, an ambassador in publique business going beyond the limit of their commissions, a general of an army depopulating without order of his superiors any grounds of the neighbors; a wilde beast doing any mischief after it hath broken its bond, that not the masters but those that have done the wrong are obliged, especially if the disapproving of the same masters followeth thereupon, which, without question, *(if the business be so as it is related) is to be expected* from the States of the United Provinces. In the meanwhile we make no doubt, that to attempt any hostility before the other party is heard, cannot be approved neither by God nor by any men, especially Christians. It is a custom by all reasonable nations to demand restitution of their goods if any trouble be done, and in case satisfaction be given or offered, to lay aside all hostility. And it is no wonder that all nations are so much against war and inclined to establish a peace, the war being plainly a cruel monster, a world of evil, and a meer deluge of innocent blood; therefore the most holy fathers of our religion have expressly declared the war (although just) to be execrable, especially in relation to the Christians, who are taught by their meekest Savior to spare other mens blood as well as their own. But amongst all kinde of wars is this to be reputed the most detestable and horrible, if between these nations war be risen. Truly the experience teacheth us, that the best and strongest wine (if it be corrupted) becomes the sourest vinegar; and indeed if two nations having been friends of old times, of the same religion, lovers of liberty, joyning upon the same sea, next neighbors, both valiant and warlike, be clashed together, what is to be expected but the ruine of both, and, as the proverb saith, a Cadmean victory. And what else is this then to afflict and depresse your friends and companions in religion to please our enemies, and to give occasion openly for to hurt them both

An author, being none of the least amongst yours, hath very well compared, as we conceive, both the nations to two earthen pots driving in the sea with this device, If we hitt, we break: he hitted it very well that honest man, and we may believe you are of the same opinion. But if the two nations come to an agreement, Oh Lord, what store of happiness will this bring forth! The true God's service will be established, the sea be quiet, and opportunity taken away from all enemies to trouble them both; all companions in religion be resoiled, and which is to be reputed the chiefest of all, to the most good and gracious Lord, praises and thanksgiving will be lift up into the heavens. We conclude then, most honourable lords, and instantly demand and desire, so as we have longed to propose to your honours this three days since.

First, That a copy may be given unto us of the relation of the things that are past.

Secondly, That we may send that over by your leave to our lords the States, and that the other part being heard, the truth of the business may be known.

Thirdly, That in the mean while all things may be kept whole and untouched.

Fourthly, That by no means the business of the concluding of the treaty be put off, and that such unfortunate mischances may be avoided, and an everlasting peace may be established between both the nations.

All which we desire of all our hearts, the great and bountiful God, the author of peace, will be pleased to grant us.

(Signed,) CATS. G. SCHAEP. VANDEPERRE.

The Translation of the Letter of the Admiral Trump to the States General, mentioned in the precedent Paper.

High and Mighty Lords,

My last letter was of the twentieth instant, sent by the messenger that brought my instruction aboard, since when I crossed the sea before the Mase, Wislingen, Ostend, and Newport, until the twenty-four of the same moneth, when we were forced to cast our anchor, and stay there in a hard weather and a rough sea, until the twenty-six in the morning: The weather growing fairer, and being under sail, divers captains of the direction came aboard, complaining that they lost their anchors and cables, some having but two anchors and two cables left; it was resolved, because the wind did grow big, to go under the point of Dover for to prevent the loss of our ships. At one of the clock, coming before the Downs, we did send the commander, John Thissen from Flissingen, and Captain Peter Alders, towards the Downs, to the commander, Bourn, who was there with some ships of the parliament, whom they saluted in my name, advertising him that we were bound to cross the sea about our coast; and that, having lost some anchors by the last hard weather, we were forced to anchor under Dover to help one another, and so to return to our appointed limits; having also no other order, but to protect our merchant ships and fishermen, and to maintain the honour of our country: That we therefore thought it fit to acquaint the said commander with the same, because he should not suspect any thing to the contrary; who also with much courtesie did salute me, and thank me for this notice. Upon the twenty-nine, at two of the clock, we made sail, the wind north-east, good weather, sailing towards Calice, with intention to cross towards our coast, for to provide us of cables and anchors: coming about Calice cliff, we met with Captain Loris van Sanen of Amsterdam coming out of the Streights, with Captain Hugeluyt, having in their company seven rich merchant ships, who are esteemed above fifty tons of gold, who he left the twenty-nine at anchor, right against Feverley; where about twelve ships of the parliament did lye, and divers frigots came to see them; and for as much as the said Loris Van Sanen upon the twenty two of May, about Goutstart, was met a frigot of the

parliament, who fiercely set upon him for to make him strike, and against whom he defended him near about two hours, and so was left by the said frigot, whereupon the said commander Hugyluyt and the said Van Sanen should endeavor for to finde out our main fleet, and to give us notice of it; as he did accordingly, fearing much that the said merchants vessels already might be taken: whereon I presently went thither to take them under my protection: and if they were taken, to put them at liberty if it was possible, according to the seventh and eighth articles of my instruction of the sixteenth instant. Upon the way we met fifteen ships and frigots of the parliament, among whom one was an admiral, whom I intended to view, taking in all my sails, except both my marsh sails, whom we did avail until the middest of the stangs. Being within a cannot-shot, he shot a ball over our ship, we answered not, he shot another, to which we answered with one; presently he gives me a broad-side, being within a musquet shot, and shot all his side through our ship and sails: Divers were wounded, some with the loss of their arms, some otherwise; thereupon, we presently gave him our broad-side, not knowing what they intended, which for as yet I know not, because they did not speak a word to us, neither we to them, and we fell thereupon to a general fight. In mean while came the commander, Bourn, out the Downs, with twelve of such like ships and frigots mounted, as he told himself to the said commander John Thyssen, and Captain Peter Alders, being aboard of him with sixty to seventy, and the frigots with thirty-eight to fifty pieces of ordnance, who in the same while assaulted our fleet from behinde; and we fought thus from half an hour past four till nine of the clock, the darkness departing us from another; when both the admirals a little beyond the reach of their ordnance cast their sails towards the lee for to gather their fleets, and to mend what was shot to pieces; we floated the whole night with a light on every ship. The thirtieth in the morning, we saw the English fleet driven windward from us, who made sail and went towards Dover. We wanted two of our ships who were in the rear of our fleet; the Captains Tuynmans of Middlebourg, and Siphe Fooks of Amsterdam, both ships of the direction, whereof we found that of Captain Siphe Fooks about noon floating without mast: The skipper and the officers declared unto us that they were taken by three ships of the parliament two hours after sunset, who took from aboard the captain and the lieutenant, with fourteen or fifteen men more, and putted instead of them many of the English; but they fearing that the ship would sink, they took the flight after they had plundered all in hostile manner: they declared also, that they see that the said Tuynmans (being with them in the rear of our fleet) an hour before was taken: We intend with this easterly wind to cross to and fro, that we may finde out the said Streight fearders, if it be possible, and with all other ships with whom we may meet, to bring them safe in our country. So ending, was subscribed,

M. Harp Trump.

Dated the 30th of May, 1652, from aboard the ship.

The Lords Ambassadors second Paper, 6th June, 1652.

To the Council of State of the Commonwealth of England.

As on Monday last the ambassadors of the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands have said before the most illustrious councel upon their honour and faith, and have averred by the witness of God, that the unlook'd-for and untimely sea-fight of the two fleets happened without the knowledge and the will of the said Lords States, and withal treating with the councel about it with all uprightness, delivering them a copy of Trump's letters himself, whereby it might the better appear to this commonwealth, that the said Lords States had commanded the said Trump nothing else then to ship about the coasts and havens of their dominions, to shun all suspicions and dis-

sentions; even so now again the same lords ambassadors assure the most illustrious council, that by the ordinary messenger they receive yesterday, they have received all the consultations handled by the said Lords States General from the 22th until the 29th day of the last moneth (new stile) on which the said fight happened, whereby it appears yet more clear, and the said lords commissioners are more assured that their superiors gave at all no occasion, no cause nor counsel, but rather they did breathe (as it were) and further with the same minde, care, and zeal, a more strict friendship and mutual alliance betwixt these two nations, as it doth appear more clear then the sun at noon, by their said lordships sentence on the occasion of an answer to be sent to the Protestant Swissers, made on the 23d of the same moneth, a copy whereof they now also present and offer to the said most illustrious councel.

Therefore the said lords ambassadors intreat again this most ample councel, that, yielding due faith to so many protestations, and to so many testimonies, they would now upon their demands with the parliament (as is understood) communicated two days since, they would at the soonest give them such an answer as the said councel, according to their wisdom and justice may seem good and necessary to prevent greater harm, and already imminent dangers; and that to these evils a more ready remedy may be applied, the same lords ambassadors would not have this senate ignorant, that the Lord Newport, sent by the lords states to deliver to the lords ambassadors their consultations, and signifie to them besides their sincere and plain minde, since it now seems things did happen otherwise and against their hope and trust, to think upon and prepare his return, that so the better he might let them know in what state and condition matters now are, and what remedy there may be applied; to which end the said lords ambassadors do intreat this councel to give freedom and leave to the said Lord Newport, that he may choose some one of the Lords States General's ships, now either in the Thames, or in other ports of this commonwealth, abiding, for his transportion, or by any other means may return home. Given at Chelsea, 6 June, 1652. *Stilo novo.*

Signed, J. Cats. G. Schaep. Vandeperre.

An Extract out of the Register of the Resolutions of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Provinces.

Thursday the 23d of May, 1652.

After that the letter of the Evangelical Cantons in Switzerland, and there associated in religion, dated the 14th of April last past, and yesterday received, was this day again produced; It is upon deliberation resolved and ordered to send them an answer, and signifie that their lordships hath received the before mentioned letter, and return great thanks for the affection which they shew unto this state, and for their care for the conservation of the reformed religion, as also the continuation of peace and concord among this state and the commonwealth of England; with a declaration, That their lordships will not fail to contribute all things that shall be necessary to promote the one and the other: And specially a good correspondence with the said commonwealth, hoping the same of the said commonwealth. That it is true that some extraordinary preparation of ships of war was made, but to no other intention as to the safety of the sea, and security of the navigation and trade of these countreys. That, to conclude, their lordships did wish to the said evangelical cantons and their religion-friends, all kind of prosperity, peace, safety, and mutual union, for the exaltation of God's most holy name, conservation of the true christian reformed religion, and prosperity of both sides, states, and subjects.

The Third Paper of the Lords Ambassadors, exhibited $\frac{1}{11}$ *June, 1652.*

To the Council of State of the Commonwealth of England.

Most Illustrious Lords,

Even as both by word of mouth, and also by writing, we have signified to this councel on the third and sixth days of this moneth, taking God, the searcher of men's hearts, to witness, that the most unhappy fight of the ships of both commonwealths did happen against the knowledge and will of the lords States General of the United Netherlands; so also are we daily more and more assured, both by messages and letters, witnessing the most sincere hearts of our said lords, and that with grief and astonishment they received the fatal news of that unhappy rash action; and that, upon what we thereupon presently sent them word of, they did consult and endeavor to finde out what remedy chiefly may be applied to mitigate that raw and bloody wound: To which end they have written out for to gather a solemn meeting of parliament of all the provinces, whereby we do not doubt but there will be provided for these troubles (by God's favor) such a cure and present help, whereby not onely the outward cause of all further evil may be taken away, but also, by an intern comfort, the mindes may be redressed and reduced again to a better hope of our treaty in hand; which thing being now most earnestly agitated by our lords for the common good of both nations, to shun that detestable shedding of christian blood (so much desired, and would be dearly bought by their common enemies of both nations, and of the reformed religion) we again do crave this most honourable councel, and beseech you by the pledges both of the common religion and liberty, mean while to suffer nothing to be done out of too much heat, that afterwards may prove neither revocable nor repairable by too late idle vows and wishes, but rather that you would let us receive a kinde answer without further delay upon our last request.

Which we do again and again desire so much the more, because we understand that the ships of our lords and of our shippers both on the broad sea as in the ports of this commonwealth, some by force, some by fighting, are taken by your men and kept.

Given at Chelsea, $\frac{1}{11}$ June, 1652.

Signed, J. Cats. G. Schaep. Vandeperre.

A true and just Relation of Major-general Sir Thomas Morgan's Progress in France and Flanders, with the Six Thousand English, in the Years 1657 *and* 1658, *at the Taking of Dunkirk and other important Places, as it was delivered by the General himself.* 1699

" Cromwell, being confirmed in his protectorship by the parliament, concludes a league offensive and defensive with the King of France, conditionally, that the Protector should assist the French with six thousand men, and that they should be put into possession of Mardyke and Dunkirk when taken. But Cromwell's great aim, in this league, was to destroy the children of Charles the First and their adherents. So,

"In consequence of this treaty, James Duke of York, and all others that adhered to the fortune of the Stuarts, had notice to leave France; and Cromwell sent his six thousand soldiers, who, as it plainly appears from all, but especially from the following account, wrought wonders in that expedition, not under the command of Reynolds and Lockhart, two successive ambassadors at the court of France, as Rapin and most historians have erroneously recorded, but under that brave soldier, Sir Thomas Morgan, as this intrepid general has avouched under his own hand.

"I shall say no more of the value of this piece of history, without which the memoirs of those times are imperfect, but conclude this introduction with the publisher's advertisement.

"Sir Thomas Morgan, says he, drew up the following relation at a friend's desire, who was unwilling that posterity should want an authentick account of the actions of the six thousand English, whom Cromwell sent to assist the French against the Spaniards, and thought the right they did their country by their behaviour might make some amends for the occasion of their being in that service. It had been printed in the last reign[1] if the authority of it had not interposed, because there was not so much said of some[2] who were then in the Spanish army as they expected; and is published now to let the world see that more is owing to our countrymen, at the battle of Dunkirk, than either[3] Monsieur Bussy Rabutin or[4] Ludlow in their Memoirs do allow. The former, by his manner of expression, seems contented with an opportunity to lessen their merit; and, being in the right wing of the French, while this passed in the left, comes under the just reflection he himself makes[5] a little after, upon the describers of fights, who are particular in what they did not see; and whether the latter was misinformed, or swayed by his prejudice[6] to those that were engaged to support the new-erected tyranny, is left to the reader to judge. It may not be improper to add, that these papers came to the publisher's hand from the gentleman at whose request they were wrote, and to whom Sir Thomas Morgan confirmed every paragraph of them, as they were read over, at the time he delivered them to him, which, besides the unaffected plainness of the stile, may be urged for the credit of the narrative, since Sir Thomas was intituled to so much true reputation, that he had no need to grasp at any that was false."

Jan. 24th, 1698.

The French king and his eminence the Cardinal Mazarine came to view the six thousand English near Charleroy, and ordered Major-general Morgan, with the said six thousand English, to march and make conjunction with Marshal Turenne's army, who, soon after the conjunction, beleaguered a town called St Venant, on the borders of Flanders. Marshal Turenne having invested the town on the east side, and Major-general Morgan, with his six thousand English, and a brigade of French horse, on the west, the army incamped betwixt Marshal Turenne's approaches and Major-general Morgan's; and, being to relieve Count Schomberg out of the approaches of the west side of the town, Major-general Morgan marched into the approaches with eight hundred English. The English at that time being strangers in approaches, Major-general Morgan instructed the officers and soldiers to take their places by fifties, that thereby they might relieve the point to carry on the approaches every hour. In the mean time, whilst we besieged the town, the enemy had beleaguered a town called Ardres, within five miles of Calais. In the evening, Count Schomberg, with six noblemen, came upon the point, to see how Major-general Morgan carried on his approaches; but there happened a little confusion, by the soldiers intermingling themselves in the approaches, so as there was never an intire fifty to be called to the point. Count Schomberg and his noblemen taking notice thereof, Major-general Morgan was much troubled, leaped upon the point, and called out fifty to take up the spades, pick-axes, and fascines, and follow him: But so it happened, that all in the approaches leaped out after him, the enemy, in the mean time, firing as fast as they could. Major-general Morgan conceiving his loss, in bringing them again to their approaches, would be

[1] Of K. James II. [2] The Duke of York, the Earl of Bristol, &c. [3] Part II. p. 115.
[4] Part II. p. 561. [5] Part II. p. 139. [6] Part II. p. 496.

greater than in carrying them forward, passed over a channel of water, on which there was a bridge and a turnpike; and the soldiers crying out, "Fall on, fall on," he fell upon the counterscarp, beat the enemy from it and three redoubts, which caused them to capitulate, and the next morning to surrender the town, and receive a French garrison; so as the sudden reduction thereof gave Marshal Turenne an opportunity afterwards to march and relieve Ardres.

The next place Marshal Turenne besieged was Mardyke, taken in twice eight and forty hours by the English and French. After the taking whereof, Major-general Morgan was settled there, by order of the French King and Oliver, with two thousand English and one thousand French, in order to the beleaguering Dunkirk the next spring.

The rest of the English were quartered in Borborch. For the space of four months, there was hardly a week wherein Major-general Morgan had not two or three alarms by the Spanish army. He answered them all, and never went out of his cloaths all the winter, except to change his shirt.

The next spring Marshal Turenne beleaguered Dunkirk on the Newport side, and Major-general Morgan on the Mardyke side, with his six thousand English and a brigade of French horse. He made a bridge over the canal, betwixt that and Bergon, that there might be communication betwixt Marshal Turenne's camp and his. When Dunkirk was close invested, Marshal Turenne sent a summons to the governor, the Marquis de Leda, a great captain and brave defender of a siege; but the summons being answered with defiance, Marshal Turenne immediately broke ground, and carried on the approaches on his side, whilst the English did the same on theirs; and it is observable, the English had two miles to march every day, upon relieving their approaches. In this manner the approaches were carried on, both by the French and English, for the space of twelve nights, when the Marshal Turenne had intelligence that the Prince of Conde, the Duke of York, Don John of Austria, and the Prince de Ligny, were at the head of thirty thousand horse and foot, with resolution to relieve Dunkirk.

Immediately upon this intelligence, Marshal Turenne and several noblemen of France went to the king and cardinal at Mardyke, and acquainted his eminence therewith, and desired his majesty and his eminence the cardinal to withdraw their persons into safety, and leave their orders. His Majesty answered, that he knew no better place of safety than at the head of his army, but said it was convenient the cardinal should withdraw to Calais. Then Marshal Turenne and the noblemen made answer, they could not be satisfied, except his majesty withdrew himself into safety, which was assented to; and the king and cardinal, marching to Calais, left open orders with Marshal Turenne, that, if the enemy came on, he should give battle or raise the siege, as he should be advised by a council of war.

The enemy came to Bruges, and then Marshal Turenne thought it high time to call a council of war, which consisted of eight noblemen, eight lieutenant-generals, and six marshals du camp, but never sent to Ambassador Lockhart or Major-general Morgan. The whole sense of the council of war was, that it was great danger to the crown of France to hazard a battle in that streight country, full of canals and ditches of water; and several reasons being shewn to that purpose, it ran through the council of war to raise the siege if the enemy came on. Within half an hour after the council of war was risen, Major-general Morgan had the result of it in his camp, and went immediately to Ambassador Lockhart,[a] to know if he heard any thing of it. He said he heard nothing of it, and complained that he was much afflicted with the stone, gravel, and some other impediments. Major-general Morgan asked him to go with him the next morning to the head quarters. He said he would if he were able.

[a] This man had married Cromwell's niece.

Next morning Marshal Turenne sent a nobleman to Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan, to desire them to come to a second council of war. Immediately, therefore, Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan went with the nobleman to Marshal Turenne's camp; and, by that time they came there, the council of war was ready to sit down in Marshal Turenne's tent.

Marshal Turenne satisfied the council of war that he had forgot to send for Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan to the first council of war, and therefore thought fit to call this, that they might be satisfied, and then put the question, Whether, if the enemy came on, he should raise the siege on the Newport side, and give them battle, or raise the siege; and required they should give their reasons for either. The marshals du camp ran away with it clearly to raise the siege, alledging what danger it was to the crown of France to hazard a battle within so streight a country, full of canals and ditches of water; farther alledging, that, if the enemy came upon the rock, they would cut between Marshal Turenne's and Major-general Morgan's camps, and prevent their conjunction. Two of the lieutenant-generals ran along with the marshals du camp, and shewed the same reasons: But Major-general Morgan, finding it was high time to speak, and that otherwise it would go round the board, rose up, and desired, though out of course, that he might declare his mind, in opposition to what the marshals du camp and the two lieutenant-generals had declared. Marshal Turenne told him he should have freedom to speak his thoughts. Then Major-general Morgan spake, and said, That the reasons the marshals du camp and the two lieutenant-generals had given for raising the siege were no reasons; for the streightness of the country was as good for the French and English as for the enemy: And whereas they alledged, That, if the enemy came on the bank between Furnes and Dunkirk, they would cut between Marshal Turenne's and Major-general Morgan's camps; Major-general Morgan replied, It was impossible; for they could not march upon the bank above eight a-breast; and farther, he alledged, That Marshal Turenne's artillery and small shot would cut them off at pleasure. He added, That that was not the way the enemy could relieve Dunkirk, but that they would make a bridge of boats over the channel, in an hour and half, and cross their army upon the sands of Dunkirk, to offer Marshal Turenne battle.

Farther, Major-general Morgan did alledge, what a dishonour it would be to the crown of France to have summoned the city of Dunkirk, and broke ground before it, and then raise the siege and run away; and he desired the council of war would consider, that, if they raised the siege, the alliance with England would be broken the same hour.

Marshal Turenne answered, "That, if he thought the enemy would offer that fair game, he would maintain the siege on Newport-side, and Major-general Morgan should march, and make conjunction with the French army, and leave Mardyke side open." Upon Marshal Turenne's reply, Major-general Morgan did rise from the board, and, upon his knees, begged a battle; and said, that he would venture the six thousand English every soul. Upon which, Marshal Turenne consulted the noblemen that sat next him, and it was desired that Major-general Morgan might walk a turn or two without the tent, and he should be called immediately. After he had walked two turns he was called in; as soon as he came in, Marshal Turenne said, "That he had considered his reasons, and that himself and the council of war resolved to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the siege on Newport side; and that Major-general Morgan was to make conjunction with the French army." Major-general Morgan then said, "That, with God's assistance, we should be able to deal with them."

The very next day, at four in the afternoon, the Spanish army had made a bridge of

boats, crossed their army on the sands of Dunkirk, and drew up into battalia within two miles of Marshal Turenne's lines, before he knew any thing of them. Immediately all the French horse drew out to face the enemy at a mile's distance; and Marshal Turenne sent immediate orders to Major-general Morgan to march into his camp with the six thousand English and the French brigade of horse, which was done accordingly.

The next day, about eight of the clock, Marshal Turenne gave orders to break avenues on both the lines, that the army might march out in battalia. Major-general Morgan set his soldiers to break avenues for their marching out in battalia likewise. Several officers being with him as he was looking on his soldiers at work, Ambassador Lockhart comes up with a white cap on his head, and said to Major-general Morgan, "You see what a condition I am in; I am not able to give you any assistance this day; you are the older soldier, and the greatest part of the work of this day must lie upon your shoulders." Upon which the officers smiled, and so he bid God be with us, and went away with the lieutenant-general of the horse that was upon our left wing; from which time we never saw him till we were in pursuit of the enemy. When the avenues were cleared, both the French and English army marched out of the lines towards the enemy. We were forced to march up in four lines (for we had not room enough to wing for the canal between Furnes and Dunkirk, and the sea) till we had marched above half a mile, then we came to a halt on rising hills of sand, and, having more room, took in two of our lines.

Major-general Morgan, seeing the enemy plain in battalia, said, before the head of the army, 'See! yonder are the gentlemen you have to trade withal;' upon which the whole brigade of English gave a shout of rejoicing that made a roaring eccho betwixt the sea and the canal. Thereupon the Marshal Turenne came up, with above an hundred noblemen, to know what was the matter and reason of that great shout. Major-general Morgan told him it was an usual custom of the red coats when they saw the enemy to rejoice.

Marshal Turenne answered, 'They were men of brave resolution and courage.' After which, Marshal Turenne returning to the head of his army, we put on to our march again. At the second halt the whole brigade of English gave a shout, and cast up their caps in the air, saying, 'They would have better hats before night.' Marshal Turenne, upon that shout, came up again with several noblemen and officers of the army, admiring the resolution of the English, at which time we were within three quarters of a mile of the enemy in battalia. *Marshal Turenne desired Major-general* Morgan, that, at the next halt, he would keep even front *with the French*; 'for,' says he, 'I do intend to halt at some distance, that we may see how the enemy is drawn up, and take our advantage accordingly.' Major-general Morgan demanded of his excellency, 'Whether he would shock the whole army at one dash, or try one wing first?' Marshal Turenne's reply was, 'That, as to that question, he could not resolve him yet, till he came nearer the enemy.' Major-general Morgan desired the marshal not to let him languish for orders, saying, 'That oftentimes opportunities are lost for want of orders in due time.' Marshal Turenne said he would either come himself and give orders, or send a lieutenant-general; and so Marshal Turenne parted, and went to the head of his army. In the mean time, Major-general Morgan gave orders to the colonels and leading officers to have a special care that when the French came to a halt they keep even front with them; and farther told them, if they could not observe the French, they should take notice when he lifted up his hat (for he marched still above three score before the center of the bodies:) But, when the French came to halt, it so happened, that the English pressed upon their leading officers, so that they came up under the shot of the enemy: But, when they saw that Major-general Morgan was in a passion,

they put themselves to a stand. Major-general Morgan could soon have remedied their forwardness, but he was resolved he would not lose one foot of ground he had advanced, but would hold it as long as he could. We were so near the enemy the soldiers fell into great friendship; one asking, is such an officer in your army? another, is such a soldier in yours? and this passed on both sides. Major-general Morgan endured this friendship for a little while, and then came up to the center of the bodies, and demanded, how long that friendship would continue; and told them further, that, for any thing they knew, they would be cutting one another's throats within a minute of an hour. The whole brigade answered, their friendship should continue no longer than he pleased. Then Major-general Morgan bid them tell the enemy, no more friendship: Prepare your buff coats and scarfs, for we will be with you sooner than you expect us. Immediately after the friendship was broke, the enemy poured a volley of shot into one of our battalions, wounded three or four, and one dropped. The major-general immediately sent the adjutant-general to Marshal Turenne for orders, whether he should charge the enemy's right wing, or whether Marshal Turenne would engage the enemy's left wing, and advised the adjutant-general not to stay, but to acquaint Marshal Turenne that we were under the enemy's shot, and had received some prejudice already; but there was no return of the adjutant-general nor orders. By and by the enemy poured in another volley of shot into another of our battalions, and wounded two or three. Major-general Morgan, observing the enemy mending faults, and opening the intervals of the foot to bring horse in, which would have made our work more difficult, called all the colonels and officers of the field together, before the center of the bodies, and told them he had sent the adjutant-general for orders, but, when he saw there was no hope of orders, he told them, if they would concur with him, he would immediately charge the enemy's right wing: Their answer was, they were ready whenever he gave orders. He told them, he would try the right wing with the blue regiment, and the four hundred firelocks, which were in the interval of the French horse; and wished all the field-officers to be ready at their several posts. Major-general Morgan gave orders, that the other five regiments should not move from their ground, except they saw the blue regiment, the white, and the four hundred firelocks shocked the enemy's right wing off of their ground; and, farther, shewed the several colonels what colours they were to charge, and told them moreover, 'That if he was not knocked on the head, he would come to them.' In like manner, as fast as he could, he admonished the whole brigade, and told them, they were to look in the face of an enemy who had violated, and endeavoured to take away their reputation, and that they had no other way but to fight it out to the last man, or to be killed, taken prisoners, or drowned; and farther, that the honour of England did depend much upon their gallantry and resolution that day.

The enemy's wing was posted on a sandy hill, and had cast the sand breast-high before them: Then Major-general Morgan did order the blue regiment and the four hundred firelocks to advance to the charge. In the mean time, Major-general Morgan, knowing the enemy would all bend upon them that did advance, removed the white regiment more to the right, that it might be in the flank of them: by that time the blue regiment was got within push of pike.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, with a select party of horse, had got into the blue regiment, by that time the white came in, and exposed his person to great danger: But we knew no body at that time.[1] Immediately the enemy were

[1] Clarendon's account of the battle is as follows:—"The English foot under Lockhart charged the Spanish foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the Spanish horse doing no better than their foot. Our king's foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the French horse after the Spanish foot were beaten. Some of them,

clear shocked off of their ground. Major-general Morgan, when he saw this opportunity, stepped to the other five regiments, which were within six score of him, and ordered them to advance, and charge immediately: But, when they came within ten pikes length, the enemy, perceiving they were not able to endure our charge, shaked their hats, held up their handkerchiefs, and called for quarter; but the red-coats cried aloud, they had no leisure for quarter. Whereupon the enemy faced about, and would not endure our charge, but fell to run, having the English colours over their heads, and the strongest soldiers and officers clubbing them down;[z] so that the six thousand English carried ten or twelve thousand horse and foot before them. The French army was about musquet-shot in the rear of us, where they came to halt, and never moved off of their ground. The rest of the Spanish army seeing the right wing carried away, and the English colours flying over their heads, wheeled about in as good order as they could, so that we had the whole Spanish army before us; and Major-general Morgan called out to the colonels, To the right as much as you can, that so we might have all the enemy's army under the English colours. The six thousand English carried all the Spanish army, as far as Westminster-abbey to Paul's church-yard, before ever a Frenchman came in, on either wing of us; but then at last we could perceive the French horse come pouring on each wing with much gallantry; but they never struck one stroke, only carried prisoners back to the camp. Neither did we ever see the Ambassador Lockhart till we were in pursuit of the enemy, and then we could see him amongst us very brisk, without his white cap on his head, and neither troubled with gravel or stone. When we were at the end of the pursuit, Marshal Turenne and above a hundred officers of the army came up to us, quitted their horses, embraced the officers, and said, they never saw a more glorious action in their lives, and that they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had no power to move or do any thing. And this high compliment we had for our pains. In a word, the French army did not strike one stroke in the battle of Dunkirk, only the six thousand English. After we had done pursuing the enemy, Major-general Morgan rallied his forces, and marched over the sands where he had shocked them at first, to see what slaughter there was made. But Ambassador Lockhart went into the camp as fast as he could to write his letters for England of what great service he had done, which was just nothing. Marshal Turenne and Major-general Morgan brought the armies close to invest Dunkirk again, and to carry on the approaches. The Marquis de Leda happened to be in the counterscarp, and received an accidental shot, whereof he died: and the whole

and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the inclosures, there not being above two hundred taken prisoners. The Dukes of York and Gloucester charged several times on horseback; and in the end, having gotten some troops to go with them, charged the English (whom, though enemies, they were glad to see behave themselves so well,) and with great difficulty and some blows of musquets got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the French army, that the Duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, some men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the French officers and gentlemen resolved to set him at liberty, and rode up to the body of the English, and looked upon all their prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which, if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard or danger, have enlarged him, so great an affection that nation owned to have for his highness."—CLARENDON, III. 502.

This, with the acknowledgment of Morgan in the text, seems a sufficient confutation of the spiteful observation of Ludlow:—"Many of those that were killed on the enemy's side were English and Irish that fought under the Duke of York. And, as it was confessed by all present, that the English who took part with the French behaved themselves with more bravery than any in the field that day, so it was observed, that those of the cavalier party who had joined with the Spaniards behaved themselves worst."—LUDLOW's *Memoirs, Edin.* 1751, 8. *II.* 109.

[z] Bayonets were not then used. The soldiers, when they fought at close quarters, used the butts of their musquets, and their long rapines, or tucks, as they were called. Shadwell describes the parliamentary soldiers "in high crowned hats, collar'd bands, great loose coats, long tucks under them, and calves-leather boots; they used to sing a psalm, fall on, and beat all opposition to the devil."—*The Volunteers.*

garrison, being discouraged at his death, came to capitulate in a few days; so the town was surrendered, and Ambassador Lockhart marched into it with two regiments of English for a garrison; but Major-general Morgan kept the field, with Marshal Turenne, with his other four regiments of English.

The next siege was Bergen St Winnock, six miles from Dunkirk, which Marshal Turenne beleaguered with the French army, and the four regiments of English; and, in four or five days siege, Bergen St Winnock was taken upon capitulation. Marshal Turenne did rest the army for two days after, and then resolved to march through the heart of Flanders, and take what towns he could that campaign.

The next town we took was Furnes, the next Menin, after that Oudenard; and, in a word, eight towns, besides Dunkirk and Ypres; for, so soon as the red-coats came near the counterscarp, there was nothing but a capitulation and a surrender presently: All the towns we took were towns of strength.

The last siege we made was before the city of Ypres, where the Prince de Ligny had cast himself in before for the defence of that city, with two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons: Besides, there were in the city four thousand burghers, all proper young men, under their arms; so that the garrison did consist of six thousand five hundred men. Marshal Turenne sent in a summons, which was answered with a defiance: Then Marshal Turenne broke ground, and carried on two approaches towards the counterscarp: Major-general Morgan went into the approaches every night, for fear of any miscarriage by the English, and came out of the approaches at sun-rising to take his rest; for then the soldiers had done working. The fourth morning, Major-general Morgan went to take his rest in his tent, but, within half an hour afterwards, Marshal Turenne sent a nobleman to him, to desire him to come to speak with him; when the major-general came, there were above a hundred noblemen and officers of the army walking about his tent. And his gentlemen had decked a room for his excellency with his sumpter-cloaths, in which homely place there were about twenty officers of the army with him; but, as soon as Major-general Morgan came, Marshal Turenne desired all of them to retire, for he had something to communicate to the major-general. The room was immediately cleared, and Marshal Turenne turned the gentlemen of his chamber out, and shut the door himself. When this was done, he desired the major-general to sit down by him, and the first news that he spake of was, that he had certain intelligence, that the Prince of Conde and Don John of Austria were at the head of eleven thousand horse and four thousand foot, within three leagues of his camp, and resolved to break through one of our quarters to relieve the city of Ypres; and therefore he desired Major-general Morgan to have all the English under their arms every night at sun-set, and the French army should be so likewise. Major-general Morgan replied, and said, 'That the Prince of Conde and Don John of Austria were great captains, and that they might dodge with Marshal Turenne to fatigue his army.' The major-general farther said, 'That, if he did keep the army three nights to that hard shift, they would not care who did knock them on the head.' Marshal Turenne replied, 'We must do it, and surmount all difficulty.' The major-general desired to know of his excellency, whether he was certain the enemy was so near him; he answered, he had two spies came just from them. Then Major-general Morgan told him his condition was somewhat desperate, and said, that a desperate disease must have a desperate cure. His excellency asked what he meant? Major-general Morgan did offer him to attempt the counterscarp upon an assault, and so put all things out of doubt with expedition. The major-general had no sooner said this, but Marshal Turenne joined his hands, and looked up through the boards towards the heavens, and said, 'Did ever my master, the King of France, or the King of Spain, attempt a counterscarp upon an assault, where there were three half-moons covered with cannon, and

the ramparts of the town playing point-black into the counterscarp?' Farther he said, 'What will the king my master think of me if I expose his army to these hazards?' And he rose up, and fell into a passion, stamping with his feet, and shaking his locks, and grinning with his teeth; he said, Major-general Morgan had made him mad. But, by degrees, he cooled, and asked the major-general, whether he would stay to dinner with him: But the major-general begged his pardon, for he had appointed some of the officers to eat a piece of beef at his tent that day. His excellency asked him, if he would meet him at two of the clock at the opening of the approaches? The major-general said he would be punctual; but desired he would bring none of his train with him (for it was usually a hundred noblemen with their feathers and ribbands) because, if he did, he would have no opportunity to take a view of the counterscarp, for the enemy would discover them and fire incessantly. His excellency said, he would bring none, but two or three of the lieutenant-generals. Major-general Morgan was at the place appointed a quarter of an hour before his excellency, and then his excellency came, with eight noblemen, and three lieutenant-generals, and took a place to view the counterscarp. After he had looked a considerable time upon it, he turned about, and looked upon the noblemen and lieutenant-generals, and said, 'I do not know what to say to you; here is Major-general Morgan has put me out of my wits; for he would have me attempt yonder counterscarp upon an assault.' None of the noblemen or lieutenants made any reply to him, but Count Schomberg, saying, 'My lord, I think Major-general Morgan would offer nothing to your lordship but what he thinks feasible, and he knows he has good fighting men.' Upon this Marshal Turenne asked Major-general Morgan, how many English he would venture? The major-general said, that he would venture six hundred common men, besides officers, and fifty pioneers. Marshal Turenne said, that six hundred of Monsieur la Ferte's army, and fifty pioneers, and six hundred of his own army, and fifty pioneers more, would make better than two thousand men; Major-general Morgan replied, 'They were abundance to carry it with God's assistance.' Then his excellency said, he would acquaint the king and his eminence, that Major-general Morgan had put him upon that desperate design; Major-general Morgan desired his pardon; for it was in his power to attempt it, or not to attempt it: But in the close, Marshal Turenne said to the major-general, that he must fall into Monsieur la Ferte's approaches, and that he should take the one half of Monsieur la Ferte's men, and that he would take the other half into his own approaches. Major-general Morgan begged his pardon; and said, he desired to fall on with the English intire by themselves without intermingling them. Marshal Turenne replied, he must fall on, and cut off one of the approaches: the major-general replied, that he would fall on in the plain between both approaches. His excellency said, that he would never be able to endure their fireing, but that they would kill half his men before he could come to the counterscarp; the major general said, that he had an invention that the enemy should not perceive him, till he had his hands upon the stockadoes. Next, his excellency said, for the signal there shall be a captain of Monsieur la Ferte's, with twenty firelocks, shall leap upon the point, and cry, *Sa sa! vive le Roy de France;* and, upon that noise, all were to fall on together. But Major-general Morgan opposed that signal, saying, the enemy would thereby be alarmed, and then he should hardly endure their fireing. His excellency replied then, that he would give no signal at all, but the major-general should give it; and he would not be persuaded otherwise. Then the major-general desired his excellency, that he would give orders to them in the approaches, to keep themselves in readiness against sun-set; for, at the shutting of the night, he would fall on: he likewise desired his excellency, that he would order a major out of his own approaches, and another out of Monsieur la Ferte's approaches, to stand by him; and, when he should be ready to fall on, he

would dispatch the two majors into each of the approaches, that they might be ready to leap out when the major-general passed between the two approaches with the commanded English. Just at sun-set, Marshal Turenne came himself, and told the major-general, he might fall on when he saw his own time. The major-general replied, he would fall on just at the setting of the night and when the dusk of the evening came on. The major-general made the English stand to their arms, and divided them into bodies; a captain at the head of the pioneers, and a major-general and a colonel at the head of the two battalions; he ordered the two battalions, and the pioneers, each man to take up a long fascine upon their musquets and pikes, and then they were three small groves of wood. Immediately the major-general commanded the two majors to go to their approaches, and that they should leap out so soon as they should see the major-general march between their approaches. The major-general did order the two battalions, when they came within threescore of the stockadoes, to slip their fascines, and fall on. But so it happened, that the French never moved out of their approaches, till such time as Major-general Morgan had overpowered the enemy. When the pioneers came within sight of the stockadoes, they slipped the fascines down, and fell on; the major-general and the other two battalions were close to them, and, when the soldiers began to lay their hands on the stockadoes, they tore them down for the length of six score, and leaped pell-mell into the counterscarp amongst the enemy; abundance of the enemy were drowned in the moat, and many taken prisoners, with two German princes, and the counterscarp cleared; the French were in their approaches all this time; then the English fell on upon the half-moons, and immediately the red-coats were on the top of them, throwing the enemy into the moat, and turning the cannon upon the town; thus the two half-moons were speedily taken: After the manning of the half-moons, he did rally all the English, with intention to lodge them upon the counterscarp, that he might be free of the enemy's shot the next morning; and they left the other half-moon for Marshal Turenne's party, which was even before their approaches.

Then the French fell on upon the other half-moon, but were beaten off. The major-general considered, that that half-moon would gall him in the day-time, and therefore did speak to the officers and soldiers, that it was best to give them a little help; the red-coats cried, "Shall we fall on in order, or happy-go-lucky?" the major-general said, "In the name of God, at it happy-go-lucky;" and immediately the red-coats fell on, and were on the top of it, knocking the enemy down and casting them into the moat. When this work was done, the major-general lodged the English on the counterscarp; they were no sooner lodged, but Marshal Turenne scrambled over the ditches to find out the major-general; and, when he met with him, he was much troubled the French did no better; for indeed they did just nothing: then his excellency asked the major-general to go to his approaches to refresh himself; but the major-general begged his pardon, and said, he would not stir from his post till he heard a drum beat a parley, and saw a white flag over the walls. Upon that, Marshal Turenne laughed and smiled, and said, they would not be at that pass in six days, and then went to his approaches, and sent the major-general three or four dozen bottles of rare wine, with several dishes of cold meats and sweet-meats. Within two hours after sun-rising, a drum beat a parley, and a white flag was seen over the walls. The major-general ordered a lieutenant, with a file of musquetiers, to go and receive the drummer, and to blindfold him, and carry him strait to Marshal Turenne in his approaches. Marshal Turenne came immediately with the drummer's message to the major-general, and was much troubled he would not receive the message before it came to him. The major-general replied, that that was very improper, his excellency being upon the place. The message was to this effect: "That, whereas his excellency had offered them honourable terms in his summons, they were now willing to accept of them, provided they might

have their charter, and the privileges of the city preserved: that they had appointed four of their commissioners, to treat farther with four commissioners from his excellency." Marshal Turenne was pleased to ask the major-general, whether he would be one of the commissioners; but the major general begged his pardon, and desired that he might abide at his post, till such time as the city was surrendered up. Immediately then his excellency sent for Count Schomberg, and three other commissioners, and gave them instructions how to treat with the four commissioners from the enemy. Just as Marshal Turenne was giving the commissioners instructions, Major-general Morgan said, that the enemy were hungry, so that they would eat any meat they could have; whereupon his excellency smiled, and shortened their instructions, and sent them away. Within half an hour, the commissioners had concluded, that they should have their city-charter preserved, and that they were to receive a French garrison in, and the Prince de Ligny was to march out with all his forces next morning at nine of the clock, with one piece of cannon, colours flying, bullet in mouth, and a match lighted at both ends, and to have a convoy to conduct him into his own territories. Marshal Turenne was in the morning betimes with several noblemen and officers of the army, and Major-general Morgan, attending near the gate for the Prince de Ligny's coming out. The prince having notice that Marshal Turenne was there, came out of his coach. Marshal Turenne, being alighted off from his horse, and the Major-general Morgan, at both their meeting there was a great acclamation, and embracing one another. After a little time Marshal Turenne told the prince, he very much admired that he would expose his person to a garrison before a conquering army: the Prince de Ligny replied, that, if Marshal Turenne had left his English in England, he durst have exposed his person into the weakest garrison the King of Spain had in Flanders; and so they parted, and his excellency marched into the town with a French garrison, and the major-general with him. So soon as the garrison was settled, Marshal Turenne writ his letters to the French king, and his eminence the cardinal, how that the city of Ypres was reduced to the obedience of his majesty, and that he was possessed of it; and that Major-general Morgan was instrumental in that service, and that the English did wonders; and sent the intendant of the army with his letters to the king and cardinal. Monsieur Tallon, the intendant, returned back from the king and cardinal to the army within eight days, and brought a compliment to Major-general Morgan, that the king and his eminence the cardinal did expect to see him at Paris, when he came to his winter quarters, where there would be a cupboard of plate to attend him. Major-general Morgan, instead of going for his cupboard of plate, went for England, and his majesty of France had never the kindness to send him his cupboard of plate: so that this is the reward that Major-general Morgan hath had from the French king for all his service in France and Flanders.

Killed at the Battle of Dunkirk.

Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick, two captains, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two serjeants, thirty-two soldiers; and about twenty wounded.

Killed at the Storming of Ypres.

One captain, one serjeant, eight private soldiers, about twenty-five officers of thirty-five; and about six soldiers slightly wounded, after they were lodged upon the counterscarp; Sir Thomas Morgan himself slightly hurt by a shot in the calf of his leg.

TRACTS

DURING

THE COMMONWEALTH.

FOURTH CLASS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

THE COMMONWEALTH.

FOURTH CLASS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

Cleveland's Petition to his Highness the Lord Protector.

John Cleveland, a great loyalist, and popular poet during the civil wars, was the author of the well-known satire intitled, "The Rebel Scot," and many other sarcastic attacks upon the opponents of the crown, abounding with the conceits which that age valued, and with a perverted vigour of imagination peculiar to himself. He was appointed judge-advocate in Newark, under Sir Richard Willis, the governor, and was distinguished for the integrity with which he conducted himself in that difficult office. In 1646, Newark, the last garrison which held out for the king, was surrendered by the order of Charles, who had taken the desperate measure of putting himself into the hands of the Scottish army then lying before it. Cleveland obtained his liberty; but was shortly afterwards apprehended by the jealousy of the parliamentary party. A remarkable, but apocryphal story is told concerning his captivity and deliverance, which shall be here transcribed.

" Mr Granger says that Cleveland never was in holy orders. Lloyd tells us that he was fellow of St John's, and that he was turned out of his fellowship. Be that as it will, his famous satire against the Scotch rendered him extremely obnoxious to that nation, and he happened to be taken prisoner by a party of their troops in the north, commanded by David Lesly, afterwards Lord Newark. Being discovered by the papers he had about him, the officers who took him gave him an assurance of the gallows, and Cleveland received the news with that magnanimity and pride which is the concomitant of great self-consequence; for he consoled himself with the thoughts of dying a martyr in the cause of his sovereign, and having his name transmitted to posterity with peculiar encomiums in the annals of loyalty. He was introduced with some other prisoners to Lesly, who could neither read nor write, and who awarded to each his proper fate, by hanging, whipping, or imprisoning. When it came to be Cleveland's turn, he presented himself at the bar with a conscious dignity, and his enemies did not fail to aggravate his offences, producing, at the same time, a bundle of verses. " Is this all," said the general, " ye have to charge him with? For shame, for shame! Let the poor fellow go about his business and sell his ballads." This contemptuous slight affected Cleveland so much, that he is said to have drowned the remembrance of it in strong liquors, which hastened his death."—*Critical Review—Account of Granger's Biog. History.*

There is, however, reason to believe that the story here told is not very accurate. It appears, from the following communication, that Cleveland, far from being dismissed with the contemptuous pity intimated in the foregoing anecdote, was considered as a malignant of some importance, and treated as such:

Major-general Haynes, &c. to the President of the Council."

" May it please your Lordship,

" In observance of the orders of his Highness and council sent unto us, we have this day sent to the garrison of Yarmouth one John Cleveland of Norwich, late judge-advocate at Newark, who we have deemed to be comprized within the second head.

" The reasons of judgment are,

" 1. He confesseth, That, about a year since, he came from London to the city of Norwich, and giveth no account of any business he hath there, only he pretends that Edward Cooke, Esq. maketh use of him to help him in his studies.

" 2. Mr Cleveland confesseth, That he hath lived in the said Mr Cooke's house ever since he came to the said city, and that he but seldom went into the city, and never but once into the country. Indeed, his privacy hath been such, that none, or but few, save papists and cavaliers, did know that there was any such person resident in these parts.

" 3. For that the place of the said Mr Cleveland his abode, viz. the said Mr Cooke's, is a family of notorious disorder, and where papists, delinquents, and other disaffected persons of the late king's party do often resort, more than to any family in the said city or county of Norfolk, as is commonly reported.

" 4. Mr Cleveland liveth in a genteel garbe; yet he confesseth, That he hath no estate but 20*l.* per annum, and 30*l.* per annum by the said Mr Cooke.

" 5. Mr Cleveland is a person of great abilities, and so able to do the greater disservice, all which we humbly submit, and remain

Your honour's truly humble servants,

" Norwich, Novemb. 10th, 1655.

H. Haynes,	H. King,
Rob. Wood,	Richard Copeman,
Ed. Warde,	John Ballestone,
Bram. Gordon,	Ro. Swallowe,
Rich. Bell,	Ralph Woollmer,
Rich. Salter,	Richard Harbie,
Tho. Garrett,	William Stewart."

Thurloe's *State Papers*, iv. 184.

To relieve himself from the captivity imposed upon him in consequence of this report, Cleveland presented to Cromwell the following elegant petition for favour, in which he flatters the victorious general very adroitly, without even hinting at any dereliction of his own party or principles. It had the effect, and the poet obtained his liberty, which, however, he did not long enjoy, as he died, 29th April, 1658.

May it please your Highness,

Rulers, within the circle of their government, have a claim to that which is said of the Deity: " They have their center every where, and their circumference no where." It is in the confidence that I address to your Highness, as knowing no place in the nation is so remote as not to share in the ubiquity of your care, no prison so close as to shut me up from partaking of your influence. My Lord, it is my misfortune, that, after ten years of retirement from being engaged in the differences of the state, having wound myself up in a private recess, and my comportment to the publique being so inoffensive, that in all this time neither fears nor jealousies have scrupled at our actions. Being about three months since at Norwich, I was fetched with a guard before the commissioners, and sent prisoner to Yarmouth; and, if it be not a new offence to make inquiry wherein I offended (for hitherto my faults are kept as close as my person,) I am induced to believe, that, next to the adherence to the royal

party, the cause of my confinement is the narrowness of my estate, *for none stand committed whose estate can bail them;* I only am the prisoner, who have no acres to be my hostage. Now, if my poverty be criminal (with reverence be it spoken,) I must implead your Highness, whose victorious arms have reduced me to it, as accessary to my guilt. Let it suffice, my Lord, that the calamity of the war hath made us poor. Do not punish us for it! Who ever did penance for being ravished? Is it not enough that we are stript so bare, but it must be made in order to a severer lash? Must our scars be engraven with new wounds? Must we first be made cripples, then beaten with our crutches? Poverty, if it be a fault, it is its own punishment. Who suffers for it more pays use upon use. I beseech your Highness put some bounds to our overthrow, and do not pursue the chace to the other world. Can your thunder be levelled so low as our grovelling conditions? Can that your towering spirit that hath quarried upon kingdoms make a stoop at us, who are the rubbish of those ruins? Methinks I hear your former atchievements interceding with you not to sully your glories with trampling on the prostrate, nor clog the wheels of your chariot with so degenerous a triumph! The most renowned heroes have ever with such tenderness cherished their captives, that their swords did but cut out work for their courtesie. Those that fell by their prowess sprung up by their favours, as if they had struck them down only to make them rebound the higher. I hope your Highness, as you are the rival of their fame, will be no less of their virtues. The noblest trophy that you can erect to your honour, is to raise the afflicted. And since you have subdued all opposition, it now remains that you attach your self, and with acts of mildness vanquish your victory. It is not long since, my Lord, that you knocked off the shackles from most of our party, and by a grand release did spread your clemency as large as your territories. Let not now proscriptions interrupt our jubilee. Let not that your lenity be slandered as the ambush of further rigour. For the service of his majesty (if it be objected) I am so far from excusing it, that I am ready to alledge it in my vindication. I cannot conceive that my fidelity to my prince should taint me in your opinion. I should rather expect it should recommend me to your favour. Had not we been faithfull to our king, we could not have given ourselves to be so to your Highness. You had then trusted us gratis; whereas now we have our former loyalty to vouch for us. You see, my Lord, how much I presume upon the greatness of your spirit, that dare prevent my indictment with so frank a confession, especially in this, which I may so justly deny, that it is almost arrogancy in me to own it; for the truth is, I was not qualified enough to serve him. All that I could doe was to bear a part in his suffering, and give my self up to be crushed with his fall. Thus my charge is doubled (my obedience to my sovereign, and what is the result of that, my want of fortune.) Now, whatever reflections I have on the former, I am a true penitent for the latter. My Lord, you see my crimes! As for my defence, you bear it about you! I shall plead nothing in my justification, by your Highness, (which, as it is the constant inmate of a valiant breast, if you graciously please to extend it to your suppliant, in taking me out of this withering durance,) your Highness will find that mercy will establish you more than power, though all the days of your life were as pregnant with victories as your twice auspicious third of September.

Your Highness's humble
And submissive petitioner,
J. C.

Printed for William Sheares.

Hosanna: Or, a Song of Thanksgiving, sung by the Children of Zion; and set forth in three notable Speeches at Grocers-Hall, on the late solemn Day of Thanksgiving, Thursday, June 7, 1649. *The first was spoken by Alderman Atkins. The second by Alderman Isaac Pennington. The third by Hugh Peters, (no Alderman, but) Clericus in cuerpo.*

Risum teneatus Amici?

This is a satire, by some royalist, upon the splendid entertainment given by the city to Fairfax and Cromwell, after the defeat of the Levellers. Whitelock, who seems to have been somewhat elated with the precedence he himself enjoyed on that memorable occasion, gives the following account of the festival:—

"June 7, 1649.—The speaker with the house of commons, the general with the officers of the army, the lord president and councel of state, after the hearing two sermons, went to Grocers-hall to dine with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common councel, according to their invitation

"The speaker sat first, next to him the lord mayor, then the lord general; then the Earl of Pembroke called to Whitelock to six down, being the ancient commissioner of the great seal: he desired his lordship would be pleased first to sit down, and then he would sit by him. With that the earl spake aloud (as he used to do) that all near him might hear, 'What, do you think that I will sit down before you? I have given place heretofore to Bishop Williams, to my Lord Coventry, and my Lord Littleton, and you have the same place that they had, and as much honour belongs to the place under a commonwealth as under a king, and you are a gentleman as well born and bred as any of them; therefore I will not sit down before you.'

"With his earnestness he caused Whitelock to sit down before him, and sat himself the next to him, and then the lord president of the councel and the other commissioners of the great seal (the Earl of Salisbury and the Lord Howard) sate next to the Earl of Pembroke, and after the commissioners of the seal sate Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and other members of parliament and of the councel of state.

"At two tables, one each side of the hall, sate other members, and at a table in the middle of the hall sate M. G. Lambert and other officers of the army; the judges sate in a room over the parlour, which was very large, and the lord mayor, aldermen, and some common councel men, at another table in the same room.

"The musick was only drums and trumpets; the feast was very sumptuous, no healths drunk, nor any incivility passed; and, besides the overplus of the victuals left at dinner, 400l. was given to the poor of London"—WHITELOCK'S *Memorials, p.* 391.

Alderman Atkins' [1] *his Speech before Dinner to the Speaker, the General, Lieutenant-General, and Lord President Bradshaw, at Grocers Hall, Thursday, June* 7.

Mr Speaker,

OH, this is a blessed day (Mr Speaker,) and marvellous in our eyes, to see you become our supreme head and governor, now that we have cut off the king's head: and,

[1] Alderman Atkins, a leading member of the common council, and distinguished, as became his situation, by a general love of good cheer, which is said by the cavaliers to have displayed itself at all the civil entertainments of the time. He had been originally of the corporation of Norwich, but was summoned up to London, where his zeal might have a wider sphere of action.—See vol. iv. pages 582, 589.

as (I take it) it is one main reason of this heavenly thanksgiving to my Lord Lieutenant-general, and Mr General's Excellency, for their great pains in the business. Verily (Mr Speaker) I cannot chuse but weep for joy to think on't; and yet I cannot tell you for what, though I shall tell you by and by. In the mean time—prethee, Mr Steward, set aside a couple of custards and a tart for my wife—In the mean time (I say) I see no reason but why I may cry as well as baul. I say, sir, I can baul as well as my Lord of Pembroke here, or any man else; my mouth was made for bauling; and I think you all know it well enough in the house upon occasion: for you may remember, Mr Speaker, how I bauled at the apprentices two years since, when the house of commons had like to have gone to wrack like a bawdy-house. I am sure I was Mr Speaker then; for you looked as white as the driven custard, and had neither tongue, nor eyes, nor ears, nor nose, nor brains, nor any thing else, but were in the same pickle as when the king came to demand the five members. I wonder he did not smell me out too for a traytor: for I had my breeches full on't then, as I had half a year before in Finsbury, at the general muster of the new militia: at which time, I say, sir, I was one of the city colonels, and came off cleanly (though I say it:) for, being wounded in the belly, I retreated home; and having asked counsel of a surgeon, the malignant knave would not undertake me; and so the state might have lost a servant for want of a plaister, but that my kitchen wench made a shift to cure me with a dish-clout.

But having scap'd this scouring, (Mr Speaker,) and lived to see this glorious day, now let us sing the song of old Simeon, and depart in peace; but first let's have our belly-fulls. O, death, I defy thee, for here's a good dinner coming in! Twelve bucks out of Eltham Park, besides those of the city; not a presbyterian bit, I promise you; therefore sit down, gentlemen, and eat lustily; I promise you it's well season'd; I'll pass my word for the cooks; for I was one of the committee that examined them, and put them every man to their oaths,[1] to forswear rats-bane, mercury, and monarchy. Besides, here's my lord president (for more security) hath brought a dozen tasters along with him: I hope he will lend us some of them. And now, Mr Speaker, you are welcome; in the name of my brethren representative of the city, I bid you hearty welcome; you may eat, drink, and be merry, for you have laid up goods for many years; and now you are laying up the king's goods: more sacks to the mill still. Sit down, Mr Speaker, you are a good old speaker; you are the representative of the supreme authority: it was the pope's first, next it was the king's, and now it is yours, thank the army. How daintily things are come about, Mr Speaker, as well as you and I! For, as I take it, you and I, and many more here, have been at all thanksgivings these seven years. We have waited upon his old excellency, Essex and the Admiral Warwick, and sung psalms with the assembly-men here over and over:[2] and now those black birds are all flown, and out of tune; here's not a man of them but Thomas Goodwin, and he is every jot as honest a man as his name sake John; for neither of

[1] "Every cook was sworn."—This would lead one to believe the anecdote told by a pamphleteer of the period, concerning Cromwell's dread of French cookery:—"But at his private table, very rarely or never were our French *quelque-choses* suffered by him or any such modern gusto's, whether with the fright he was prejudiced by poyson, by such devices, (at an invitation made him and his general the Lord Fairfax, with the other of the supreme commanders of the army, by a small officer therein, who was formerly a cook at a lady's in Hammersmith, where, with one leg of mutton, drest all sorts of ways, he entertained them all, but upon the discovery of the fellowes audaciousnesse in bidding them, which prompted them to believe it was a design against their lives, and put most of them to the vomit, was like to have been dressed himself by the hangman) or by some stronger or more masculine appetite, which partaked with his other robust faculties, is uncertain; sure it is, that when in treatments given his familiars such things were set upon the table, 'twas more for show and sport then for belly timber, and about which the good huswife never troubled her head."—*Court and Kitchin of Mrs Joan Cromwell*, apud *Secret History of King James I. vol. II. p. 499.*

There is a similar account of the suspicious feasts in vol. v. p. 165.

[2] Alluding to the days when Presbytery was triumphant, and Essex general of the parliamentary forces and the idol of the city.

them cares much for saying grace. Therefore sit down, Mr Speaker, we have his new excellency here now, and General Cromwell's honour, that cares as little as they. Indeed, you must sit down first, and my lord mayor next; for the army, I am sure, made us vote it so; and that the city sword should be yielded up to you to make a thanksgiving trencher-knife: and so you were as good a man as the king, and a better than my lord mayor; and so you might have been still, had you not given him his sword again; for you lose your place in yielding up the sword, and leave the supreme authority in my lord mayor and the army. Howsoever sit still, sir; I hope the general will not oppose the votes of the house, now that it is the army's own house, but let them pass, an't be but for fashion's sake; and therefore, Mr Speaker, for fashion's sake you may sit uppermost, and next to you my lord mayor.

I think too, for fashion's sake, my lord general, your excellency may sit down next. I would be loth to displease Mr Lieutenant-General's honour; I hope he will not be angry at your excellency nor me; I could wish you had voted all your places before you came hither: but your excellency may sit, I suppose; for Mr Lieutenant-General looks as if he gave you leave. On my conscience that's a meek humble soul, and will take some other time to set you beside the saddle.[1]

And for you, my lord president, I should have placed you uppermost; for I know none so fit to have represented the supreme authority as you that commanded the cutting off that head of it! Oh, how this scarlet-gown becomes your honour! it suits exceeding well with mine and my lord mayor's; for you sentenced the old king as a traitor, and we have proclaimed the young king to be no king, and a traitor when we can catch him. It was a dangerous piece of work indeed; I was as afraid as you are of following Dr Dorislaus,[2] the people did so threaten, as if they would have torn us for the very rags of authority, and cried up Charles the Second louder than we could cry him down. I think the rest of my brethren carried it little better than myself; for my guts began to crow after their old tune, and wrought like bottle-beer, insomuch that I wish'd for Colonel Pride to stop the bunghole, till the troopers reliev'd us.[3]

[1] It was already clearly perceived that the real command of the army had devolved upon Cromwell, though Fairfax nominally retained it.

[2] Assassinated by the cavaliers at the Hague, in revenge of his share in the trial of Charles I.

[3] The allusion is to the popular tumults which preceded the death of Charles I.—"Nor is this all, several other places fall into petty insurrections and revolts, which shew the disaffection of the people. Nay, at London begins the mutiny, and brake out on Sunday the ninth of April, the tumult took rise in Moorefields, who set upon a party of the train'd bands in Finsbury (drawn out to keep the peace,) and soon overpowered them with number, and hourly increasing, they disperse in multitudes, some to Whitechapel, seizing the train band's colours, others to Smithfield, and many to Whitehall, but these were met with by the mewes guard of horse, and forced to separate; yet at night they gathered, surprize Newgate and Ludgate, with the keys, and shut up the gates; then to the lord mayors, and force from thence a drake piece of ordnance, and some slain: this piece they plant within Ludgate; the mayor betakes himself to the Tower for that night. The morning encreases their number, who labour to get arms, break open a saleman's house of ammunition in Milk-street and other places, and being furnished, they march with their mounted ordnance to Leadenhall, and master the magazine. The meanwhile drums beat on the river, inviting the watermen and saylers, for God and King Charles.

"The general and his council keep the head-quarters at Whitehall, spend the whole night in debate, whether they shall hazard their two regiments at Whitehall and the Mewes, or stay for more force, but all agree with these.

"And as early as day they enter Aldersgate, and march to Leadenhall, and charge the rabble, who with their drake hurt Captain Merriman in the shoulder and his lieutenant in the belly, killed a woman, and hurt some soldiers. The waterman that discharged the piece was killed instantly; many hurt, divers prisoners were seized, but the rabble disperst: the city was quiet by ten a'clock at noon.

"Had a man but observed the general murmur of the city at this time, the private abetting of the multitude to mutiny, the engaging of friends and forcing of servants to this outrage, and yet in this very act, as but the sight of some horsemen with their swords drawn and their pistols cockt, riding up and down in disorder, and commanding the shopmen to keep home: how suddenly they shrunk in like snailes into their shells, and wondrous busie they were to direct the soldier how to master their fellows, bringing in their horse at the new made posterne out of Moorfields, and so were brought upon the backs of the prentices, and subdued them on the sudden."—SANDERSON'S *Reign of King Charles, Lond. 1658, fol. p.* 1057.

But now, my good lord president, let's comfort one another: And though you deserve to be uppermost, yet sit down and be content with your place. For fashion's sake Mr Lieutenant-General's honour is content to let it be so, till he finds it convenient to turn you off as well as his excellency. Pray take it not ill that I whisper this in your ear; for, now that he hath made you serve his ends, he cares not so he were rid of you, since you may serve them all as you did the king, in a new high court of justice, because you are pleased to let it be so.

The next place, Mr Lieutenant-General, must needs be yours. By his excellency's leave you are the saviour of the three kingdoms. You are he that hath filled our hearts this day with thanksgiving and gladness. You trained the king into a snare at Carisbrook Castle, and fooled and routed all his party. You set up a high court to cut him off, and you lie at catch for his son. You have made us a commonwealth, that is, (as malignants say) have given us power to put a finger into every man's purse and pocket. You have made the people the supreme authority, and left them no laws. And well done (sir) for what should we do with any law but the sword? or what law like liberty of conscience and power met together? You it is that led his excellency by the nose like a bear, and at last will bring him to the stake. You have new moulded the city. You are the joy of our hearts, the light of our eyes, and the breath of our nostrils, though cavaliers call you the cut-throat of our lives and liberties. For all which we set this day apart to give thanks to God, and a dinner to you, and somewhat else into the bargain, as you shall see after dinner. In the mean time fall to; a short life and a merry; (may it please your honour) a short life and a merry; and so give me leave to conclude heartily with part of the Lord's Prayer (though I do not use it) thy kingdom come; or, as the thief did upon the cross, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom; and I promise you faithfully I will never beshite the palace.

Alderman Isaac Pennington's[1] *Speech, at the presenting of the Golden Bason and Ewer unto the General, with Plate of 300l. Value, and 200l. in Gold in a Purse to the Lieutenant-General.*

Give ear, O Heavens, and regard, O Earth! may it please your excellency to open your mouth wide, and I shall fill it. I, Isaac Pennington, alderman of London, confess myself altogether unable to speak the praises due unto yourself, Mr Lieutenant-General, and all the faithful officers and soldiers of your army. Yet why should I hold my peace? I will speak, though I cannot speak; and though I cannot speak, I will not keep silence. Some have been so bold as to brand me for a crackt vessel, yet I have been meet for my master's use; and they shall find me as sound as sounding brass, or as a tinckling cymbal. Moses was a man slow of speech, yet he was a great leader, and so have I been, and so is your excellency. But as for Mr Lieutenant-General, though he be such a one too, yet he hath the tongues of men and angels so much at his devotion, that the very noise of them drowns the fame of your excellency, and swallows up your senses.

For my part, I bless God exceedingly for you both, for all your labour of love in gunpowder and gospel, and carrying on that glorious work of reformation, which, though I began in desperation, yet you have brought it to perfection. Henceforth, therefore, all generations shall call you blessed, and me no mad-man, though I have been as mad as any of you all; and yet I think I am fit enough to deliver the sense of the city, who by me returns you thanks for the great pains you have taken in

[1] Isaac Pennington was a staunch republican, and pitched upon to be lord mayor of London when the loyal Gurney was dispossessed of that office.

purging the malignant presbyterians out of the common-council, as well as the house, by which means you made shift to new-model the city, as you did the army, turning out all that were not of your own temper; so that we were all now of one soul and one mind, and lay all things in common for the use of the state, but what is our own.

Add to these things your borrowing money of the city, but never paying them again; your breaking all their privileges, and putting daily affronts upon them; your imprisoning, fining, assessing, taxing, excising, free quartering, and fleecing all their fellows; your conquering them by treachery, and riding through their streets in triumph; your over-awing them with the military power, and destroying their trade by land and traffick by sea: for all which unexpressible favours, with the extirpation of presbytery, and the suppressing of the Levellers, they conceive themselves bound to return an acknowledgment, and rejoice in the opportunity of dedicating this day of thanksgiving unto you and your bellies.

But since man lives not by bread only, but by killing of kings and loyal subjects, and seizing on their goods and estates, and turning them into money; since gold is the only goddess of this reformation, and the saints cannot establish their kingdom without it; since your excellency, and your lieutenant-general guardian, have vouchsafed us this favour of a visit, which you denied to the presbyters, we here present your excellency with the same golden bason and ewer, which you refused from their hands. It cost them one thousand pounds; and, because it was of their providing, we can the more freely bestow it upon you. I have been an old thanksgiving sinner, as well as Mr Speaker, or any of them all, in the days of old Essex, who, I am sure, never received such a present for all his pains, but was content to be fobb'd off with a close stool and a pipe of tobacco; which was the reason, I conceive, why my brother Atkins here in those days kept so close to him after dinner.

And as for you, Mr Lieutenant-General, though your merits outweigh whatever we can present unto you, and though in all the before-named exploits we must allow you the greatest share, yet be pleased to accept of the less requital, a poor pittance of 300*l.* in plate, and a vision of golden angels in a purse, to the value of 200*l.*, all at the cost of our own fraternity.

As for the rest of the lords and gentlemen here present, I hope they will excuse us, and think themselves well satisfied with their dinner: and in particular you, my Lord President, who deserve much in the settling of this republick. But having done but one single act towards it, if you expect more than a dinner, we must leave you to the consideration of Mr Lieutenant-General, who set you on work, and in the end (no doubt) will pay your wages.

I have but one word more to say, and that is this: We have great cause to rejoice in the happy settlement of this common-wealth; but, I fear, we shall not be quiet yet. God bless us from untoward dreams and restless nights, and send us well to digest this thanksgiving dinner, and to have no more of them, nor occasion for them in haste; for the frights they put us into beforehand are terrible, and the dinners themselves are chargeable, and will prove very chargeable indeed, if malignants speak truth, who say this very day's thanksgiving will cost us no less than our heads, if not our souls too into the bargain. Therefore, gentlemen, in a word, I think we have but one play, and that is, to hold up the state as long as we can, and to make sure of our heads and estates, and pillage other men's when we can hold it no longer.

In answer to this Hugh Peters, being well whittled with Wine, made the following Reply:

Reader, Peters his being drunk is no fable (I assure you) and he fell out with the butler.

Hugh Peters his Thanksgiving Speech for a Farewel to the City, in the Behalf of the General and Lieutenant-General.

Mr Alderman Pennington, and the rest of the representatives of the city,

I must tell you, I have been half the world over, and yet I am come back again; and by my faith, sirs, I must tell you, I never saw such a godly jolly crew as are here, all heigh fellows together. 'Tis merry when malt-men meet; and (they say) some of us here have been brewers, and of worse trades too: But uh——uh——let that pass. I defy brewing; for I have been all over your wine cellar, and that's another world; but it's as slippery a world as this, and runs round too. What a Nicodemus is the butler! he was loth to own me but by night; he bade me stay till night, and then I should have my belly-full. Now, sirs, I conceive a belly-full is a belly-full; and if a man hath not his belly-full, it is no thanksgiving: and if you (gentlemen of the city) have not a belly-full of this thanksgiving, I say you may have a belly-full.

Had Dr Dorislaus been so wise as to have staid at home, he might have had another kind of belly-full than he had at the Hague: But a belly-full still is a belly-full; and Grocers'-Hall is a better ordinary than a Dutch ordinary for a belly-full. Pox o' your Dutch ordinaries, I think they will become English, and give us all a belly-full; but in another kind (I fear) than I gave my Dutch landlady and her daughter.

But no matter for that, a belly-full is a belly-full; their bellies were empty, and so was mine; for I had not so much as a stiver to bless myself, and they would never let me be quiet, and I scored up still, and so I got my belly-full, and they got their belly-full, which was one belly-full for another; and so at length I was quit with them.

Then I went to New England, and there I saw a blessed sight, a world of wild women and men lying round a fire, in a ring, stark naked. If this custom should come up in London, (as I see no reason but it may, if the state will vote it,) then every woman may have her belly-full; and it would be a certain cure for cuckolds and jealousy, and so the city would lose nothing by this thanksgiving.

But now I come home to the point in hand, my lord mayor and you, gentlemen of the city; I am commanded to give you thanks; but I would know for what? for your dinner? Yes, I will when I have my belly-full; but your butler is no true Trojan; he knows not how to tap and toss the stingo. Sure he is some presbyterian spy, that is slinkt into office; some cowardly fellow that pines away at scandalous sins, and the stool of repentance, and he will never do well till he be drench'd for the humour. So that now I see I am like to go away without my belly-full; and have never a jigg to the tune of "Arthur of Bradley——Sing, O brave Arthur of Bradley!——Sing O!"——

But if things go thus, what should I thank you for? The States foresaw what slender good fellows you would be, or else some of you had been knighted as well as my Lord of Pembroke. Nay, it was God's mercy you had not been all knighted; for it was put to the vote (I tell you) whether my lord mayor should be knighted; and whether you, Alderman Pennington and Alderman Atkins, should be dubb'd Sir Isaac and Sir Thomas of the States own creation. But since it is resolved otherwise, I pray you bid the butler bring up his cannikins, and I'll make you all lords like myself, for now I am no less in title than Lord Hugo de santo Pietro Pintado, and every jot as merry as forty beggars.

Now, I warrant, you expect I should thank you for his excellency's golden bason and ewer? 'Tis true, I was commanded to do so; but what care I for a bason and ewer! Give me a pipe and a chamber-pot; I mean a pipe of Canary into the bargain, or else it shall be no thanksgiving-day for me. Oh, for a conduit from Malaga, and

that we knew how to convey Middleton's pipes to the Canary Islands; then there would be no end of thanksgiving.

I am commanded likewise to thank you for the lieutenant-general's plate, and his purse of gold; and I am so much the more willing to do it, because I hope to have a feeling out of it anon, when we come home. But (as I take it) you have more reason to thank him than he you; for, you gave him a little purse of money, and 'tis his goodness he does not take all. I observe too, you have given *him* but the value of 500*l.*, and his excellency, forsooth, as much more. Do ye know what you do? Could *you* not have asked my counsel before? You may chance to be switch'd (i' faith) for not setting the saddle upon the right horse; and well you deserve it, if I be not furnish'd with a pipe of Canary. Let me not be put off with nothing, like my Lord President and Mr Speaker. You know whither to send, sirs; my lodging is sometimes at St James's, but most an end in Thames-Street. There's my maid, a handsome lass, I tell you, will take it in, as well as myself, or else I would never keep her. Farewell, sirs, here's nothing to do (I see.)

> "A pox on your butler and his lean joules,
> There's liberty lies in the bottom of the bowles."

Thus it is in one of our modern authors; but I profess I can have none of this liberty, though it be the first year of freedom; and then judge you whether the state, or the state's servants, have any cause of thanks. Farewell, sirs, I am gone. Oh for a mill bowl, or his excellency's bason and ewer, now to spue in, and make an end of thanksgiving.

A more exact and necessary Catalogue of Pensioners in the Long Parliament than is yet extant: Together with their several Gratuities, Rewards, and Salaries, bestowed upon themselves out of the Ruins of King and Kingdom, (not for Secret, but) for Publick Service, (if you will believe them) as Mr William Prinn, (a Member in the same Parliament, and a restless Stickler in all those Revolutions) and the History of Independency (Printed in the Year 1648,) *informs us.*

The speaker (Lenthal) 7730*l.* per annum, and 6000*l.* given him at one time besides.

Bulstrode Whitlock, commissioner of the great seal, worth 1500*l.* per annum, and 2000*l.* given him besides.

Edmund Prideaux, 7200*l.* per annum.

Roger Hill, 1200*l.* per annum.

Francis Rous, 1200*l.* per annum.

Humphrey Salway, 200*l.* per annum.

John Lile, 800*l.* per annum.

Oliver St John, hath the passing of all pardons upon commissions, worth 40,000*l.* And, by ordinance of parliament, both attorney and solicitor to the king, worth what he pleased to make it; and what that might probably be, shall not be here estimated;

it being well known, that they were always tender-conscienced in the concerns of profit; especially

Sir William Allison, 1600*l.* per annum.

Thomas Hoile, 1200*l.* per annum.

Thomas Pury, senior, 400*l.* per annum, and 3000*l.* given him besides.

Thomas Pury, junior, 200*l.* per annum.

William Ellis, 200*l.* per annum.

Miles Corbert, 1700*l.* per annum.

John Goodwine, 700*l.* per annum.

Sir Thomas Widdrington, 1500*l.* per annum.

Edward Bish, 600*l.* per annum.

Walter Strickland, 5000*l.*

Nicholas Love, 2000*l.* per annum.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard, pay-master to the army, and had 3*d.* per pound allowed him; which, at least, amounted to 12,000*l.* per annum; besides 60,000*l.* given him, and 1200*l.* per annum.

Gilbert Gerrard, his son, 500*l.* per annum.

John Selden, 5000*l.* given him, of which he received 2500*l.*

John Bond, made master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge.

Sir Benjamin Rudiard, had 5000*l.* given him.

Lucas Hodges, made customer of Bristol.

Sir John Hipsley, had the keeping of three of the king's parks, viz. Marybone, Hampton, and Bushy parks; and 2000*l.* given him besides.

Sir Thomas Walsingham, a great part of the Lord Dorset's estate given him; and he cut down 4000 timber trees of it.

Benjamin Valentine, 5000*l.* given him.

Sir Henry Heyman, 5000*l.* given him.

Dennis Hollis, 5000*l.* given him.

Nathaniel Bacon, 3000*l.* given him.

John Steevens, 1000*l.* given him.

Henry Smith, 2000*l.* per annum.

Robert Renolds, got 20,000*l.* by the purchase of bishops lands; and had 400*l.* per annum, and 2000*l.* given him besides.

Sir John Clotworthy, treasurer for Ireland; and charged by the army with defrauding the state of 40,000*l.*

John Ash, 14,000*l.* given him; and what was worth all, was made great chair-man of Goldsmiths-Hall.

John Lenthal (the speaker's son) 2000*l.* per annum.

Francis Allen (made customer for London) formerly a poor Goldsmith in Fleet-street.

Giles Green, had Sir Thomas Dawes's estate given him.

Francis Pierpoint, had the Archbishop of York's lands in Nottinghamshire, given him.

William Pierpoint, had 47,000*l.* given him.

John Blackstone, had 15,000*l.* and 200*l.* per annum given him.

Isaac Pennington, 7000*l.* besides store of bishops lands given him.

John Palmer, made master of All-Souls in Oxford.

Thomas Ceety, long a prisoner for debt, helped out by the parliament, and made recorder of Bridgwater.

Thomas Moor, made an officer in the custom-house.

Samuel Vassel, 1000*l.* given him.

Oliver Cromwell, 4000*l.* per annum.

Sir William Brereton, 2000*l.* per annum.

Thomas Wait, governor of Burley; and has thriven so well by it, as from nothing to be able to purchase 500*l.* per annum.

Sir Oliver Luke, colonel of horse; and in a fair way to retrieve his decayed estate.

Sir Samuel Luke, colonel, and scout-master for the counties of Bedford, &c.

Thomas Gell, lieutenant-colonel, and made recorder of Darby.

Valentine Walton, colonel, and governor of Lime-Regis.

Richard Norton, colonel, governor of Southampton.

Edward Harvey, (late a poor silk-man) colonel, and had given him the Bishop of London's manor of Fulham.

Edward Rositer, colonel, and general of the Lincolnshire forces, and governor of Belvoir castle.

Sir Michael Livesey, colonel, sequestrator, and plunder-master general of Kent.

Henry Ireton, colonel, and commissary-general.

Richard Salway, colonel, formerly a grocer's man.

J. B. once a carrier, now a colonel, which he found to be the best employment; and got so plentifully by it, that he may well serve in succeeding parliaments gratis.

Thomas Rainsborough, (a skipper of Lime-Regis) colonel, governor of Woodstock, and vice-admiral of England.

Robert Black, colonel, governor of Taunton.

Francis Russel, colonel.

Rowland Wilson, colonel.

Robert Harley, colonel.

Richard Brown, major-general, and governor of Abington.

Peter Temple, captain of a troop of horse.

John Ven, colonel, and governor of Windsor, had 4000*l.* given him.

Algernoon Sidney, governor of Dover castle.

Richard Ingolsby, colonel, governor of Oxford.

John Hutchinson, colonel, governor of Nottingham.

Sir John Palgrave, colonel.

Edmund Ludlow, governor of ———

Cornelius Holland, 1600*l.* per annum.

Philip Skippon, serjeant-major-general of the army, major-general of London; and had 1000*l.* per annum, lands of inheritance given him.

Charles Fleetwood, colonel.

Thomas Westrow, nothing worth until a captain, and parliament-man, had the Bishop of Worcester's manor of Hartlerow.

Henry Martin, colonel of a regiment of horse, and a regiment of whores.

Nathaniel Fiennes, colonel, (governor of Bristol once) thereby hangs a tail.

Anthony Stapley, colonel, governor of Chichester.

Alexander Rigby, colonel, governor of Boulton.

Charles Pym, captain of a troop of horse.

Sir Arthur Haslerig, colonel, governor of Newcastle; and had the Bishop of Durham's manor of Aukland, and 6500*l.* given him.

William Gipson, colonel.

Sir Thomas Middleton, major-general for Denbigh, and five other counties.

Godfrey Boswell, colonel.

Lord Gray of Grooby, had the queen's manor of Holdenby, and made a great fall of the woods.

Sir William Constable, governor of Gloucester; he sold his estate to Sir Marmaduke Langdale for 25,000*l.* and was restored to it again by parliament, without returning a penny of the money back.

Sir William Purefoy, colonel, and governor of Coventry; he fought valiantly against the market-cross at Warwick, and the monuments in St. Mary's church there, for which he had *1500l.* given him; but when he should have fought with the enemy hid himself in a corn-field, which made a waterman at Temple-Stairs (that had been his soldier) refuse to carry him.

Sir Edward Hungerford, 1500*l.* per annum.

Herbert Morley, colonel, plunder-master of Surry.

John Moor, colonel, and had for some time the benefit of passes out of London.

Walter Long, colonel, had 5000*l.* given him.

Sir Waller General, he lost two armies, yet a gainer by the employment.

John Allured, colonel.

Michael Oldsworth, governor of Pembroke and Montgomery, had 3000*l.* per annum given him, and was keeper of Windsor-Park.

Thomas Scot, (a brewer's clerk once) had Lambeth-House.

Ashurst, had a 1000*l.* given him, and had the clerk of the peace's place for Lancashire.

And all the 500 and 16 members, by account, gave themselves 4*l.* per week per piece, which is 107308*l.* per annum.

But these are small and trivial sums, which signify nothing: But the motive paramount to all, was, For the sake of the Lord.

Ecce! The New Testament of our Lords and Saviours, the House of Commons, and the Supreme Councel at Windsor. Newly translated out of their own Heathenish Greek Ordinances; with their former Proceedings, diligently compared and revised, and appointed to be read in all Conventicles.

This tract, which ought to have been inserted in the last volume, for it appears to have been published before the king's death, is written in imitation of the scriptural stile, and in ridicule of the fanatics. It has been more lately imitated in a common pamphlet intitled "The Chronicle of the Kings of England."

CHAP. I.

The Genealogy of the Parliament, from the Year 1640 *to this present* 1648. *The Conception of their Brain, by the Influence of the Devil; and born of Hell and Damnation, when they were espoused to virtue.*

1. The book of the generation of John Pim, the son of Judas, the son of Belzabub.
2. Pim begat a parliament, a parliament begat Strowd, Strowd begat Hazlerig, and Hazelrig begat Hollis.
3. Hollis begat Hotham, Hotham begat Martin, Martin begat Corbet.
4. Corbet begat Stapleton, Stapleton begat Lewis, and Lewis begat Clotworthy.

5. Clotworthy begat Glin, Glin begat Long, Long begat Waller, and Waller begat Massey.

6. Massey begat Pointz, Pointz begat Skippon, Skippon begat Cromwell, and Cromwell begat Fairfax.

7. Fairfax begat Rainsborow. Rainsborow begat Ireton, and Ireton begat Whaley:

8. Whaley begat Desborow, Desborow begat Hammon, Hammon begat Rich, and Rich begat Watson.

9. And Watson begat Baxter and his brethren, about the time that he was sent for by the houses to London to carry away the spoils of the city.

10. And after they came to London, Baxter begat Wilson, Wilson begat Manby, and Manby begat Estwick.

11. So that all the generations, since Pim to Estwick, are three generations; the first generation was, when this parliament began to sit, and pretended a reformation; the second generation was, when this parliament had sate five years, and made a perfect deformation; the third generation now is, when this parliament must render an account of their treasons, and their heads suffer an exaltation.

12. Now the birth, or beginning of this parliament, was on this wise; when as their mother, the kingdom of England was allied or espoused to a great desire of reforming abuses; and had therefore nominated their knights, citizens, and burgesses; who (as soon as ever they came together) were found with child of schism, sedition, and rebellion.

13. Then King Charles, being a just man, and not willing to have himself and people ruinated, was minded to dissolve them.

14. But while he thought on these things, behold an angel of darkness in the shape of an angel of light appeared to him, saying, King Charles, these men intend nothing but thine and the kingdoms good, therefore fear not to give them thy power, for what they now undertake is of the holy Ghost.

15. And they shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name reformation; he shall save the people from their sins.

16. Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken long ago in the prophesy of Owtwell Bins.

When England doth swim in floods
Of plenty, and grows proud of goods,
Then from their sleep they shall be waked,
To know themselves both blind and naked:
Christ's church must know some misery,
There shall be a doleful tragedy;
Then coblers shall leave their last,
In sermons up their gall to cast;
Mag-pies and parrots then shall prate,
Both of the eagle and the state,
Untill they bring things in conclusion,
To much disorder and confusion.

17. Then Charles being thus deluded, did as the angel had bidden him, and gave countenance to his parliament, and knew not their evil intentions, till they had brought forth their first born, which was Rebellion, and he called his name Treason.

CHAP. II.

The wise Conspirators direct the People to petition to them. They worship them, and offer their Presents. King Charles flyeth towards York, with his Wife and Children.

1. Now when this parliament began at Westminster, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King Charles, behold there came a company of foolish men out of Buckinghamshire,

2. Saying, where is he that is born King of England? For we have heard that he will not consent to his ruin, and are come to scold with him.

3. When the king's friends heard this, they were troubled, and all Britain with them.

4. But when the king had gathered a chosen company together, he went and demanded the five members that were chiefly opposite against him.

5. But they said unto him, They are not here: For thus it was purposely ordered.

6. Then the king, when he had summoned his privy council, diligently inquired of them what was to be done.

7. And he called those that came out of the countries, and said unto them, Go home to your houses, and enquire of your own consciences whether these your undertakings are pious; and you find they are so, bring word again, and I shall willingly assent.

8. When they heard the king, they departed; and lo, the same spirit of error that first possessed them went before them, till it came and stood over the house where the commons were assembled together.

9. And when they saw the spirit, they rejoiced with an exceeding great joy.

10. And when they were come into the house of commons, they saw Pim, Hazelrig, Hollis, and Strowd, sitting together, and they fell down and worshipped them; and when they had given them many thanks for their meeting, they presented unto them that which they preferred above all things, to wit, gold.

11. And being warned by their fears not to go back and tell the king, they departed into their own country another way.

12. And when they were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to King Charles, and said, Arise, and take thy princely children and their mother, and fly into the north; for the Londoners, joining with thy parliament, will seek to destroy thee and them.

13. Then the king arose, and took his wife and departed, accompanied with some faithful friends.

14. Then the Houses being vexed they could not work their ends upon him, were exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and stirred up the minds of the people of England to rebellion, and slew and imprisoned all those that would not be confederate with them.

15. But while these things were acting, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to the king, and said unto him, Arise, and get the friends thou hast together, and arm thy loyal subjects for thy preservation.

16. Then he arose, and strengthened himself, proclaimed his rebellious parliament traytors, and came to the city of York.

CHAP. III.

The Sectarian Clergy incense the People against the King, the Pharisaical Common Councel wish the rude Multitude to come to be baptized of them.

1. In those days came Saltmarsh the Antinomian, and Dell the Independent, and preached to the citizens of London:

2. Saying, Now is the time that ye ought to stand up for the truth, and to help the parliament forward with your plate and money.

3. For these were they of whom St Peter prophesied, "That have eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin, beguiling unstable souls, and hearts they have exercised with covetous practices. Cursed children, which have forsaken the right way and gone astray, following the way of Balaam, the son of Bozor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness."—2. PET. ii. 14, 15.

4. And the same Saltmarsh and Dell had large stipends allowed them, and were cloathed with iniquity as with raiment.

5. Then went out to them all the inhabitants of London, and all the region round about.

6. And were by them seasoned with seditious principles, covering their sins.

7. And when they saw them, they said, O ye people of London and the parts adjacent, now arm yourselves for the battle, and go out and fight against your king and his adherers. Bring also in your plate and jewels into Whitehall;

8. And think not to say within yourselves, It is better for us to be quiet and sit still, rather than to run the hazard of losing our lives and estates; for we say unto you, that you shall be prosperous in your undertakings, and shall soon accomplish the work.

9. And now also the axe of the parliament is laid to every man's throat, and he that will not be rebellious shall not live.

10. We indeed gain only some few hundred pounds, and chastise with words; but your parliament intend to purchase lordships, and to whip you with gleams of fire.

11. Their fan is in their hand, and they will thoroughly purge your purses, for their ambition burns like unquenchable fire.

CHAP. IV.

The King tempted with unheard-of Propositions. He resisteth the Temptation; and the People flock unto him, moved by the sound Doctrine of his Declarations.

1. Then was King Charles permitted by God to be tempted by his parliament with unreasonable propositions many days.

2. And when Pembroke the tempter came unto him, he said, If thou wilt still be King of Great Britain, thou must set thy hand to these propositions.

3. But he answered, and said, It is written in the Proverbs, "Thou shalt fear God and honour the king. The wrath of a king is like the roaring of a lion; and he that provoketh him sinneth against his own soul."

4. Then Pembroke the tempter said unto him, Behold, thou shalt be a more great and glorious king than any of thy progenitors. We will augment thy revenues and inlarge thy territories, if thou wilt but fall down and worship us thy parliament.

5. But he said unto him again, It is written in the Romans, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, but to the king as supreme." Now, therefore, get thee

gone, thou rebel; for, in the Proverbs, "Where the word of a king is, there is power and who may say unto him, What dost thou?"

6. Then the tempter left him, and his own faithful lords came and ministred unto him.

7. Now when the king heard that his parliament had entered into covenant against him, and had constrained his liege people to swear their own and his ruin, he caused his standard to be erected at Nottingham.

8. And leaving the city of York, he came and kept his court in Oxford, one of the eyes of England.

9. From that time there was deadly war between the king and his parliament, with an equal concernment on both sides.

10. And his fame went throughout all the quarters of England, the people bringing unto him all such as were diseased with the evil, and he healed them.

11. And there followed him great multitudes of his people from Kent, from Staffordshire, and from beyond Tyne.

A Psalm to be sung as the fifteenth of David's.

Good Lord, confound King Oliver,
And all his holy crew;
With Rainsborow, that leveller,
And Pride, that precious Jew.

Let Say once more, we do thee pray,
Into a saw-pit fall.
Let Martin purge his pox away
Within some hospital.

Let Hammon have his brains knock'd out
With his own bunch of keys.
Let Watson and his zealous rout
Visit the Hebrides.

Let the two Houses fight and scratch,
Like wives at Billingsgate;
And let them ne'er a peace up patch,
Until it be too late.

That so upon each house of clay,
King Charles may mount his throne.
Hear us (O Father,) we thee pray:
Our hope's in thee alone.

Printed 1648.

Mercurius Menippeus.

The Loyal Satyrist; or, Hudibras in Prose. Written by an unknown Hand in the Time of the late Rebellion, but never till now published.

Si Cato reddatur, Cæsareanus erit.

Printed in the Year 1682.

This tract was probably written either by Butler or Birkenhead.

SINCE the liberty of the subject and free quarter, since new lights and selling malignants by an inch of candle, the world hath produced Mercuries as fast as Darby-House spawn'd committees, or committees started delinquents. For why do Westminster-Abbey lubbers sit so long, but only to have their pictures drawn? But yet no ink could represent them black enough. The fittest emblem of the parliament-house is a turkey-pie; the heads without will inform you what birds are within.

But alas, poor infants! we must be whipt, and yet not have leave to cry: kiss the rod that scourged you. Women in some countries never love their husbands till they be well beaten by them; and certainly our reformers would have us as good natured as their spaniels. And indeed to what purpose is hue-and-cry sent after a troop of horse? 'Twere ridiculous for a constable to charge the peace upon Cromwell, or make privy search into Lental's exchequer, especially since the kingdom was reformed into a Lacedæmonian state: for when Lilburn was Lycurgus, plundering must needs be statutable. What other laws can we expect from him and Newgate? Felony already is a crime only in some silly wretches who are punished for it; but paricides are still above the reach of justice. While two armies murder and imprison, an honest man may be Burleigh'd for beating up a drum;[1] as if, in a country of cannibals, a poor innocent cutler should be hanged for grinding a stilletto. Pillories are more cruel than scaffolds, or perhaps Prin's ears were larger than my Lord of Canterbury's head.

But Lord! to what an height were may-poles grown! And could they be reformed without sequestration and excise? Nay, the primitive zeal had almost melted the bells, and made them ring backwards for themselves. A psalm of mercy is even denied the chimes; and masculine Tom of Lincoln must be gelded into a roaring Meg.[2] Roundheads and atheists hate superstition; only Cromwell and the Devil are afraid of crosses.

[1] Captain Burleigh attempted to raise the people of the Isle of Wight to rescue Charles I. from Carisbrook Castle, and for that purpose caused a drum to be beaten through the streets of Newport, for which he was tried and executed.

[2] *i. e.* Into a cannon.

'Tis well churches survived thus long; for since my Lord Brook's groom and coachman propagated the gospel, christians were born in stables only. So Job came to be a saint, but upon a dunghill. And why may not a sanctified whipster be a heaven-driver, as well as Brereton and Harvey Bishops? Who would have thought that Snaphaunches and Baskethilts were of apostolick institution? or that Buff and Feather were *jure divino?* Croydon and Fulham are not inhabited, but haunted; nor do they lodge inmates, but apparitions and goblins. Thus have christian churches been converted into Turkish mosques, and abbies have been made nests for rooks and daws. The Devil is an enemy to all hierarchy, and there holy days must be abolished; and so farewell saints and angels. All renounce Whitsuntide, and yet boast the Holy Ghost. Simon and Jude are vanquished by Lilly and Booker; and Michael is subdued by another devil. Time's sithe was turned into a saw; nor was he bald enough to be a perfect roundhead. But an execution must have some reprieve. All stickle for their powder-treason: the 'prentices rescue Shrove Tuesday; and the sisters must be indulged a valentine. What need any other observations? They can feast themselves without a Christmas, and starve others without a Lent.

Well then, adieu Fridays, and welcome monthly fasts; adieu idolators, and welcome new moons. This still sow hath devoured more than all the bishops hospitality. Their idol, humiliation, like Bell, consumes all, and yet eats nothing. But all this is merciful. Their too much fasting hath made them cannibals. They can say grace over mummy, and give thanks for my Lord of Strafford; as if they had abstained only as beasts tied up, that they might devour poor martyrs more greedily savagely; nay, they eat up one another. Both the Hothams, like two thieves, wait upon their crucified bishop. The parliament, like Sejanus, is destruction both to their friends and enemies. My Lord Brook's new light at last blinded him: he was first made a mole, and then earth'd: a fit end for the underminers of a state! Lucas and Lisle were both revenged, since the vice-admiral and Rainsborough were levelled.[1] For as he was regenerate, so he died twice. 'Tis thought his sea sickness purged the better half away: The haddocks had as good a breakfast as the worms. Crassus built a sepulchre to his deceased lamprey. And what was all this funeral pomp dedicated to but an otter? To be mourners at the death of a water-rat, is a vanity beyond being maudlin drunk. Why all these ridiculous attendants? A single sculler is good enough to carry a dog to Wapping. The numerous wild gang is exceeded every execution-day. We see a fuller appearance at Newgate. The worthy was but two wheels above an ordinary vil lain, and differed only in the blackness of the soul and his wardrobe.

And most of the heroes are such twisted pieces one knows not from which part of the centaur to name them; whom their alchoran writes prophets, others think impostors. The devil will still be black, though the Indians paint him white. All their patrons die, like John Huss, both hereticks and saints; nor can we discern whether 'tis a martyr or a witch that burns. My Lord Say's sanctity is somewhat like his son Nat——'s valour: the jewel hath too much of Bristol in it.[2] The dog in the Tower, though proof against lions, is no Daniel. O what a godly thing is the sign of the Hand Bible! What a devout company of saints are Rebecca, her book, her pattens, and her stool! for all must together: nor would you think her going to church, but removing house. I wonder she is never apprehended for carrying burthens upon the sabbath-day. Well, this coif and cross cloth, this blew-apron'd saint is as much in the church as the parson's hour-glass, the hassocks, or the people that are buried there. Nor will she tire with a single hearing, but trudge from Tantlin's to Tellin's, and hold out kill-

[1] The fleet revolted from Rainsborough to the Prince of Wales; and he was himself slain at Doncaster by a detachment of the royalist garrison of Pontefract, of which incident an account is given in a preceding tract.

[2] Nathaniel Fiennes, son to Lord Say, was condemned by the parliament for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert.

ing of a brace or two, and all long courses. Thus are they carried from ordinance to ordinance, like beggars from one church to another, that they may ply at both places.

And what are their Levites but their friars mendicant for both the houses? Not a Sunday since the combustion past without a brief. How oft have they picked our pockets with the relief of Ireland? This knack has been as beneficial as their plundering. As much hath been gotten by a "Good your Worship," as by a "Stand and deliver." We could never get out of the church without a composition: The parson's application was certainly directed to our purse: Every motive strained our pockets, and the last use was an use of sequestration. See how the pulpit-duellist fights with Bellarmine; how he sweats and toyls, plays out all his weapons, and (you may be sure) hath got the better; but after, with an address to the spectators, to throw him some money.

Well, who's for Aldermanbury? You would think a phœnix preached there, but that birds will flock after an owl as fast: and a foot-ball in cold weather is as much followed as Calamy by all his rampant dog-day zealots. But 'tis worth the crouding to hear the baboon expound, like the ape taught to play on the cittern. You would think the church, as well as religion, were inversed, and the anticks which were used to be without, were removed into the pulpit. Yet these apish tricks must be the motions of the spirit, his whimsie-meagrim must be an ecstasie, and Dr G. his palsey make him the father of the sanctified shakers. Thus, among Turks, dizziness is a divine trance; changlings and ideots are the chiefest saints; and 'tis the greatest sign of revelation to be out of ones wits.

Instead of a dumb shew, enter the sermon dawbers. O what a gracious sight is a silver ink-horn! How blessed a gift is it to write short-hand! What necessary implements for a saint are cotton, wool, and blotting-paper![1] These dablers turn the church into a scrivener's shop. A country fellow last term mistook it for the Six-Clerks-Office. The parson looks like an offender upon the scaffold, and they penning his confession, or a spirit conjured up by their uncouth characters. By his cloak you would take him for the prologue to a play; but his sermon, by the length of it, should be a taylor's bill; and what treats it of but such buckram, fustian stuff? What a desperate green-sickness is the land fallen into, thus to doat on coals and dirt, and such rubbish divinity! Must the French cook our sermons too? And are frogs, fungos, and toad-stools the chiefest dish in a spiritual collation? Strange Israelites! that cannot distinguish betwixt mildew and manna. Certainly in the brightest sunshine of the gospel clouds are the best guides; and woodcocks are the only birds of paradise. I wonder how the ignorant rabbies should differ so much, since most of their libraries consist only of a concordance. The wisemens star doubtless was an *ignis fatuus* in a church-yard; and it was some such Will o' th' Wisp steered prophetical Saltmarsh, when riding post to heaven, he lost his way in a forest. Indeed their rare gifts have one property of the spirit, to be invisible, and so much of revelation as not to be understood; like the musick of the spheres, which never was heard.

But cyphers may make an assembly, though no number. And what can we expect from an A B C synod but a catechism? Mount Sion hath at last brought forth a mouse, though it was long enough in spawning to have been an elephant. They have reformation Paul's work; and O may they have the scaffolds for their pains! For what have they given us for lawn-sleeves but sackcloth and misery? Instead of liturgies, they have brought upon us all those afflictions we there prayed against. The church, while beautiful, was the whore of Babylon. Their zeal was never hot enough,

[1] The affectation of taking short-hand notes at the sermons of the more esteemed divines was then general among the fanatics.

till it had scorched them into blackamores. Too much fair weather, forsooth, had almost starved us. Seven years purging would kill an Hercules. To be always snuffing, must at last put out the light. And what can be pure enough with them, that dare article the creed, and attempt to reform the apostles? These will shrive the whole Bible, and have interpreted "Our Father," &c. so long backwards, that they have made some believe 'twas conjuring. The synod was the parliament's spiritual blockhouse, and the prolocutor was the speaker's-echo. All the divines, like priests of old, were inspired from vaults, and the lower house.

Oh! how sweetly did the syren representative sing at first! How quickly it brought forth destruction, and proved a monster! Nero was pretty tolerable for five years, and this butter-print parliament was gold in the morning and lead at night. For what have our precious states done but cured and smothered little diseases with the plague? They have redressed the counter, and by all their reformations made the kingdom at last truly to want a reformation. But vengeance overtook them, and by spinning backward they have made ropes for their own necks. Silly conjurers! who have raised a devil and now cannot lay him. The lease of your dominion is out. Face about!—now the fiend must be master. Thus shall anarchy revenge the king, and conventicles punish the synods sacrilege. Lice and frogs plague the Egyptians for the injured Israelites.

Who would have thought that there should have been a reformation beyond root and branch? Or that there should be such antipathy between a spider and a toad? Soldiers are omnipotent in uncreating and destruction. This April (say they) shall dissolve a triennial parliament, adjourn eternity, and put an end to perpetuity. Cromwell hath wolves enough to silence the Speaker, and make Lental a dumb dog. Alas, poor Directory! thou must give up the ghost too; the spirit must the way of all flesh. Now law itself must be arraigned, and the new judges to execution. What a fine humour would it be to see Wild Burleigh'd by a drum and soldiers? And Rolls coach it up Holbourn instead of Fleet-Street? O! that they may have their coifs all turned into night-caps, and, instead of old women, become proper men.[1] Since the members regent were in durance, the two houses look like the representations of Ludgate and Newgate. What need the distinction of upper and lower? Cromwell will serve both for king of hell and prince of the air. Warwick, for all his juggling, may perhaps suffer shipwreck. Xerxes was a leveller; he fetter'd the sea; and why may not these put the Admiral in chains? Prin's head must after his ears; and the Speaker's bags will e're long prove him a Judas. My Lord Say's white powder is no longer silent and innocent, but must submit to Cromwell's black. Pembroke may be visited, and Manchester universitied: one is not fool, and the other is not fool enough to be secure. And indeed these are saints in comparison of Cromwell's life-guard. Hammond is a Christian compared with Rolf. The head-quarters make Newgate a *sanctum sanctorum*: the soldiers are not good enough for gibbets; in their reformation the gallows is under prosecution, and Tyburn suffers martyrdom. Not one of Peters' 1500 saints but may, with St Francis, give place to the Devil.[2] If these propagate the gospel, it must be as

[1] A praise usually bestowed upon those going to execution, as was long after observed in the Beggar's Opera.

[2] The declamations of Hugh Peters often turned upon the praises of the army. A witness upon his trial says, "Mr Beaver's evidence.—My lord, and you, gentlemen of the jury, upon a day that was appointed for a fast for those that sate then as parliament, I went to Westminster, to find out some company to dine with me, and having walked about an hour in Westminster-Hall, and finding none of my friends to dine with me, I went to that place called Heaven, and dined there. After I had dined, I passed through St Margaret's Church-Yard to go home again, (I lay in the Strand.) I perceived all the church-yard full of muskets and pikes upon the ground, and asked some soldiers that were there what was the business. They told me they were guarding the parliament, that were keeping a fast at St Margaret's. 'Who preaches?' said I. They told me, 'Mr Peters is just now gone up into the pulpit.' Said I, 'I must needs have the curiosity to hear that man, having heard many stories of the manner of his preaching.' (God knows I did not do it out of any manner of devotion.) I crouded near the pulpit, and came near the speaker's pew, and I saw a great many members there whom I

the painter finished his picture, by defacing it, when the sponge did the work of his pencil. To hope for reformation from levellers, is to gape for the miracle of Andromeda, and to expect beauty from a negro. Agitators are as good physic for a sick church or state, as chips of the gallows are for the ague. There is not a soldier but changes his religion as often as his shirt, that being sooner lousy than his linen. They void their principles at every sermon; nor do they go to church, but to stool. And well may they part with them so easily, since their religion is no better than toasted cheese; every man is his own cook; each trooper, like a knight of Malta,[1] is both priest and soldier. Revelations are so common, that the spirit is become a meer familiar. You may be of all religions but the protestant, as the pagans worship all gods but the true one; as if that uniformity did not become the churches as well as confusion, and the surplice were not as handsome as the beggars coat. Rossiter is Jew extraordinarily circumcised, root and branch. Martin's paradise is the same with Mahomet's; his heaven is only in a seraglio.[1] Cromwell may pass for a pope Joan, or the whore of Babylon, and differs only thus much from the Papist—they torment themselves, he other folks. He believes in merits so far, that he thinks he shall be saved by villanies, and go to heaven, like Hercules and Theseus, because he hath been in hell. Indeed all of them are religious mimmicks, devout vizards, and if sanctity be snot or the pox, and seated in the nose, they are as perfectly God's apes as the devil is. These zealous pyramids always point at Heaven, as fire, though in hell, mounts upwards.

But they are angels only that they may be devils. A Jew cannot be a Turk till he be a Christian. They put on religion to murder the king; as that damn'd Monk poisoned the emperor with the Eucharist. They bring in reformation as the old poets did their gods, to conclude their tragedy more easily. Bloody conspiracies are always shrouded under leagues. When a massacre is intended, they chime all into Sicilian vespers. When they cry out "The church! the church!" they mean our grave. What degrees of misery are flung upon us! After a parliament comes an army: rods are turned into scorpions. We have all these years been almost ridden to death by a night-mare, and now must be tormented with devils. Had we waked in time, we might have dismounted

knew well. I could not guess what his text might be, but hearing him talk much of Barabbas and our Saviour, and insisting altogether upon that, I guessed his text was that passage wherein the Jews did desire the releasing of Barabbas and the crucifying of Christ; and so it proved. The first thing I heard him say was, 'It was a very sad thing that this should be a question amongst us as amongst the old Jews, whether our Saviour Jesus Christ must be crucified, or that Barabbas should be released, the oppressor of the people. Oh, Jesus,' said he, 'where are we, that that should be a question amongst us?' Says he, 'And because that you think, my lords and gentlemen, that it is a question, I tell you that it is a question. I have been in the city, which may very well be compared to Hierusalem in this conjuncture of time; and I profess those foolish citizens, for a little trading and profit, they will have Christ (pointing to the red-coats on the pulpit stairs) crucified, and the great Barabbas at Windsor released,' says he, 'but I do not much heed what the rabble say. I hope, 'says he, 'my brethren of the clergy will be wiser; the lips of the priests do use to preserve knowledge. I have been with them too in the assembly, and having seen and heard what they said, I perceive they are for crucifying of Christ, and releasing of Barabbas. Oh, Jesus, what shall we do now?' with such like strange expressions and shrugging of his shoulders.

"*Council.*—'How long was this before the king was murdered?'

"It was a few days before the house of commons made that thing called an act for a trial.'

"*Council.*—'What did he say to the members?'

"I am coming to it. Says he, 'My lords, and you noble gentlemen of the house of commons, you are the sanhedrim and the great council of the nation, therefore you must be sure to do justice, and it is from you that we expect it; you must not only be inheritors of your ancestors, but you must do as they did; they have opposed tyrannical kings, they have destroyed them; it is you chiefly that we look for justice from. Do not prefer the great Barabbas, murderer, tyrant, and traitor, before these poor hearts, (pointing to the red-coats,) and the army, who are our saviours.' And thus for two or three hours time that he spent, he nothing but raked up all the reasons, arguments, and examples he could, to persuade them to bring the king to condign, speedy, and capital punishment."—*State Trials, II.* 362.

[1] "Thou art a whoremonger," said Cromwell to Henry Martin, when dismissing the parliament. The incontinence of this republican statesman is often alluded to in the satires of the time.

that load; but nothing now under a miracle can dispossess us of these legions. These Turks shall enjoy the Holy Land, while we poor Jews sojourn at home, and live strangers in our own country. They level others, but advance themselves. Angels descend, but 'tis the Devils posture to be raised up. All who have kept their innocency must be stripp'd; whilst these buff-sinners flant it in beast-skins.

But Cromwell wants neither wardrobe nor armour: his face wears natural buff, and his skin may furnish him with a rusty coat of mail. You would think he had been christened in a lime pit, and tanned alive, but that his countenance still continues mangy. We cry out against superstition, and yet worship a piece of wainscot, and idolize an unblanched almond. Certainly 'tis no human visage, but the emblem of a mandrake, once scarce handsome enough to have been the progeny of Hecuba, had she whelp'd him when she was a bitch. His soul too is as ugly as his body; for who can expect a jewel in the head of a toad? Yet this basilisk would king it; and a brewer's horse must be a lion.[1]

I wonder how Sir Samuel Luke and he should clash, for they are both cubs of the same ugly litter.[2] This urchin is as ill carved as that goblin painted. The grandam bear sure had blistered her tongue, and so left him unlicked. He looks like a snail with his house upon his back, or the spirit of the militia with a natural knapsack, and may serve both for tinker and budget too. Nature intended him to play at bowls, and therefore clapp'd a bias upon him. His mother longed for pumpions. He was begotten in a

[1] About this time Cromwell's faction sounded the public mind on the possibility of his mounting the throne by the following extraordinary stratagem:

On Tuesday, 17 May, [1653,] in the forenoon, about change-time, a gentleman, extremely well-dressed, came in a coach to the Royal Exchange, where, taking out of his coach the general's (Cromwell's) picture, he fixed it against one of the pillars, and after making two or three turns, took coach again and drove away. Over the head of the portrait stood these words, "'Tis I;" and underneath were the following verses:

"Ascend three thrones, great captain and divine,
By the will of God, O Lyon! for they're thine.
Come, priest of God, bring oil, bring robes, bring gold,
Bring crowns and sceptres.—'Tis high time t' unfold
Your cloister'd bags, you state-cheats, lest the rod
Of steel and iron of this your King and God
Pay you in's wrath with interest. Kneel and pray
To Oliver, the torch of Zion, the star of day.
Shout then, ye merchants, city and country sing,
And, all bare-headed, cry 'God save the King!'"

The lord-mayor, after much hesitation concerning the meaning of this pageant, took down the picture with becoming reverence, and carried it to the general. The whole was probably an experiment on the popular feeling, although so managed that if the bait was not snatched at, it might be easily represented as a thing devised by the general's enemies.

[2] Hudibras is generally supposed to have been the prototype of Sir Samuel Luke, a justice of peace, to whom Butler sometime acted as clerk; and indeed there is a passage in the poem which renders the allusion indisputable.

"'Tis sung there is a valiant Mamaluke
In foreign lands ycleped ————,
To whom we have been oft compared
For person, parts, address, and beard:
Both equally reputed stout;
And in the same cause both have fought.
He oft in such attempts as these,
Came off with glory and success;
Nor will we fail i' th' execution
For want of equal resolution."

The name of Sir Samuel Luke exactly supplies the deficiency in the second line, if you melt the two syllables of Samuel into one; and the comparison Hudibras makes between himself and that knight seems to justify

cupping glass, and engendered in a tod of hay. Some earthquake hath disordered the symmetry of the microcosm; sunk one mountain, and put up another. One would think a mole had crept into his carcase before 'tis laid in the church-yard; and rooted in it. He looks like the visible tie of Æneas boulstering up his father; or some beggar-woman indorsed with her whole litter, and with child behind. You may take him for Anti-christopher, with the Devil at his back. O that knot-grass should purge the kingdom! We must be ridden by a camel, and reformed by the sign of the dolphin. You would think that he were levelled sufficiently; but Harvey will have him lower yet, and down with the wall, though it be built with a buttress.

But Harvey is not so much for levelling the men as Martin the women. Look to your Jane Shores you Lombard-street men. He brings no maiden troop: This is no eunuch general. The stallion is of so prodigious an itch, you would think he had been gotten of Lot's wife after she was turned into a pillar of salt. He is the bane of Guiacum, and the despair of syringes. So excellent gifted for a conventicle, that he will edify you out of Cornelius's tub. Are the godly ones like sacrifices, never accepted till they are burnt? Is there no way to destroy the whore of Babylon, but by a town-bull? Strange, that none of the Luthers can reform without nuns! Dr Burgess, forsooth, must have his Hagar. And Peters cannot propagate the gospel without marrow-bones, without the help of lamb-stones, and the butcher's wife.

Martin is not so great a sinner against one commandment, but my Lord of Pembroke will out-throw him half a bar at another. One you would take for Aretine's pictures moralized, the other for the covenant incarnate. Martin for a knight of the burning pestle, and Pembroke for a knight of the post. This Hercules instead of a worthy, is nothing but an adverb of swearing. He swallows the covenant as easily as an ordinary dam-me. This landskip, this map of nobility, differs as much from a true Briton as a Mountgomery beacon from a star, or a Welsh leek from St David. Yet rather than not be famous for somewhat, he will murder the universities, like that villain who burnt Diana's temple to get himself a name. This is the second part of Manchester to the same tune, Kimbolton of the second edition. One made the kingdom a Lord Brookes, and the other a roasted pig. He carries a dull foggy ignorance about him, would blind the kingdom though it were an Argus, and is more unlucky in an university than monkies in a glass-shop. He would make an excellent chancellor for

the supposition. But what tends farther to confirm it is a ballad, intitled, "A Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray," printed in Butler's posthumous works, in which Sir Samuel Luke is thus characterized:

In Bedfordshire there dwelt a knight,
Sir Samuel by name,
Who by his feats in civil broils
Obtained a mighty fame.

Nor was he much less wise than stout,
But fit in both respects
To humble sturdy cavaliers,
And to support the sects.

This worthy Knight was one that swore
He would not cut his beard
Till this ungodly nation was
From kings and bishops cleared.

Which holy vow he firmly kept,
And most devoutly wore
A grisly meteor on his face
Till they were both no more."

Biographia Britannica, 1784, *fol. vol. III. p.* 86.

the Mews, or were Oxford turned into a kennel of hounds, and the Sheldons and Hammonds, Motleys and Jowlers. His own house is an academy for hawks and spaniels, and an hospital for many cures, glanders, and the fashions. This Nero keeps a wilderness at home, and is so much given to his brutish society, that you would take him for Nebuchadnezar turned beast. [1] Oldsworth is his crony, because his four-legged animal. For what are Michael and his lordship, but a blind man and his dog? And any kind of creatures would make as good subjects as such earls. Some dogs scorn Cromwell's health, and will not eat but for King Charles. Though parrots may be taught allegiance, and crows have been storied royalists and linguists too, the blind whelp hath not docility enough to know his master. Yet shall he be the peoples idol too, and a reprobate Welch goat one of the elect, though he is not so much a christian as the thorn at Glastenbury.

But why may not my Lord billet in heaven, as well as Will. Lilly and Booker, and take bedlam for a paradise rather than make a saint of the man in the moon? Indeed for these that change religion every year, the fittest gospel is an almanack. But who would take these star-gazers for the wise men? Well, wise men they must be; but the question is, whether of Greece or of Gotham? O the infallibility of Erra Pater, Lilly! [2] The wizard, perhaps, might do much at hotcockles, and guess well at blind-man's buff. But I durst undertake to pose him with a riddle, and stand his intelligence in a dog in a wheel. An over-turned salt is a surer prophet. The sieve and shears are oracles to him. A whining pig sees farther into a storm. Rats will prognosticate the ruin of a kingdom with more certainty. And as for Palmestry, a gypsy or Derrick may be his tutor. The wittal is cuckolded over and over, and yet the Œdipus is blind. Like the old witch, who, being consulted to discover a thief, could not smell out who had shit at her own door. Indeed he is excellent at foretelling things past, and calculates the deputy's nativity after he is beheaded. And then by starting a prophesy, he excites the credulous vulgar to fulfil it. Thus can he antedate Cromwell's swift malice, depose

[1] Michael Oldsworth managed the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery's affairs; and was supposed to write his speeches.

[2] Lilly the astrologer espoused the part of the parliament, as Wharton that of the royalists, during the civil wars, and each overwhelmed their opponents with dismal vaticinations of defeat and calamity. In 1645, Lilly published a whole sheaf of prophecies, with the following title and dedication:—"A Collection of ancient and moderne Prophesies concerning these present Times, with Modest Observations thereon. The Nativities of Thomas Earle of Strafford, and William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury, his Majesties great Favorites; Astrologicall Judgements upon their Scheames; and the Speech intended by the Earle of Strafford to have been spoken at his Death. By William Lilly, Student in Astrologie.—*In Gyro vertimur omnes. London*, 1645. 4.

"To his Royall Majesty, Charles King of England.

Sir,

"Some delude you, others harden your heart, promising unto you (like vaine fellowes) a conquest and victory over your parliament at Westminster; the spirit of lying doth guide their shallow braines; it's otherwise determined; it will not be so. Had Pharaoh harkened to Moses he had not been drowned in the red sea: or Zedekiah beleeved Jeremiah, all had been well with him: These examples out of sacred writ are true, but the repetition hereof may nothing move you or those misguided councellors too prevalent with you.

Attend sir, to some humane and naturall admonitions prescribed to the greatest princes that ever were, by such as entirely wished their happinesse.

Come not at Babylon, say the augures and wise-men to Alexander.

Beware, saith Spurina to Cæsar, of the Ides of March. Selfenesse, obstinacy, and security, undid these princes.

I am no prophet, yet am conversant in that art, which invites me earnestly to implore your speedy accesse to your true parliament at Westminster.

Were I in private with you, I must advise it: at this distance I publikely wish it.—*Fac hoc et vives.*

That God, by whose providence I write what I doe, put it into your heart timely to consider your present and future condition, if you reject the faithfull well wishes of, Sir, your meanest, but most faithfull subject,

William Lilly.

the king five years before-hand, and instruct Rolf how to be damned. Impious villains! to make the spheres like the associated counties, and the heavenly houses so many lower houses, fix a guilt upon the stars, and persuade the planets are rebels. As if there were a sequestration-star, or any constellation looked like a committee. Away with your bulls and bears! should we be subject to their influence, each constellation would make a man a beast, every planet a wandering Jew. What fit instruments are astrologers for rebels? Heaven as well as Pauls is made a stable. Their prophesies are, like pictures, commendable, because they look every way. They are calculated for every meridian, and are as much truth to the Turk as the states. They are all born under Gemini, every prediction is a twin. Oracles must still speak double: Sure the devil is always drunk, or treats with his foot, or the serpent must have his tongue cleft too.

Lilly has christen'd himself an ape of hell: *Merlinus Anglicus* is nothing but an English devil.[1] He might ken all phœnomenas upon earth better, would he for prey, like the kite, descend. What are all our new lights, but so many prodigious meteors, exalted perhaps from dunghills, admired a while for stars, and are found only slime and gelley? Cromwell's nose is a comet in grain, and the grand eclipse certainly is no common conceit.

If the Londoners by this time have not enough of parliament, may they still fight with images, and adore a representative; still quarrel with superstition, and worship the host of heaven. They will perceive at last what kind of physic is reformation, and being drunk once a month. Sure all the women in the city are with child by Martin, and so longed for levellers. For were altars plea enough to offer up the bishops? Must Abel still suffer for his sacrifice? Sure his holiness was the pope, and justice on Prin's ears a piece of auricular confession. Their deputy, forsooth, hath made away their churches, and was executed like the poor ass for drinking up the town-moon. Proceed, proceed, my fine reformers! So may your conduit knight vanquish his idol-grove: So may the George on horse-back subdue the green dragon, and after all their victorious gambols, both man and horse become reformers Laureat. But what have you got for your *no plum pottage?* Nay, what hath all your plate got you, but ironsides? Examine all your pressures that contain pluralities of monopolies. Patents for rags are not so rank, as excise for turds. The dunghill is sweeter than the jakes and Atkins. Since the offended soldiers were your masters, the livery-men walk as if they ran the gauntlet. Now the city is turned delinquent what doth the lord mayor but ride the horse? and what are the aldermen but ordinary red-coats? Thus the parliament, like the Spaniards fatal room, instead of treasure hath coined destruction and invasion. Like silly mariners, you have adored that Pharos for a star, and so split yourselves on your security.

But the states have redeemed all by their treaty: Yet that was but a death bed repentance, they laid down their commission just before they were to be cashiered. The Turks imprisoned their emperor or king: Turks are reformers, or reformers Turks. But Charles must suffer more than one single person can inflict: Levellers heat the fire seven times hotter. No mercy, no act of oblivion; they can admit of any thing from Hell but Lethe. These Medes and Persians are unalterable; Daniel must to the lion's den, Hurst-Castle. What can succeed the dungeon but execution? What can a king expect but death, who is already buried alive? The next enlargement translates him out of the world. Cæsar's tragedy is best presented in the senate. Westminster (alas!) is the ready way to the tombs.

Cromwell must triumph with the ax before him, though that, as of old, should pro-

[1] In 1643 Lilly began his yearly almanac under the title of *Merlinus Anglicus*, stuffed with prophetic effusions, expressed with decent ambiguity, and which often fell in with the extraordinary incidents of that bustling time.

perly be directed to to the conqueror. Lilly can prognosticate no fair weather till the sun set red. The queen must submit to Mother Shipton, and Charles be murdered to fulfil old prophecies.[1] Thus still rebellion is the sin of witchcraft. The king can never

[1] Among other prophecies published in Lilly's collection, is that, which bears the venerable name of Mother Shipton; and, that the reader may judge what sort of trash was then reckoned worthy of attention, I shall transcribe the vaticination, with Lilly's previous assertion (if the reader will take his word) that Mother Shipton was never questioned either for verity or antiquity.

"*Shiptons Prophecy, after the most exact Copy.*

"When she heard that Cardinal Wolsey intended to live at York, she said that the cardinal should never come thither; which, the cardinal hearing of was angry, and desired the king to send the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Peircy, and Lord Darcy to her; who came with their men disguised to the Ring-house, neer York, where leaving their men, they went to Master Beasly to York, and desired him to go to Mother Shipton's house; where, when they came, they knocked at the door, and she said, Come in Master Beasly and those honourable lords with you; and Master Beasly would have put in the lords before him; but she said, Come in, Master Beasly, you know the way, but they do not. This they thought strange, that she should know them and never saw them. Then they went into the house, where there was a great fire, and she bade them welcome, calling them all by their names, and sent for some cakes and ale, and they drank, and were very merry. Mother Shipton, said the duke, if you knew what we came about you would not bid us so welcome; and she said, the messenger should not be hanged: Mother Shipton, said the duke, you said, *the cardinal should never see York;* yes, said she, I said he might see York, but never come at it. But, said the duke, when he comes to York thou shalt be burnt: We shall see that, said she, and plucking her kerchief off her head, she threw it into the fire, and it would not burn: then she took her staffe, and turned it into the fire, and it would not burn: and then she took it and put it on again. Then, said the duke, what mean you by this? She replied, If this had burned, I might have been burned.

"Mother Shipton, said the duke, what think you of me? My lord, said she, the time will come, you[2] will be as low as I am, and that is a low one indeed.

"My Lord Peircy said, and what think you of me? My lord, said she, shoe your horse to the quick, and you will do well; if not your[3] body will be buried in York-pavement, and your head shall be stoln from the bar and carried into France; at which they all laughed, saying, that would be a great jump betwixt the head and the body.

"Then, said the Lord Darcy, and what think you of me? She said, You have made a great gun, shoot it off, for it will do you no good; you are going to war, you will pyne many a man, but you will kill none. So they went away.

"Not long after, the cardinal came to Cawood, and going to the top of the tower, he asked where York was, and how far it was thither, and said, that one said he should never see York. Nay, said one that stood by, she said you should see York, but never come at it: then he vowed to burn her when he came to York. Then they shewed him York, and told him it was but eight miles thence. He said he would soon be there: but, being sent for by the king, he died in the way to London, at Leicester, of a lask.

"And Shipton's wife said to Master Beasly, Yonder is a fine stall built for the cardinal in the Menster, of gold, pearle, and precious stones; go and present one of the pillars to King Henry, and he did so.

"Master Beasly seeing these things fall out, as she had foretold, desired her to tell him some more of her prophecies.

"Master Beasly, said she, before that[3] Owse bridge and Trinity church meet, they shall build in the day, and it shall fall in the night, until they get the highest stone of Trinity church to be the lowest stone of Owse bridge.

"Then the day will come that hares shall kennel on cold hearth[4] stones, and lads shall marry ladies, and bring them to their homes. A joyfull day will be seen in England, a king and a queen.

[1] "The duke was afterwards beheaded."

[2] "This proved true, for he rose in rebellion in the north, and by not flying when he might, he was taken and beheaded at York, where his body was buried, and his head stoln away and carried into France, *temp. Eliz. R.*"

[3] "This came to passe, for Trinity steeple in York was blown down with a tempest, and Owse bridge was broken down with a great flood; and what they did in repairing the bridge in the day time, with the stone of the steeple, fell down in the night, untill they (remembering this prophecy) laid the highest stone of the steeple for the foundation of the bridge; and then the work stood. And by this was partly verified another of Mother Shipton's prophecies, viz. that her maid should drive her cowe over Trinity steeple."

[4] "Supposed to be meant by the suppression of abbies, and other religious houses. And at the Lord William Howard's house, at Naworth, a hare came and kinnell'd in his kitchen upon the hearth."

please them till he looks, as in his coin (their idol) beheaded; and nothing can be too dear an offering for their Molock reformation. They build up scaffolds (the devil's

" The first coming in of the King[5] of Scots shall be at Holgate-Town, but he shall not come through the bar. And when the King[6] of the North shall be at London-bridge his taile shall be at Edenborough.

" Water[7] shall come over Owse bridge, and a wind-mill shall be set on a tower, and an elm tree shall lie at every mans door.

At that day—
Women shall wear great hats and great bands.

" When there is a lord-mayor[8] living in Menster-yard in York, let him beware of a stab.

" When two knights[9] shall fall out in the castle-yard, they shall never live kindly all their lives after.

" When all Colton hag[10] hath born crops and corn seven yeers, seven yeers after you shall heare news.

" There shall two judges go in and out at Walmgate bar.[11] The day will come,

The north shall rue it wondrous sore,
But the south shall rue it for evermore.
[12] When wars shall begin in the spring
Much woe to England it will bring:
Then shall the ladies[13] cry well-a-day,
That ever we lived to see this day.
[14] Then best for them that have the least,
And worst for them that have the most.

" You shall have a year of pining hunger, and then a dearth without corn. You shall not know of the war overnight, yet you shall have it in the morning; and when it comes it shall last three yeers.

Between[15] Calder and Are,
Shall be great warfare:
[16] When all the world is aloft,
It shall be called Christs croft.

" When the battel of warfare begins, it shall be where[17] crookback Richard made his fray.

" [18] They shall say, To warfare for your king for half a crown a-day, but stir not. They will say, To warfare for your king on pain of hanging, but stir not;

[19] For he that goes to complain,
Shall not come back again.

" The time will come when England shall tremble and quake for fear of a dead-man, that shall be heard to speak: Then will the dragon give the bull a great snap; and when this battel is done, they will all go to London town.[20]

5 " This was fulfilled in King James his coming in; for such a multitude of people stood at Holgate bar to behold him, as that, to avoid the prease, he was forced to ride by another way."

6 " When King James was at London, his children were at Edenborough preparing to come into England."

7 " This is verified, by the conducting of water into York streets through boared elmes: and the conduit-house hath a wind-mill on the top that draws up the water."

"A lord-mayor, living in Menster-yard in York, was killed with three stabs."

9 " Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir George Savil, in choosing knights for the shire, in the castle-yard at York, did so fall out, that they were never after well reconciled."

10 " Colton-hag, in her time was a woodland ground, full of trees, which bore corn seven yeers, and the seventh yeer after that was the yeer of the coming in of the Scots, and their taking of Newcastle."

11 " In the yeer 1616, two judges of assize went out at a gate in York, where never any judges were known to go out before or since."

12 " In 1639, King Charles raised an army in the spring."

13 " How many ladies have since 1639 lost their husbands?"

14 " He that hath any thing knoweth this to be true, by the many taxes going out of his estate."

15 " Calder and Are are two rivers in Yorkshire. Are passeth through Craven."

16 " Religion is the thing at last we must all fight for."

17 " Neer Leicester where Richard the Third was slain in battel, there Colonel Hastings was one of the first in arms, endeavouring to settle the commission of array, in opposition to others that were then setling the militia. Or it may be thus understood, that as King Richard began his march from Nottingham when he first set out against the Earl of Richmond: so also should these wars take rise from thence. And indeed at Nottingham, (Aug. 1642) his majesty set up his standard, and there continued it to little purpose. Now, if his majesty have like successe, were it not better he came to his true parliament?"

18 " 1642. Two shillings and sixpence was publikely promised by many lords for the kings use, to pay one horseman a days wages."

19 " How many Welsh and Irish hath the king lost in this war? Very few return to their own countrey. Look to it malignants."

20 " This dead-man hath not yet appeared, but is at hand, doubtlesse.

altars) and sacrifice men for pure innocent ones. They cry out against idolatry, and yet are cannibals in superstition. As the covenant was sealed from the bishops veins, so levelling must be ratified by the blood royal. The presbyter, of the two, proved the gentler thief, and differed from the independent, as a tinker from his more savage trull: One stripped and bound the king, that the other might cut his throat. One silenced the bells of his nativity, and the other made them ring out for his funeral. Both are guilty of his blood; only this Pilate would wash his hands. Presbytery made him an anchorite, and independency a martyr. This kills Charles, and that the king. To prepare the ax, is little better than to give the blow.

Now we see what 'tis to be made a glorious king by rebels; what the devil's landskip means, when it promises all the kingdoms of the earth. In the trial, as at the general doomsday, all appear naked. Now there is none disguised but by Gray, or the hangman. Henceforth take heed of vizards, though never so holy. Murders are best committed in masquerade. But yet all their slaughters are expiations, and their hands are

" [21] There will be a great battel between England and Scotland, and they will be pacified for a time; and when they come at [22] Braman-Moore they fight and are again pacified for a time: Then there will be a great battel between England and Scotland at [23] Knavesmore; then they will be pacified for a while: Then there will be a great battel between England and Scotland at [24] Storktonmore; then will ravens sit on the [25] erosse, and drink as much blood of nobles as of the commons: Then wo is me, for London shall be destroyed for ever after.

" Then will come a woman with one eye, and she shall tread in many mens bloods to the knee; and she shall meet a man leaning on a staffe, and shall say to him, What art thou? and he shall say, I am King of the Scots. And she shall say, Go with me to my house for there are three knights. And he will go with her and stay there three days and three nights: Then will England be lost; and they will cry twice in one day, England is lost. Then there will be three knights in Petergate in York, and the one shall not know of the other. There shall be a childe born in Pomfret with three thumbs, and these three knights will give their horses to this [26] childe with three thumbs to hold, whilest they win England again: then come in clubs and clouted shoes, and they, with the three knights, win England again: and all noble blood shall be gone but one, and they shall carry him to Sheriff Hutton's castle, six miles from York, and he shall die there; and they shall chuse their earl in the field, and hang their horses on a thorn, and rue the time that ever they were born to see so much blood shed.

[27] Then they will come to York to besiege it; and they shall keep them out for three days and three nights; and a peny-loaf shall be within the bar at half-a-crown, and without the bar at a peny; and they will swear, if they will not yeeld to blowe up the town-walls. Then they will let them in; and they will hang up the maior, sheriffs, and aldermen: There will three knights go in to Crouch-church, and but one of them come out again; and he will cause proclamation to be made, That any man may take house, tower, or bower, for one and twenty yeers: And while the world endureth, there shall never be warfare again, nor any more [28] kings or queens; but the kingdom shall be governed by three lords, and then York shall be London.

" After this shall be a white harvest of corn gotten in by women. Then shall be in the north, that one woman shall say to another, Mother, I have seen a man to-day. And for one man there shall be a thousand women. There shall be a man sitting on Saint James Church-hill, weeping his fill. [29] And after that a ship come sailing up the Thames till it come against London; and the master of the ship shall weep; and the mariners shall ask him why he weepeth, seeing he hath made so good a voyage? And he shall say, O what a goodly city this was, none in the world comparable to it! and now there is scarce left any house that can let us have drink for our money.

Unhappie he that lives to see these days;
But happy are the dead, Shipton's wife says.

LILLY's *Prophesies, Lond.* 1645, *p.* 35.

[21] " God, I hope, will prevent this threatned mischief."
[22] " Brammish is a river in Northumberland."
[23] " I conceive it should be Knaresborough, by which the river Nid runs."
[24] " Storkton, I conceive mistaken for Stanemore in Richmondshire."
[25] " It is to be noted and admired, that this crosse in the north, in Mother Shiptons days, was a tall stone crosse, which ever since hath been by degrees sinking into the ground, and is now sunk so lowe, that a raven may sit upon the top of it, and reach her bill to the ground."
[26] " There is a childe, not many yeers since, born at Pomfret with three thumbs, as is credibly reported."
[27] " This is yet unacted."
[28] " All old prophecies do intimate a final subversion of monarchy in England."
[29] " All cities have their period, so must this; but not in this age we live in."

the whiter for being washed in blood. They must be thought Isaacs for offering up their Abraham. None are marked for true Israelites, but those that have the blood of their Moses on the doors.

Thus they can sin, and yet preserve their saintships. As Mahomet's paradise is both a brothelhouse and a nunnery; his virgins whore it, and yet continue vestals; are heavenly bawds, and yet may lead apes in hell. We perceive at last, why plays went down; to wit, that murders might be acted in earnest. Stages must submit to scaffolds, and personated tragedies to real ones. Mockshews of cruelty are but poor feasts to their flesh'd appetites. Leeches will suck no pictures. They hate all images and fables, but must murder the king in sincerity and truth. No need of heightning revels; these Herods can behead without the allurements of a dance. These tragedians have outvied invention, and acted what monsters in their most monstrous wishes could hardly reach. The head and members have but one neck; our compendious Caligulas have dispatch'd not only the king, but the kingdom too, at a blow.

'Tis the thiefs best plea to kill the judge; and great robberies are seldom committed without blood. Or else what wolves, but would have tended such a Romulus? such an Elias, what ominous ravens but would have fed? a prince! whose goodness might rather fear idolatry than injury; deserved rather to be prayed to, than condemned; made a saint, than murdered. A prince! whose merits were so far above all flatteries, that the oiliest courtier was as scandalous as Peters; and encomiums defam'd as much, as that Rabshekah of no more addresses. His sight, his wisdom was at first eclipsed, but the cloud only made his influence prove lightning, and whom he could not illuminate, at last he scared into a belief. But yet he still shewed more of the dove than the serpent, and 'twas the want of gall, that made him loose his head. When wasps and hornets usurp the hive, the royal bee suffers, because without a sting. They turned wolves because the lion was a lamb. All his tyranny was not to stay, but have his throat cut. And he now must bleed for not bleeding seven years before. Great tumults forced him hence, and the last tumult murdered him.

Thus, thus he dies, a prince whose innocence had taught poison allegiance, made pistols royalists, and kept Rolf[1] from being curs'd. A prince for whom Hotham was a martyr, Brown a prisoner, and Shimei-Prin undertook a vindication. Hammond at last becomes a captive to his charge. The good apostle converts his gaoler. He disarms the rebels even with his fetters, and like the hand of providence, is then most powerful, when it is thought most weak. He subdues as if the castle were not his prison, but his fort. 'Tis a question whether he was more miraculous for curing disloyalty or the evil. Hammond's blindness was as desperate as the woman's. He dispossesses so fast, Cromwell can scarce find devils enough to bait the exorcist. Let the vipers but kiss his hand, and they are innocent. Had Bradshaw that condemn'd him, been longer on the bench or single, that Dagon too had fallen before the captive ark. But oh! at the scaffold he engrosses miracles. There he christens by wholesale. That one blow slew more rebels than all these seven years. Our Sampson, though shaved both hair and head away, killed more Philistins at his death, than all his life time. Now they would swear fealty to his trunk, and homage to a dip'd hankerchief. They adore his very ghost, and will atone their rebellion by being subjects, now there is no king. And who cannot continue loyal to such a king that dies for the sins and safety of his people? who would refuse to be his subjects, who is their martyr? he acted a christian better than most divines can describe one; and bled doctrines freelyer than they can speak them. He shewed graces the school-men scarce ever heard of. We might edify more from the scaffold in one hour, than from the pulpit in an age. His passion was greater than all Queen Mary's days, and he suffered more than the whole book of martyrs.

[1] Rolf, repeatedly mentioned in this tract, was engaged in a scheme to murder Charles, at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight.—*See a Tract entitled the Independents Loyalty, vol. v. p. 152.*

The Earl of Pembroke's Speech in Parliament, on the Debate of the City's Petition for a Personal Treaty with the King in London, and also on the Debate of the Reasons given by the Lords to the Commons, for not sending the three Propositions before a Treaty; 1648.

Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, had no qualities to recommend him as a royal favourite saving two; any one of which, however, would have rendered him acceptable to James I. These were comeliness of person and indefatigable zeal in hunting. It can hardly be said however that he was promoted beyond his sphere since he was made only master of the horse and afterwards chamberlain. His character was that of Squire Western, choleric, boisterous, illiterate, selfish, absurd, and cowardly. He was besides a profligate, a gambler, and above all an ungrateful rebel to the son of the prince who had raised him, as he adhered with great vehemence to the cause of parliament, and afterwards to that of Cromwell. It was as in hatred and dishonour of learning that this Vandal, holding the office of Chancellor of Oxford, was employed by the parliament in 1647, to reform that university, from whence he expelled all who refused to take the covenant; "which was upon the matter," says Clarendon, "the whole university:" scarce a master or head of a college, and very few scholars or fellows consenting to such resignation of their principles. The absurdities of Pembroke, laid him frequently under the lash of Butler, and other satirists of the royal party.

The following attack upon this turn-coat, ungrateful and silly nobleman, was composed by the celebrated Sir Charles Sedley or Sidley, who was at this time living in retirement, but occasionally contributed to the showers of pasquinades with which Birkenhead, Butler, and others endeavoured to avenge the ruin of the royal party, and to degrade their successors in the opinion of the public.

The removal of Cromwell with the army to the north to oppose the Scotch, had given spirit to the city of London, who made it their petition to the parliament in very high and positive terms, that the King should be freed from restraint and invited to a personal treaty. The parliament durst not in the circumstances give a blunt negative, but contented themselves with evading the request of the petitioners. On that occasion, the following speech is supposed to have been delivered. Pembroke soon after received his reward, being made Constable of Windsor and Keeper of the Park and Tower, by an ordinance of both houses. 19th December 1648.

The Citizens being withdrawn, his Lordship spake as followeth:

My Lord,

I thank God you had no reason to make me your speaker: and truly all things considered, I have as little reason to be a speaker as any man, and yet I will speak for I have been learning these seven years how to do it *extrumpere;* I have helped too to bawl down bishops and scholars, and ministers, for dumb dogs; and do you think I'll be a dumb dog too? a halter I wilt: if I should sit still and say nothing, and let his majesty come to London, that were the way to make me dumb indeed, for I can say no more for myself than a dog. I hope the door is fast, that the citizens do not hear me, because I'll speak my mind. What though I do not know my own mind? Yet I'll

speak it as well as I can. 'Tis known I am a true Englishman, though I cannot speak good English, and as honest a man too as my Lord Say can make me; and therefore my lords, now I have lived long enough with you, I mean to die in the house of commons, or else, they say, I shall be no lord; and so say I to you: grass and hay, my lords, we are all mortal, and must be tied up to the manger.

I have been for the city too in my time, when they would pay their money, hear reason and invite us to dinners. Hang them rascals, they can not say but we have given them their belly-fuls too, I pray God they do not hear me. This time twelvemonth they made a young man of me, and yet (as simple as you think me) I am an old man: they drew me into a new war, and made me to wait upon a new speaker and vote his majesty's coming to London; but I was a mad man, I knew not what I did then; for if the army had not had the more mercy, I had been a traitor as well as the rest for ought I know. Do you think then I'll vote the king home again? no, I warrant you, I am an old bird and scorn chaff, or to be made traitor any more for any king in Christendom. I am an old thing made new now: my man Michael, tells me I am an independant. I think I am a good christian, ay; but citizens and Scots are Jews, and who knows but this personal treaty may be a new name for popery.

You may bring in popery and break the covenant, if you please my lords, but I dare not. I am sure we have reason to regard it, for we have gotten well by it; we have gotten the crown-lands, church-lands, the cavaliers lands, every man's lands too, if we please, and the devil and all; and how shall we keep them, if we do not keep the covenant? for my part, I'll keep to my oaths and rather than part with them, dam-me, I'll swear down all the personal treaty.

And good reason too, for they say it will undo all that we have been doing these seven years: and for my part I thought all had been undone already, then what needs any more undoing by a treaty? my lords if we must undo let us undo as the house of commons do, they do one thing to-day and undo it to-morrow: they voted they would never make any more addresses to the king and made us vote so too, and then they made us unvote all again. And truly I think this is a hard chapter; for I cannot read the meaning of it, but I am sure they do not mean a treaty if they can help it.

I like the way of sending propositions, ay; for I love to go on errands. I am sure it is an honourable employment for an old man to be the state's half penny boy; and I am glad the commons will not hear your reasons, for the king's coming before we have signed the three propositions. For observe, my lords, if they should hear reason they might go whistle: mistake me not, I mean, if they should hear any reason but their own, and I think that is all the reason in the world, for it is a reason of state, or the state's own reason. There I think I hit it; for all other reason is malignant and high treason. Why then should we treat with the king? For he'll talk malignant reason and reason of state too, but then here's the matter, my lords; he will not talk the state's reason, and therefore, judge ye, whether the state have any reason to talk with him, when he will talk nothing but treason, and by that means, my lords, make you or me, or any of us all traitors to our faces. Trust him that will, for my part I shall have as little to say to him, as any of you all, and yet you see I am a good speaker, according to the state's reason.

I think we never had a good world since we had so much reason: for my part (I'll speak my mind plainly,) I never had any reason of my own, nor will I own ever any but Michael Oldsworth, and the state's, and by the life of Pharaoh, I think they are two as reasonable creatures as any in the world. But to this point of reason I mean to speak more, now I am come to examine your lordships' reasons of state, which the

[a] Pembroke was usually one of the commissioners whom the parliament occasionally deputed to treat with the king.

house of commons have voted contrary to the state's reason: for, as I take it, my lords, they are the state, and you know we are all bound to submit to the state, or else we are traitors; I am sure few of us but have been made so for not submitting, and 'tis God's mercy we are not all traitors. Howsoever I'll be one no more, but keep, as well as I can, to the state's reasons, and I advise your lordships to do so too, for they care not a fig for all your reasons, nor I neither. S'death, I am sure some of you have no reason to the contrary; you know how you were whipped with the black rod lately, and I can tell you there's a black book at the head quarters; if you'll do reason ye may; but mark ye, my lords, it's very dangerous to talk reason, it's the only way to be put in the black book, and then you know the black rod follows. I am an old man, ay; and some of you are old enough too: but you see, we are not past whipping, and yet you will not take warning.

However, I shall have a care of one, and in the meantime see what reason you have to venture to talk reason to the state. If you were their fellow-commoners, you might have some reason to make bold to give them reasons; but being as it is, methinks you might know your distance. You say you would not have the three propositions offered to the king before the treaty: first, because the citizens here, and divers counties, have petitioned for it. The citizens! 'tis true, they have brought in a petition here for it. But the more rascals they: they may go home and say their prayers, for they are not likely to be heard here. What, do they pray when they should curse? damme, do they think the state's a camelion, to live upon air, good words, and petitions, and treaties? They were all for a new war, and drew me in too this time twelve-months, and now they are against a new war. Is there any reason in this, when the states have not yet done their business? must they do and undo as well as the state; and now by doing nothing, quite undo the state? they shall be hanged first; damme they shall. I am somewhat the more eager against this, because you say 'tis reason; but yet I hope the citizens do not hear me. I would not have all that I speak to be spoken on the house tops, because usually, my lords, I seldom speak but I am o' th' top of the house before I am aware. But this I say, why should they stand for peace and treaties that first set a-foot the war? And now, when we expect they should serve another apprenticeship to the state to maintain the war, they mean to leave reformation, like Dun, in the mire, and are become so popish as to cross us with treaties. If they were for a new war this time twelve-month, 'tis all the reason in the world they should be so now. What though the case be not the same, nor the state the same now that it was then? I hope the cause and the state are alive still and will be, as long as the king and the cavaliers live; and outlive them too; for they are the same still, and fitter for another world than the state's world: for the state's world runs round, and hath done so these seven years, but the king and the cavaliers are the same still: and therefore, my lords, I shall conclude with as good logic as any I have left in the university. As long as the king and the cavaliers are the same the cause must needs be the same, though the state be not the same, but mangled and rent and patched and new-modelled, and the covenant likewise cracked all to pieces. And where is your reason now, my lords? Doth it not follow then, that they ought not to take the same course to maintain the war against the king and the cavaliers, and not trouble the state thus with treaties? especially seeing Guildhall is the same, the excise, the city bags, and public faith too, are all the very same still, and as full and fluent as ever. And if these fellows that come here to vex the state thus with petitions will not go home in peace to forward a new war, and be the same men again that they have been, I hope the army will come and pickle them up in the Tower, and serve them the same sauce their fellows had this time twelve-month: for what other end, I pray you, do we keep the army, or the army keep us?

And now, my lords, that I have done with the citizens, I shall fall upon the counties.

What have they to do with petitions? They are out of their calling; they should follow the plough, and leave the state to harrow and fetch in harvest. I warrant you, they had rather have a king and see us quartered, than endure any more free-quarter; but I think the state-guard quartered them sufficiently, and made drawn cats of them, I mean the Surry men; so that I think they and the rest will have but a little stomach to come to a petitioning. What reason then, my lords, have you to regard what they say for a treaty? They can but talk, you see, and the state can fight, and be ne'er the more traitors for it; but if these fight, they are traitors presently, as soon as we have conquered them. I tell you, my lords, if the state had voted me a soldier, I would have no more mercy upon those fellows than if they were traitors in gingerbread. What though they would bite? I have ventured ere now the tenderest member I have with a biting thing, and lain in a month for it under the surgeon's hands; and I'll venture my tongue with any biter of them all, but I'll be sure to have a care of my head for the service of the state; and who knows whether I may keep it if there be a treaty? But I wonder what good my head would do them: I am not weary of it yet, for I never much troubled it, nor have been much troubled with it, and yet I should be much troubled to part with it: 'tis true, I for my part never got any thing by it, and I suppose nobody else will: therefore they had as good let it alone. But neither have you any reason to venture yours, nor I mine. And therefore, to this part of your reason, my lords, I say the counties are as very rascals as the citizens, that would have us pull an old house upon our heads by a personal treaty. They would have a disbanding of their army too, would they? But they shall snap short. For I love the army, damme, I do dearly: sink me, they would have us disband, I think too, and sit longer; but if the army will love us, we'll love the army: for why should the counties be so much against the soldiers, poor wretches? Consider, my lords, an 'twere your own case; for it might have pleased God to have made some of us soldiers. And so, my lords, I think I have maul'd your first reason against the three propositions.

Your second reason is, because his majesty hath often declared, that he will sign nothing till all things be concluded, and therefore, that the sending of those three must needs cause delay to the treaty. I would have you to know, my lords, I am not for delays, I hate them; for I think I am as hasty as any man; but yet I care not if we delay a treaty with God or the king, till doomsday, and that I think is a fair time, for it may be to-morrow for ought we know: And it is a very fit time, I think, since his majesty will agree to nothing till the conclusion of all things. I wish him well, he was my master, but I care not much for seeing him, nor for kissing his hand: I can kiss my lady May, and she is my mistress. I care not for kissing of men: I am an old man, and it is not for me to be kissing: but if she be for a personal treaty, then indeed this reason holds good against delay, and I am of your opinion.

Then you say too, it is contrary to the laws, to treating, to grant any thing before the treaty. Have we not done what we list all this while, and must we go by rule now? Then it will follow too that we must let the king rule again. He is in a fine condition to rule, is he not? I thought we could have ruled one another better than he. I am sure my Lord Say rules me as well as ever I would desire; and I believe he rules you as well as me; and then we can never be against the rules of treating, as long as he rules the roast, because he says a treaty is out of all rule, and none but unruly fellows do stand for it, and it is not for our honours, my lord, to be unruly: but, damme, I think we cannot be unruly; for we have as good a disciplined army as any in the world to rule us.

But I say farther, that it was the desire of the Scots to have his majesty come to some of his houses near London, and therefore we should yield to it presently, to keep a fair correspondence with them. Damme and sink me, my lords, what have we to do with them now? We had occasion to use them a while ago; but now, that they have

helped us to conquer the king, we have done with them. We, my lords, must be ruled, but the Scots, you see, are the lords of misrule. For my part I'll have nothing to do with them; I cannot abide a Scot; for a Scot switched me once,[a] and cracked my crown with my own staff, the very verge of my lord-chamberlainship, and now they are all coming to switch you too. They say Hamilton is their general: he is a duke; I cannot abide a duke because I am not one myself: but do not I look as like a duke as Hamilton? Well, I might have been one, if I had had wit enough to keep that honour which I had: but I had honour; what then had I to do with wit? That's for poor rogues; for wit and honour seldom meet together. I know many men count swearing to be wit; and if I had been so witty as to keep close to my oaths at court, and not broke them by playing false with the king, and forswear myself by taking the state's oaths and the Scots oath, damme, I had been as good a duke before this time as any Scot of them all. But hang dukes, we are princes now, an't please the commons.

As for the king coming to one of the houses, I know not what that means, for he hath never a house: I say they are the state's houses time out of mind, at least these seven years, ever since his majesty was turned out of doors. I am afraid if he should

[a] Of this switching business Osborne gives the following full and particular account:—

"Wherefore I shall take my first rise from him that was then Philip Herbert, since Earl of Montgomery, a man caressed by King James for his handsome face, which kept him not long company, leaving little behind it so acceptable as to render him fit society for any body but himselfe, and such bookes as posterity may find ordinarily dedicated to him, which might yet have prompted his understanding to a more candid proceeding then he used at Oxford, where he exercised greater passion against learning, that had, by teaching books to speak English, indeavoured to make him wise, then he did towards Ramsey, who, by switching him on the face at Roydon, rendered him ridiculous: it was at a horse-race where many both Scotch and English met; the latter of which did, upon this accident, draw together with a resolution to make it a nationall quarrell, so far as Mr John Pinchback, though a maimed man, having but the perfect use of two fingers, rode about with his dagger in his hand, crying, Let us breake our fast with them here, and dine with the rest in London. But Herbert, not offering to strike againe, there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a gentleman; in lieu of which, if I am not mistaken, the king made him a knight, a baron, a viscount, and an earle in one day; as he well deserved, having for his sake, or rather out of feare, transgressed against all the gradations of honour: for, if he had not torne to raggs that coat of armes so often in my hearing braged of, and so stanched the bloud then ready to be spilt, not only that day, but all after, must have proved fatal to the Scots, so long as any had stay'd in England, the royall family excepted, which, in respect to majesty or their own safety, they must have spared, or the kingdome been left to the misery of seeing so much bloud laid out as the triall of so many crabbed titles would have required; there being then, according to report, no lesse than fourteene, of which Parsons the jesuite, so impudent is this fraternity, makes the infanta the first. But they could not be these considerations that restrained Herbert, who wanted leasure no lesse than capacity to use them, though laid in his way by others: and therefore, if this effeminacy produced good to the nation (at that time doubted by many) the honor is only due to God, whose miraculous power was no less manifested (upon so high a provocation and great incouragement as the whole field afforded Philip) in raising so much fleagme in a man nobly borne, as might master so great a fury, then when he discovered to Sampson a cold fountaine in the jaw-bone of an asse. And such of his friends as blame his youth for doing nothing, take away all excuse could have been made for him had he done too much: since all commonly arrive at the years of valour, before they can attaine to those of discretion. This I can attest for the man, that he was intolerable cholerick and offensive, and did not refraine whilst he was chamberlaine to break many wiser heads than his owne; Mr May, that translated Lucan, having felt the weight of his staffe; which, had not his office and the place, being the banqueting house, protected, I question whether he would ever have strook againe. I have been told the mother of Herbert tore her hair at the report of her son's dishonour, who, I am confident, upon a like opportunity, would have ransom'd her own repute if she had not redeemed her country. In the meane time the king was much troubled at this accident, not being able to ruminate upon the consequence it might have produced without trembling; nor could he refrain from letting fall sharp expressions against the insolency of the Scotch, and the folly of the English, whose bloud he pretended to indulge most both within and without him: but this he soone retracted, carrying such an awful reverence to his own countrimen, who had chastised him in his mother's belly, as he durst not displease them out of feare to find himselfe deserted. It being past peradventure that he never looked upon the English as friends, the cause he rejoyced in nothing more than promoting excesse, by which he hoped to ruine nobility and gentry. But, however remote his affections were, he durst not but banish Ramsey the court; a poor satisfaction for Herbert, that was left nothing to testify his manhood but a beard and children by the daughter of that last great Earle of Oxford, whose lady was brought to his bed under the notion of his mistris, and from such a virtuous deceit she is said to proceed."
—Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs*, apud *Secret History of James I. Edinr.* 1811, 8. *vol. I. p.* 218—226.

come to any of his houses, and we not agree with him; nor let him be king again, we shall be turned out of our house, and the commons out of their house; and then we shall not have a house to hide our heads in. Mark ye too, my lords, it must be to some of his houses near London. How d'ye like that? I am sure some of ye have no houses near London, and ye thought to make bold with his majesty's. S'death, I thought ye had housed him for that purpose, and will ye now give over house-keeping?

You say likewise, there is more reason to offer a treaty with him now than there was heretofore at Oxford and Uxbridge. Well, my lords, you may do what you will. Sink me, if I don't live and die with the house of commons; I am for the state, ay: but if ye will undo yourself with reason, I cannot help it; you see the cavaliers have undone themselves with it already. And if ye will beggar yourselves with it too, and leave me to keep house here by myself, you may. You know the house of commons, and I are all one; and if you leave the house of peers to me and two or three more, the commons' house and ours will soon be all one too. Hang reason then, will you provoke the state, and leave my company for a little reason? you know whither my Lord of Holland is gone for his reason, and what is become of my Lord Francis and the rest, and where his majesty is with all his reason, and where am I that have reason? You talk of treating at Oxford and Uxbridge. 'Tis true his majesty baffled us with reason: but how hath he prospered after it? I believe it never did any body any good; and I am sure though we had no reason to get the better, yet we got the better with no reason: And therefore because we thrived so well then without reason, I think 'tis wisely done to deal without reason ever since. And so, my lords, I think I have tickled you for all your reasons against our sending the three propositions before a treaty.

Now, my lords, in the next place, I'll prove the propositions themselves to be so reasonable that I know you will never trust to your own reasons again. What though they are unreasonable, yet they are not so, if I keep to my former distinction, that is, not according to reason of state, but the state's reason; for, seeing a treaty would quite undo the state, sure it is all the reason in the world they should propound things out of reason, on purpose to prevent treating. Therefore I will maintain the first proposition is most reasonable that the king should recall all proclamations and declarations against us, and well he escapes so too; for I am sure he slandered us sufficiently with a matter of truth, though he called us out of our names: S'death, which of us all are rebels and traitors? Do I look like one? What, am I a Faux or a Catesby? I am sure I had no hand in this last powder-plot; nor the first neither: I scorn to be a traitor, ay; damme, what! Declarations and proclamations to cut off our heads, and not recall them? You may choose whether you will have them recalled or no; but, sink me, I will have them recalled. What! shall our heads be fitted with an iron cap case, and set a sunning these dog-days upon the top of the house here to spoil our complexions? Damme, we must all come to it if we be rebels and traitors: traitor then in his face, if he will not recall his proclamations; for they will make us traitors in spite of our teeth, if we do not make them treason against the state. What though the house of commons have made us traitors in many things in spite of our teeth, I hope the state may do any thing and be no treason: therefore I say these proclamations are treason against the state, and so not to recall them is to be a traitor against the state.

But the cavaliers say if the king recalls them, then he makes himself and them to be traitors; and all the reason in the world, believe me; for, do what we can, we cannot make them traitors; why then should not he make them so to our hands? For I am sure we use them like traitors; and one had better be traitors, I think, than used so. But they are stubborn fellows; their shoulders are broad enough to bear any thing, and therefore the state hath reason to make them the traitors. I remember when they proclaimed my Lord of Essex a traitor, and my Lord Say here a traitor, and all that stuck to them, traitors; I am sure I stuck to them close, and yet, I think, we are never

the worse traitors for being proclaimed. What's a proclamation? I am sure there are some of the state that have torn his majesty's proclamations. How can they be traitors then? But I will tell you, my lords, who are the traitors. The king's evil counsellours are the traitors; for they never left him till we shut him up close prisoner, and put them away. We are the king's great council now: what, though we will not let him come among us, yet I am sure we are his best council; for we save him a great deal of trouble, and dispatch all things for him without a hearing, and so, I hope, we shall dispatch him too, if he will not recall. Judge then, my lords, whether he had not best recall his proclamations.

Now for the second proposition for settling of church government; there is all the reason in the world for it; for, I say, every tub ought to stand upon its own bottom. Why, then, should not the church of England be settled upon a Scotch bottom? Here's such a deal ado about a church and religion! I tell you plainly, my lords, I am an independent; I love it better than presbytery; and yet, I think, they are both but a tale of a tub: but, howsoever, it is an ill tub that hath no bottom: therefore, my lords, I keep my first saying, the church will never be settled till every tub stands upon its own bottom. Judge you then whether I am not fit to be a reformer. The assembly says we must not reform according to the word of God. For my part, I never trouble myself to read a word of it; and yet you know I am an assembly-man. What need I read the word of God when I keep a chaplain to read it? Besides, they say the reading of it would spoil my oaths, and I'll not leave one word of my oaths for all the word of God: but I am willing to be rid of my Scotch oath, because they say 'tis taken out of the word of God, and it may be so for ought I know. But yet I would fain keep the covenant, because it has kept many of us these hard times, and because it keeps the bishops away from us. I cannot abide bishops, they have so much learning and antiquity. I hate surplices too ever since Mr Henderson preached it up for the whore of Babylon's smock. It seems he had taken it up often, for he had many a bout with her (as Mr Sedgwick says) now and anon too. But hang the whore of Babylon; she is an old whore, and I am an old man, I thank God, but I cannot abide old whores; nor you neither, my lords, I hope. Therefore judge you whether his majesty ought not to settle church government presently, that all old whores may be excommunicated.

As for our third proposition for the settling of the militia, I know not well what to say to it. This militia is a hard word, and so is public faith; but yet the citizens made a shift to swallow it. The devil's in their guts, they will down with any thing these hard times; and they will down with militia too, if we would let them. Sure it is a very hard word; for we have much ado to make his majesty part with it, and we are as loth to part with it as his majesty. But, I think, we have made him part with it in spite of his teeth. What though he will not give it us? We have it already; and we are fools, I think, if we do not keep it. What, take away our arms! Does he think to make the state cross the cudgels, and be popish again? The state shall order Colonel Hammond to trip up his heels first; and if he cannot do it, Rolph shall go and make him kick up his heels. He is a member of the state's militia; he may do it, damme, he may; for nobody that I see dares question him. Judge you then whether his majesty had not as good let us cut his throat with the militia as without it. And so, my lord, I think the three propositions are very reasonable, and that you will never trouble the state with any more reasons against them.

Now, my lords, for the city's petition here before us, I have but one word more to say. I say their petition is worse than your reasons. They would have a treaty too, and no propositions; but they are not half so mannerly to the state as your lordships; for you give reasons, but they bring not a word of reason that I can understand; and yet they will have no nay to a treaty. Hang them, rascals; it is to save their purses; they had rather save their purses than themselves or the state: but, damme, their

purses and they are both reprobates, and therefore, I say, the state must damn them both. It is possible in time the state may hang them for all their services: I do not mean the aldermen in their own chains, for the troopers will find other ware for execution: and well they deserve it; for the poor army hath taken the pains to conquer the kingdom and them too; and yet the churls are so miserable they never could find in their hearts to give them as much as one meal of thanksgiving; therefore, I think, after their cold breakfast before Colchester, they had best come and fall aboard upon the city; I am sure they have some friends here that will bid them welcome. Skippon hath a thousand horse for that purpose; and I think they will help pretty well to fetch recruits out of these dogged fellows of the city, and keep out a personal treaty.

Then mark, my lords, they will have this treaty to be in London; no other place will serve them to have the king in but London: I thought they had kings at London enough already; but they will have King Charles; this is a malignant word if you put God to it; for it is the cavaliers word, and I am for neither. I hope, my lords, you will be so too, and not turn cavaliers now at last; for what should we do with King Charles? Which of us can look him in the face? Damme, I think you have as little reason to treat with him as I. Well, my lords, I have spoken my mind. I pray you do not order the printing of my speech, for I would not have every body know my mind before myself. I should speak oftener if I might be less in print; for a speech in print is near kin to learning, and I hate learning. I hate a king; I hate King Charles. Do you so too, and let's love one another, and be obedient to the state; for, damme, sink me, and ram me nine miles into the bottom of a hedge, we are undone if we do not make slaves of the city, and keep off a personal treaty.

Gradus Simeonis; or, the First Fruits of Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, &c. sometimes Knight of the Garter, and now Knight of Berkshire; presented in a learned Speech, upon the Day of his ascending down into the Lower House of Commons.

In the first Year of the Lords Freedome.

This circumstance, which gave rise to the following *jeu d'esprit*, is thus adverted to by Whitelocke:—

"April 16, 1649. Upon the death of Sir Francis Pile, knight of the shire for Berks, a writ issued out for a new election, and the sheriff returned the Earl of Pembroke, with all his titles, to be chosen knight of the shire for Berks, *primæ impressionis*. The house approved of the election, and admitted the earl a member of the house of commons, and his lordship, attended by many eminent members, was received into the house with great respect."—WHITELOCKE'S *Memorials*, *p.* 383.

"Sept. 18. For an honour to the Earls of Pembroke, and of Salisbury, and of the Lord Howard of Escrigge, members of the house of commons, ordered, That they might sit in all committees of which they were before the lords' house was dissolved."— *Ibid*, *p.* 410.

MASTER Speaker, and worthy fellow-members, I am now advanced into the lower house; and am glad I can say unto you (as sometimes did another worthie of this

house) " Behold your Knight." I am not ashamed to be a knight; my father was a knight before me; and why may not a man be a knight after he is a lord as well as before? I am the first knight that ever you made. Who should make knights but you that have the sword? I am a knight of your making, and I hope I am a knight of Gods making. I was born a knight, and now I am chosen a knight. Why should we be not twice knights as well as twice children? The presbyterian parliament made me a knight errant; I was then a knight of all shires. I think they were the great levellers; for they brought me down to be a spaniel, or pack-horse: they could find no use for me but to fetch and carry. I had Hobson's choice, either be a Hobson or nothing. I was then a plain ordinary post; but I thank God you have made me a knight o' th' post.

Mr Speaker, I have been Knight o' th' Bath, and Knight o' th' Garter, and all manner of knights: I have been dubd so often, that I am now fain to wear a periwig. You may dub me what you will but a Lord Capel: I would be any thing but a saint or a martyr.

Mr Speaker, I am not very good at speeches; but I had rather make twenty i' th' lower house than one upon the scaffold.

Mr Speaker, reformation goes backward, and crabs go backward; all things go backward, and why should not I go backward? Now is the time o' th' year (you know) for lobsters. I had rather have gone forward, but we must all go that way the devil drives. I would still be growing, though it be downwards. Why should not old lords, as well as old men, be cows-tails? I was always a dunce, you know; I used to learn my lessons over again i' th' horn-book; and why may I not do it so i' th' heraulds-book? For a lord to turn knight, is only to wear his coat the wrong side out. It's a hard world now; lords may be forced to turn their cloathes. Had I not been a knight, I must have been nothing. I was (I knew) at a losse in my lordship, and I learnt of my hounds to hunt counter and cast about. Would you not have me (Mr Speaker) have as much wit as a hound? None took me for a lord, but only some silly people like my selfe.

I am sure on't, I have nothing to shew for it but a star; a horse, for ought I knew, was as noble a beast as my self; a star is but a star, whether it be worn in ones forehead or upon ones shoulders. If there was an Earle of Pembroke, 'twas my cloak was guilty, not I. I ne're was so much a gentleman but only while I swore. Since I left my oathes, God confound me, I am no more noble than any colonel i' th' army. All my titles of honour were but nick-names to me; my long bill only made me a woodcock, and now I have a short one, 'twill perhaps make me but an owle. My name was so long, I had much ado to remember it. What profit do titles bring in? 'Tis a far deal better, I hope, to be knight of a shire, then a knight of a garter; and a rope with Gregory[1] at it would become me as well (I think) as a blew ribbon with a George.

Mr Speaker, I have been sick o' th' nobility e'er since my Lord of Holland wore a night-cap. Pray God a man may be a knight in quiet. I can as well ride with two horses as six. Ile go on foot, or any thing, rather than be carted with one.

God dam me, Mr Speaker, I was curst (I think) to be made an earl. The devil did it to have me beheaded, and I had rather be hanged, if I must die; that's a dog's death, (Mr Speaker,) and you know I love dogs. I would I had been a brewer, or a cobler, or any thing but a lord.

Mr Speaker, pray move it that Michael Oldsworth may be Earl of Pembroke; I have been lord long enough a conscience. Michael is a man of understanding; Pembroke and Montgomery may be Welsh for ought I know. He has made me a knight; and what can I do lesse than make him a lord? He made me a presbyterian, and he

[1] Gregory was the Jack Ketch of the day.

made me a visitor; and now he has made me as good a member as himself. He makes my speeches; and I think I have as good speeches made for me as any lord i' th' kingdom. He can make me an independent, or a leveller, or any thing as occasion serves. God dam me, he is the best maker that e'er I had.

Mr Speaker, I was once i' th' Tower, you know, and must have gone to Tower-Hill but for him; and what a mad earl should I have made with my head off! Some say, I am none of the wisest now it's on; I have been alive this seven years, and you know many a wiser man than I hath gone to pot: They talke of the bishop and deputy; but and if they were wise, I thank God I am a fool.

All religion is good, (Mr Speaker,) and why should not all kinds of religions be good too? We cannot have too much religion; and how can we have too many? I loved the Common-Prayer; the Letanie served me for swearing. I love presbyterie too; you know that brought the covenant; and we had no swearing a long while before. I love the independent too. Why should we not have a pack of religions as well as a pack of dogs? I hope both presbyter and independent will concur and agree, a man may be both, I think, as well as either of them. I can be any thing, and I can be nothing, in a parliamentary way. Though I am a poor Christian, I thank God I am a contented one. I can be a lord when I can; and I can be a knight when I otherwise chuse: I am not such a fool, but that in these times I can be a changeling too. Michael Oldsworth[1] will instruct me; and I am not such fool neither but to do as I am bid. If there should be a king again, I shall, perhaps, be begg'd for a fool; but till then I am not such a fool as to be a beggar. I'le be a leveller, so I may keep my own estate: we shall not be levellers, I hope (Mr Speaker) among ourselves.

Mr Speaker, I think I can vote as well as any man: though I am a goose I can cackle. Michael Oldsworth and I shall carry it whate're it be: when he opens I shall gape, I warrant; and I hope we are enough to set the rest a yawning. I hate division; when I am hunting I love a full cry, I am no stragler; I shall never leave you till you turn me away. I had not left the house of lords, had it not left being a house of lords. 'Twas all a poor cobweb could do, to hang till the house was blown up Had I hung any longer, I might have been hang'd for ought I know. But I can be a cobweb, Mr Speaker, i' th' lower house as well as in the upper. A cobweb may be any where but in Westminster-Hall.

The upper house has been visited as well as Oxford; there are more earls of Pembroke (it seems) beside my self. Faux had like to have blown it up; but hang him, traytor, he would not have done it in a parliamentary way. In a parliamentary way, I say: I'le speak no treason, Mr Speaker; that's as bad as flinging standishes. I could never see Faux his head, God forgive me, but mine aked presently. I do what I can to keep it on; and yet I am afraid, one time or other, 'twill be loose i' th' hilts. 'Tis a scurvy one, but 'tis better then none. Should I want my head, how should I do to wear a periwig? Let 'em take my arms, so they leave my head safe; let 'em take Pembroke and Montgomery, so they leave Philip and Herbert; and let 'em take them too, so they leave me. I do not stand upon names: my good name was gone long ago; and yet I thank God I am alive, and keep hounds still. One may be a parliament-man, I hope, without a name, and a knight without a name.

I shall do excellent well in a representative. I know I can sit as like an image (though I say't, Master Speaker) as the best i' th' house. I shall sit still till you make a new oath: a fresh oath, Mr Speaker, in my judgment, would do very well; but I would have it contrary to all, for only variety is pleasing to all men.

[1] His lordship's steward, who appears to have had the management as well of the earl as of his estates. He is called, in a preceding tract, the Governor of Pembroke and Montgomery, and is said to have composed his lord's speeches in parliament.

And now, Mr Speaker, that I am speaking of oaths, I remember when I was sent by your order to undoe the university of Oxford, according to the duty of my place, which I hold there as chancellor, I met with some troublesome scholars, which talked to me of conscience; they could not swear and forswear themselves (forsooth) because of conscience; their conscience, they said, would not suffer them.

Mr Speaker, my first motion therefore to this honourable house is, that it may be put to a vote, whether or no there be any such thing as conscience; or, if there be, that then an act may be made by this house, that no man may be allowed to keep a good conscience but the wicked cavaliers.

For, alas! Mr Speaker, this conscience is good for nothing but to make a man a beggar. Would I have been troubled with it, I had been as poore as any o' th' kings lords are now. 'Tis easier keeping two or three packs of dogs then one good conscience; and yet oat-meale is very dear now, God knows.

Mr Speaker, I hope 'tis not unlawful to keep dogs; keeping dogs, Mr Speaker, is no swearing. I love dogs, and I love the parliament. I may love dogs, and yet not love kings. I must love dogs now, Mr Speaker, for else why was I chosen knight of Barkshire?[1]

The last Will and Testament of the Earl of Pembroke.

I, Philip, late Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, now knight for the county of Berks, being (as I am told) very weak in body, but of perfect memory, for I remember this time five years I gave the casting voice to dispatch old Canterbury; and this time two years I voted no address to be made to my master; and this time twelve months saw him brought to the block: yet because death doth threaten and stare upon me, who still have obeyed all those that threatened me, I now make my last will and testament.

Imprimis. For my soul, I have heard very much of souls, but what they are, or whom they are for, God knows, I know not; they tell me now of another world, where I never was, nor do I know one foot of the way thither. While the king stood, I was of his religion; made my son wear a cassock, and thought to make him a bishop. Then

[1] The following real anecdote, which took place during the treaty of Uxbridge, will enable the reader to estimate whether Pembroke is much wronged by the style of thinking and oratory imputed to him in these tracts:—

"There happened a pleasant accident on one of those days, which were assigned for the matter of religion. The commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting or after their rising, entertaining themselves by the fire-side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely cold, in general and casual discourses, one of the king's commissioners asked one of the other, with whom he had familiarity, in a low voice, 'Why there was not, in their whole directory, any mention of the Creed and Ten Commandments, and so little of the Lord's Prayer, which is the only one recommended?' The Earl of Pembroke, overhearing this discourse, answered aloud, and with his usual passion, 'That he and many others were very sorry that they had been left out; that the putting them in had cost many hours debate in the house of commons, and that at last the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine voices, and so they did not think fit to insist upon the addition of them in the house of peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and he verily believed, if it were to do again, they should carry it for the inserting them all;' which made many smile to hear that the Creed and Ten Commandments had been put to the vote and rejected, and many of the others were troubled and out of countenance with the reason the good lord had given for the exclusion."—CLARENDON, *vol. II. p.* 452.

came the Scots, and made me a presbyterian; and since Cromwell entered I have been an independent. These, I believe, are the kingdom's three estates, and if any of these can save a soul, I may claim one; therefore, if my executors do find I have a soul, I give it to him to give it me.

Item. I give my body, for I cannot keep it, you see the chirurgeon is tearing off my flesh, therefore bury me, (I have church-lands enough,) but do not lay me in the church-porch, for I was a lord, and would not be buried where Colonel Pride was born.

Item. My will is, that I have no monument, for then I must have epitaphs and verses; but all my life long I have had too much of them.

Item. I give my dogs (the best curs that ever man laid leg over) to be divided among my council of state. Many a fair day have I followed my dogs, and followed the state both night and day; went whither they sent me; sat where they bid me, sometimes with lords, sometimes commons, and now can neither go nor sit: yet, whatever becomes of me, let my poor dogs not want their allowance, nor come within the ordinance of one meal a week.

Item. I give two of my best saddle-horses to the Earl of Denbigh, for I fear ere long his own legs will fail him; but the tallest and strongest in all my stables I give to the academy for a vaulting-horse for all lovers of virtue. All my other horses I give to the Lord Fairfax, that when Cromwell and the states take away his commission, his lordship may have some horse to command.

Item. I give my hawks to the Earl of Carnarvan; his father was master of hawks to the king, and he was so like his father that I begged his wardship, lest he in time should do so by me.

Item. I give all my deer to the Earl of Salisbury, who, I know, will preserve them, because he denied the king a buck out of one of his parks.

Item. I give my chaplains to the Earl of Stamford, in regard he never used to have any but his son, the Lord Grey, who, being both spiritual and carnal, may beget more monsters.

Item. I give nothing to the Lord Say, which legacy I give him because I know he will bestow it on the poor.

Item. To the countesses (my sister and my wife) I now give leave to enjoy their estates; but my own estates I give to my eldest son, charging him, on my blessing, to follow the advice of Michael Oldsworth, for though I have had 30,000*l.* per annum, yet I die not in debt above 80,000*l.*

Item. Because I threatened Sir Henry Mildmay, but did not beat him, I give fifty pounds to the footman that cudgelled him.

Item. My will is, that the said Sir Harry shall not meddle with my jewels. I knew him when he served the Duke of Buckingham; and since how he handled the state jewels; for both which reasons I do now name him, The Knave of Diamonds.

Item. To Tom May (whose pate I broke heretofore at a mask) I give five shillings. I intended him more; but all that have seen his history of the parliament think five shillings too much.[1]

[1] Pembroke was Lord High Chamberlain to Charles I., and, as mentioned in a former note, broke May the historian's head with his staff of office. It is probable that his violent demeanour, in the exercise of his office, was the subject of Fletcher's ridicule when describing that of Calianax, in the Maid's Tragedy, who, in office, temper, talent, and poorness of spirit, exactly resembles Pembroke. 'Would he were here,' says the deputy-chamberlain, employed in keeping back the crowd at a mask, 'he would run raging among them, and break a dozen wiser heads than his own in the twinkling of an eye.'—Act I. scene II. Clarendon says, the exercise of Lord Pembroke's office required some rudeness, and that the order of the court depended upon his incivilities.

Thomas May, who underwent the rude repulse mentioned in the text, was a man of talents. He tran-

Item. To the author of the libel against ladies, (called News from the Exchange,) I give three-pence for inventing a more obscene way of scribbling than the world yet knew; but, since he throws what is rotten and false on divers names of unblemished honour, I leave his payment to the footman that paid Sir Harry Mildmay's arrears, to teach him the difference 'twixt wit and dirt, and to know ladies that are noble and chaste from downright roundheads.

Item. I give back to the assembly of divines their classical, provincial, congregational, national; which wards I have kept at my own charge above seven years, but plainly finding they will never come to good.

Item. As I restore other men's words, so I give Lieutenant-General Cromwell one word of mine, because hitherto he never kept his own.

Item. To all rich citizens of London, to all presbyterians as well as cavaliers, I give advice to look to their own throats; for, by order of the state, the garrison at Whitehall have all got poniards, and for new lights have bought dark-lanthorns.

Item. I give all my printed speeches to these persons following, viz. That speech which I made in my own defence, when the seven lords were accused of high-treason, I give to Serjeant Wild, that hereafter he may know what is treason and what is not; and the speech I made *extempore* to the Oxford scholars, I give to the Earl of Manchester, speaker, *pro tempore*, to the house of peers before its reformation, and chancellor, *pro tempore*, of Cambridge University since its reformation. But my speech at my election, (which is my speech without an oath,) I give to those that take the engagement, because no oath hath been able to hold them. All my other speeches (of what colour soever) I give to the academy, to help Sir Balthazar's Art of well Speaking.

Item. I give up the Ghost.

Concordat cum Originali.

NATHANIEL BRENT.

Codicil.

Before his Lordship gave his last Legacy, he mentioned other Particulars, but his Sense and Words grew so independent, that they could not make forth into perfect Legacies; yet we have thought fit to write what he spoke, which was in hæc verba:—

Item. I give ——'s death, I am very sick, and my memory fails me: sink me if I can remember what I have else to give. I have troubled my mind with things of this world; but who the devil thought death had been so near? Ah! what is that? Now it is at my bed's feet, all bloody. Murder! murder! call up my men. Oldsworth! where a plague are ye all? I am well holp-up to have such comforters. What, was it but a cat? A pox mew ye, do you take a lord for a mouse? Soho, soho; there, there, O brave Towler! Plague on that cat! Couple him to Royster. Come to bed, sweetheart; come, duck, come.—Pox rot ye all! where is my coach? My lord-mayor hath staid at Guildhall this two hours. That cock is worth a king's ransom; he runs, he runs—a thousand pound to a bottle of hay. Rub, rub, rub—a pox rub—a hundred thousand rubs. S'death, my bowel is bewitched, it has no more bias than a pudding. I'll to the house, and remove the obstructions for sale of the king's goods. Damn me, there it is again; ah! a man without a head! Speak, what art thou? S'death, canst

slated Lucan, wrote several tragedies, an original poem on the exploits of Edward III., and a prose history of the Long Parliament, to which he was secretary. He died in 1652. His official situation as clerk to the parliament drew upon him the satire in the text.

speak without a head?[1] And there, with lawn sleeves! comes just upon me, beckons me.[2] Ah! another yet, all in purple!—my own master! I beseech your majesty let me kiss your hand. No, blood! blood! oh I am undone! Help! help!—why, Oldsworth; oh, where are ye all? Is this a time to stop your noses? Call up my chaplains. Where is Caldicut? Pray, good Caldicut, pray, pray; plague consume you, why do ye not pray?———

Concordat cum Originali.

NATHANIEL BRENT.

Bibliotheca Parliamenti. Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, qui prostant venales in Vico vulgo vocato Little-Britain. Classis secunda. Done into English for the Assembly of Divines. Anno Domini 1653.

This curious little tract is well defined in the *Censura Literaria*, as "a bold and pertinent attack on the hypocritical leaders during the time of the commonwealth. The works assigned are founded on the leading features of each distinguished character, with an inventive appropriation of considerable humour to amuse the secret royalists."—*Censura Literaria, vol. VII. p.* 421.

Books to be sold in Little Brittaine.

Exotio Negotium, the Art of Picking of Straws in this grand Vocation, by the late Members of the late Parliament.[3]

2. Ἐναφρὸς, Newburn-Heath, an excellent Poem in Praise of one Pair of Legs, written by Sir Henry Vane, Junior.[4]

3. The Hermaphrodite, or Half Souldier, teaching the Posture of Fighting with the Word and the Sword, as it was held forth to an Assembly of Saints in the new Artillery Ground, by Philip Skippon.[5]

4. Πολεμὸς ἀκίνδυνος, or the Gravel-pit, cleering the Difference betwixt a Wife and an Handmaid, learnedly disputed by Sir Whimsey Mildmay.

5. *Cervisia Coccina*, The Art of turning Leather into Scarlet, by Colonel Thomas Pride.[6]

6. *Critica Sacra*, wherein against all Contradiction is proved, that the Place which saith the Saints are cloathed in white Rayment, must hereafter be read, in Red Coats; by Vavasor Powel.[7]

[1] The Earl of Strafford. [2] Archbishop Laud.

[3] An insult upon their being superseded by Cromwell.

[4] Sir Henry Vane, junior, however bold as a politician, was devoid of personal courage, and fairly fled at the skirmish at Newburn; yet he died with great firmness.

[5] Serjeant-Major Skippon, a rough nonconformist. He was bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and distinguished himself during the civil wars, by the state of discipline to which he brought the trained-bands of London.

[6] Colonel Pride rose from a brewer's servant to be a military commander of some eminence.

[7] Most of the soldiery under Cromwell being independents, had the gift of exposition, prayer, and preaching.

7. *Inverecundus Mæchus,* or the Sin of Adultery made plain in a Midnight Dialogue, by Mr Scot.

8. *Nova Virga,* A new Art of measuring Cloth by the Sword, by Hugh Peters.

9. Γυμνόκερος, or the Sowre Saint, being a Cluster of Grapes from a withered Vine, by Colonel Robert Tichburn.

10. Loves Masterpiece, a new History, both naturall and divine, wherein is set forth to the Life, the Loves of Mrs Fenton and the Parson of Dulidge, &c. worthy the Perusall of all ingenious Spirits; to be sold at the Horns in Pauls Church-yard.

11. *Pseudo Propheta,* or the Pittifull Parliament, by George Withers, the pittifull Poet.[1]

12. *Excors Redivivus,* An exact and true History of the Victories obtained by the right valiant Sir James Harrington, wherein is also shown his Wisdom in running away from his Whore, by Joshua Sprig.[2]

13. *Semivir,* or the zealous Pander, written by Sir Gilbert Pickering, with Addition of Fructification, by an eminent Major in the Army.[3]

14. *Chiromantia,* The baudy Language of the Hand and Fingers, invented and found out by Sir Harry Mildmay, whilst he was Pimp to the Duke of Buckingham, and now lately reprinted at the Desire and for the Use of Mrs Lambert.[4]

15. *Legenda Nigra,* or an exact Catalogue of the new Councell of State, by O. Cromwel.

16. Ὀφθαλμὸς ἁπλοῦς, or the single Eye and Double-Dealer, shewing the Reason why Col. Hewson hath a double Conscience, because he hath but one Eye.

17. The Ginger-bread Prophet, or the Akhoran of Oliver Mahomet, explained and expounded by Hugh Peters, late Pastor to a hunger-starved Flock at Salem, in New England.[5]

18. *Icon Animarum,* or the Jumping of Wits, in the Production of John Taylor the Water Poets Nonsense upon Sense, and the late Parliaments Act of Indemnity both on a Day.

19. *Coriatus junior,* or the Wandering Jew, by Miles Corbet.

20. The Rebellion, a Tragedy lately acted at Whitehall, by the Rebels of this Age, to be sold at the Bible and States Armes, in Little Britain.

21. Παραμύθικος, Comfort and Counsell for afflicted Consciences, dedicated to the Parliament and Army, by J. Durant, Deane of Canterbury.

22. The Way to get Wealth, and the Knave in Grain, two Tracts written experimentally, by W. Lenthal, Esquire.

23. *Utrum Horum,* An Agreement betwixt the Pope and Cromwel, wherein is cleerly proved there is little Difference between them, they being both Saints of the Black Rowl, by a disbanded Member.

24. The valiant Kid, wherin is condemned that foolish Practice of fighting Duels, by Sir James Harrington.

[1] George Withers, a voluminous poet, of whom and of his writings a full account may be found in the British Bibliographer. He bore arms for the parliament, and became a captain in their service.

[2] Joshua Sprigge published various pieces in behalf of the parliament. Sir James Harrington seems to have avoided fighting a duel.—See article 24.

[3] Sir Gilbert Pickering, cousin-german of Dryden the poet, rose to eminence during the civil war. He was first a presbyterian, but afterwards became an independent, closed with Cromwell's party, and acted as lord chamberlain to the protector. He was one of the regicide judges, but after the Restoration escaped further punishment than disqualification.

[4] Sir Henry Mildmay was said to have merited his post of keeper to the jewel-house by serving the Duke of Buckingham in his amours. He pretended to discern that the royalists imprisoned in the Tower communicated with each other by making signs in their fingers, and imposed upon them a more strict seclusion.

[5] Hugh Peters was for some time a pastor in New England, the general country of refuge for the wilder fanatics in the earlier part of Charles I.'s reign.

25. *Hymnus Tabaci*, A Poem in Honour of a Levellers Leather Linings dryed over a Close-stool, by Pagan Fisher, Esquire.

26. *Dertamen Religiosum*, or a Disputation between a Leveller and an Independent, on that Text of Scripture, "Unless ye repent ye shall both perish."

27. The Wandering Knight, or a Discovery of a new World 22 Leagues beyond the old Southward to Cape Nusqua, by severall wandering Members.

28. The Golden Asse, in ten Books, by the Lord Major of the City of London.

Hoylii Posthuma, A new Way to cozen the Devil, a Piece of much Worth, written wholly for the Benefit of the Parliament and the Army, by Alderman Hoyl, deceased.

30. An excellent new Ballad, entitled The Life of a Souldier, to the Tune of Nobody else shall plunder but I, by Major-General Lambert, together with an Appendix *de generatione hominum*, by Lieut. Gen. Harrison, a Practitioner in that Science.

31. *Angliae flagellum*, or the unfortunate Polititian, by Lieut. Col. J. Lilburn.

32. *De reformatione legum:* That the only Way to prevent and determine tedious Law-suits is to undo Men quickly, by the Masters of the Chancery.

33. The Thief on the Cross, wherein is shewn that the only Way to make Thieves repent, and Knaves honest, is to bring them to the Gallows, made out in a Sermon upon Occasion of the Dissolution of the late Parliament, in the Cathedrall Rounds of Smithfield, by Mr Vavasor Powel.

34. *De salute conservanda*, a Treatise, proving that the only Way to keep the People from malignant Humours is to let them bloud in the Purse.

35. *Dæmonogie*, or the History of Independency, in two Books, by Dr Nathaniel Homes.

36. The Sophister, shewing the Folly of such as go to Church when they may heare a Sermon at Home, or in a Stable; whereunto is annexed, the Confounder of Bells, by Samuel Chidly, a simple Saint.

37. *Annus Tenebrosus*,[1] or the further Propagation of Heathenism amongst Christians, as it was held forth in a private Conference by my Lord Generall to the Lady, whereby she became fully satisfied and he much eased. Published to prevent imperfect Relations, by W. Dell, an Eye Witnesse thereof.

38. *Christianographia Britannica*, or a Continuation of the famous History of the Knight Don Quixot, in the exemplary Lives of the two Arch-priests Errant, Vavasor Powel and W. Cradock.

39. *Carnis Resurrection*, or the Exaltation of the Flesh by the Power of the Spirit, to the Comfort of the Dejected; held forth in a close Conference over the Butchers Wife, by Hugh Peters.

40. The Artificial Changeling, a Tract proving our Army good Arithmeticians, since they can do any additionall Sum, amounting to 120,000*l.* and upwards; but the Peoples Grievances are set forth in the End, because the Souldiery are so well skil'd in Multiplication and Addition, but know not how to substract.

Acts and Orders.

1. A declaration and order of the generall and his councell of officers for the speedy raysing of 120000*l.* a month, for the ease of the people.

2. An Act for the speedy Stopping the Mouthes of Gods Messengers the Ministers,

[1] *Annus Tenebrosus* was the title of a tract published by Lily the astrologer, in 1552, not so much, he is pleased to inform us, "because of the great obscurity of the solar eclipse, by so many prattled of to no purpose, but because of those underhand and clandestine counsels held in England by the soldiery, of which I would never but in generals give any knowledge to any parliament man."—Lily's *Life and Times. Edit.* 1774. *p.* 151. It is needless to add, that the reader must find some other exposition in the present instance.

and to let the Kingdom know that a Message from the new Councell of State is of more Reverence and Authority.

3. An Act for the Keeping of M. Prin from going to take up new Lodgings of his old Landlord at Garnsy, for fear a crosse Wind bring him back again to perfect the Accounts of the Commonwealth in point of Sedition.[1]

4. An Act for the speedy Relief of those Seamens Wives, whose Husbands shall be slaine or retaken by the Dutch in the present Service, that so they may not thrash for a Living in Rosemary-lane, and cuckold their Husbands to the Scandall of the State.

5. An Act for the Recompence of the Two Superintendents of Presbytery and Independency, Steven Marshall and Philip Nye, for their former good Services in venturing their Souls as freely as Others have done their Bodies.

7. An Act giving Power to the Wylde Baron,[2] to read the Law backward, for the Benefit of the State.

8. An Order for the new casting S. Sepulchres[3] Bell, for the more speedy summoning the Members together (they living at such Distance) when it shall please O. Cromwel to call them that Way, viz. Tyburn.

9. Ordered, that such of the lords and the commons that have continued faithfull to the cause, do meet in a committee on London bridge, in an upper room, Acts 1. 13. there to lay their heads together for the setling the peace of the three nations according to the mind of God, revealed to us by his holy prophet Arise Evans, Heb. 10. 3. 4.[4]

10. Ordered, that John Field shall print no more acts or orders, till hee hath given all his old ones to the shitten Alderman.[5]

11. Ordered, that Whitehall be hereafter called Jewry, because the inhabitants are most Jews that crucified their king, and intend to make that place a receptacle for all Gods and all religions.[6]

12. Ordered, that Vavasor Powell preach the devill out of hell, that there may be room for the members.

13. Ordered, that a convenient place be nominated, where Harry Martin may keepe a regiment of whores, for the better propagating of the saints.

14. Ordered by his excellency the lord generall, that on Thursday come fortnight publike thankes be given to God in all the congregated churches in and about London, for freeing us from that infectious plague called a parliament.

15. An Act for the speedy suppressing all Plays, the Fools being all turned Commanders or Parliament Men.

16. An Act for the regulating of Names, that the Well-affected may not be abused by Nick-names, but that every Syllable have its full Pronunciation, as General Monke must hereafter be called Generall Monkey.[7]

17. Ordered, that John Goodwin and Martin Parker[8] consult about forming some new hymns, to be sung for the edification of the saints; and that Sternhold and Hopkins be no more used, it having been proved that they were popishly affected.

[1] Prynne had been long imprisoned at Guernsey by sentence of the Star Chamber, and was now likely to fall into a similar disgrace from his stubborn adherence to presbytery and royalty.

[2] Serjeant Wilde, a zealous parliamentary leader, was made Chief Baron of Exchequer 14th November, 1648. Whitelocke's speech to him upon his appointment is preserved at length in the Memorials, p. 344.

[3] St Sepulchre's bell tolls previous to the public execution of criminals.

[4] The heads of traitors were usually stuck up on London bridge.

[5] John Field was printer to the Long Parliament. The alderman in question was Atkins.

[6] Whitehall was for some time occupied by a variety of families of persons holding power and office in the strange anarchy produced by the civil wars. But after the dissolution of the Long Parliament it was made clear for the reception of Cromwell, by an order from the council of state, which was obeyed with much grumbling and reluctance.

[7] This jest would have been afterwards deemed very ill-timed.

[8] Martin Parker, who is here made the yoke-fellow of a celebrated independent preacher, was a composer of penny-histories and ballads about this period.

18. An Act for the speedy drawing up a Petition to Lucifer in Behalf of Cromwel, that, seeing he hath done such eminent Service for him in this World, he may not want a Place of Preferment in his Dominions.

19. Ordered, that every trooper (whether he can read or not) have liberty to be as David, a man of war and a prophet.

20. Ordered, that a speedy supply of physicians and chirurgians be forthwith sent to the Portugal ambassadours, most of them lying sick of the pox.

21. An Act forbidding any one to stamp the Lord Generals Image in Ginger-bread, lest the Valour of it should bite the Children by the Tongues.

Cases of Conscience.

1. Whether Balaam's beating his owne ass were a sufficient warrant for the footman's cudgelling Sir Harry Mildmay. [1]

2. Whether Cromwel hath not gotten a patent for brimstone, which makes his nose s fiery, and tiffanies so seldom worn.

3. Whether when the parliament go to assemble in hell, they will not go neer to make that a common-wealth.

4. Whether Bradshaw deserves not the place of a president again, there hardly being his president in all the world for his villanies.

5. Whether the text in Mat. 25. 41. belongs not to our state, where it is said, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

6. Whether Mr Caryl can ever be as poor as Job, whilst he is twice paid for his expositions.

7. Whether the Earl of Pembroke did not do like old Philip's own son, when he parted with his honour, in purchasing a membership in the everlasting parliament. [2]

8. Whether the committee of ——dashers Hall do not torment men almost as bad as the devill did Job. [3]

9. Whether Prideaux being degraded of his parliament-trade, may not be looked upon as a meer post.

10. Whether there was not an iron-monger spoil'd when Harry Walker was made a priest, and whether he, being a priest, can tell what stands for pillory in Hebrew. [4]

11. Whether it were mutton or veale Hugh Peters cheapned of the butchers wife at White-Chappel.

12. Whether to obey God and the new councel of state are not inconsistent.

13. Whether Mr Knowls was not out the last fast day when he brought a scripture out of the first Epistle of Jude.

14. Whether it was not policy in Cromwel, in pardoning the prisoners in Newgate, most of them being his own souldiers.

[1] This anecdote of Sir Harry Mildmay's life is alluded to in the preceding tract, entitled the Last Will and Testament of the Earl of Pembroke.

[2] Philip, the old Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the subject of so much ridicule in the preceding tracts, died in January, 1649, and his son Philip, afterwards the fifth earl, waving the obnoxious privileges of his rank as a peer, continued to sit in the House of Commons, of which he was a member when his father died.—WHITELOCKE'S *Memorials, p.* 423.

[3] The committee of sequestrations, who settled upon what compositions the cavaliers should be re-admitted to possession of their estates, sate at Haberdashers'-hall.

[4] Henry Walker the iron-monger, was a pragmatical citizen, who threw in King Charles I.'s coach, a pamphlet entitled, "To your Tents, O Israel."—*See more of him, vol. iv. p.* 438. He must be distinguished from Toby Walker, a special agent of Cromwell, who rose from being a basket-maker to command a regiment, was the principal person who broke into the king's cabinet, and ransacked his papers after the battle of Naseby, and is sometimes supposed to have been the masked executioner of 30th January, 1648. Yet in one respect their fates resembled each other, for both Henry and Tobias were pilloried.

15. Whether White-Hall may not be properly called a den of thieves.

16. Whether the countenances of Miles Corbet and Mr Gurden do not speak their mothers to be Blackmoors, and their fathers Jews.

17. Whether we have not gotten a blessed change, an everlasting parliament metamorphosed into an everlasting army.

18. Whether when Harry Martin moved the house to take down bells, it were not that he would beg the ropes to make him bands of, they so well become him.

19. Whether our Saviour's riding into Jerusalem upon an asses fole, were any more than a type of our deliverer Cromwell's riding into his throne upon the backs of 120 asses, to be elected out of the severall counties for that purpose.

20. Whether Alderman Atkins his imbecility had ever been found out, if Sir Walter Earl had not smelt it.

21. Whether Cromwell be not an absolute hater of images, since he hath defaced God's in his own countenance.[1]

FINIS.

[1] Dryden expresses a different opinion of Cromwell's physiognomy, which appears, from less suspicious evidence than either the satirist or eulogist, to have been striking though coarse.

> 'Tis true, his countenance did imprint an awe,
> And naturally all souls to his did bow,
> As wands of divination downward draw,
> And point to beds where sovereign gold doth grow.
> *Heroic Stanzas to the Memory of O. Cromwell.*

But Sir Philip Warwick hath given us an idea of the manner and figure of Cromwell more striking than even the excellent coins of Simon. "The first time that ever I took notice of him, was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good cloaths,) I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloath suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country taylor; his linen was plain and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice harsh and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for his subject matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr Prynnes, who had dispersed libells against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports: and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess, it lessened very much my reverence unto that great council, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I loved to see this very gentleman, whom, out of no ill will to him, I thus describe by multiplied successes (having had a better taylor and more converse among good company) in mine own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his serjeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence."—*Memoires of the Reigne of Charles I. p.* 248.

The Acts and Monuments of the late Rump, from the Time of their last Sessions, until the coming in of the Secluded Member.

Printed in the Year 1660.

This seems to have been written when the public abhorrence of the Rump was at the height, and before the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

To the Reader.

Courteous Reader,

I HAVE bestowed some pains in collecting the occurrences and proceedings of the late Rump; but I perceive I am partly prevented, by a thing called the Proceedings, Votes, Resolves, of the late Half-Quarter Parliament: Yet, notwithstanding, I am resolved to proceed, in regard I had compacted, within the compass of one sheet of paper, all (and it may be more than all) the matter which the author of the aforesaid pamphlet hath comprized in three sheets.

The Acts and Monuments of the Rump.

Ordered, That one month's pay be provided for the private soldiery, both horse and foot, and the rest of their arrears when they can get them.

Ordered, That the excise and customs shall be continued, and that they be improved to the best advantage of the commonwealth, since we are in great need of moneys.

Resolved, That on the 5th of January the house will take into consideration the cases of absent members, and how to supply the places of those that are wanting; provided that none of the members secluded in 1648 be admitted to sit in parliament.

Ordered, That no forces shall be raised but by authority of this present parliament, provided that this vote extend not to the forces raised by General Monck, because we cannot help it.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to look into the act making it treason to levy money of the people without their consent in parliament, and to extenuate the force thereof in regard the parliament knew not well what they did when they passed that act.

Resolved, That the sum of 20000 pounds be forthwith borrowed of the city for the use of the commonwealth, provided that they take the public faith for their security.

Resolved, That the commissioners of the army take care for the recruiting of Dunkirk, before the Duke of York lays siege against it.

Resolved, That a day be set apart for hypocritical humiliation for God's blessings to the parliament, and that Mr Burgesse, Venning, and Jenkins, do assist in carrying on the work of cheating God and the world.

Resolved, That there be a declaration put forth in the name of the parliament, wherein they do declare, that they will perfect the work by them begun, in settling the government by way of a commonwealth and free-state, without a single person or house of peers; and the nation shall have their annual representatives, provided that this present parliament doth continue in being as long as any of them have a day to live.

Likewise, they do declare, that they will countenance a pious and learned gospel-ministry, and uphold the maintenance of the same by tithes, until such time as they shall be able, by the help of the fanatic and sectarian party, to overthrow the church of God, both in its spiritual and temporal subsistence.

They do further declare, that they will uphold the universities and schools of learning, until they can fitly and conveniently ingross all their lands and incomes to their own proper use, and bring a cloud of ignorance over the whole nation.

They do also consider the low ebb of trading in this nation; and in regard we are at enmity with all the world for their sakes, and do desire us to be patient a while, for that they are in hopes to surprise those golden mountains of the King of Spain's in the Indies, for all Oliver missed them, and then they will abundantly satisfy all the rich men in London, who cannot live upon their trades, but are forced to spend upon their stocks.

Ordered, That all clerks and others, in whose hands were any of the letters, books, journals, and papers of the committee of safety, do bring them to the clerk of the parliament, that they may be called to an account for all money received during the time of the said committee of safety, for that we will have none to cheat the people but ourselves.

Resolved, That Sir Robert Pye and Major Fincher be sent to the Tower for petitioning the parliament for the public good.

Ordered, That the council of state do take the office of postmaster into their hands, it having been formerly very beneficial to us, and all others that have from time to time oppressed the people.

Ordered, That the lands of Sir George Booth, and all other delinquents and traitors, be forthwith sold, and divided amongst us the members of this present parliament, as a part of the recompence due unto us for our pains for the good of the three nations.

Ordered, That Thomas Scott do receive all informations of private and public intelligence, in regard he is so well versed in the cunning, trapannings, and sligits of whores and bawds.

Resolved, That the parliament doth justify and approve of the actions of General Monck, because they dare do no otherwise.

Resolved, That there be a thousand pounds a-year settled on General Monck and his heirs for ever, and that this act be repealed as soon as we can send him to the other world.

Resolved, That General Monck do forthwith destroy the gates and portcullices of the city, to render himself odious in the sight of the people, that so we may the better destroy him.

Resolved, That a petition be preferred to the parliament, tending neither to the glory of God nor good of the people, by Praise-God Barebones, in behalf of the many thousands of the city of London and Westminster.

Ordered, That qualifications be brought for the members that are to fill up the house, which were these following: 1. That no cavaliers or son of a cavalier do sit in this house. 2. That no presbyterian, who is for a settlement in church or state, be admitted to sit in parliament. 3. That no man whatsoever that makes any conscience of violating oaths and protestations, shall sit in this house. 4 That all such as have purchased neither king's, bishops, deans, nor chapters lands, shall not be capable of sitting in parliament. 5. Whoever hath not had a hand in murdering the late king,

shall not be received as a member of parliament. 6. He that makes not religion a pretence to drive on his own particular designs of ambition and self-interest, shall not sit here. Lastly, All those that are not as arrant rogues as ourselves shall have nothing to do in this parliament.

Ordered, That four aldermen, eight common-council-men, and twelve apprentices, be forthwith hanged to terrify the city, and keep them in obedience to the parliament.

Ordered, That Dr Trigge, or some other most excellent quack-salver, do provide an Italian fig for General Monck, and that he be sent away in time (as was Essex before him) lest he obstruct and hinder our designs.

Ordered, That Colonel John Lambert be proclaimed traitor, and his goods and lands to be confiscated, in case he doth not with all speed raise an army of sectaries for the defence of the parliament.

Ordered, That Charles Needham do still continue the state's news-monger, notwithstanding his defection in the time of the committee of safety, since never a knave in London can manage the place so well.

Resolved, That all heretics whatsoever, viz. quakers, anabaptists, &c. do provide themselves of musket and pike, with swords, daggers, and cut-throat knives, to murder all honest men who endeavour after order in church and state; and in case the secluded members be brought into the house by General Monck (as 'tis to be feared they will) it is resolved that Thomas Scott do secretly furnish himself with horses, saddles, swords, pistols, holsters, colours, and other necessaries, for the raising of certain regiments of horse, for and in behalf of the parliament against Monck, the city, and secluded members: And that the said Thomas Scott do carry on his designs warily, for fear of being discovered and carried to the Tower.

Resolved, That all these resolves be forthwith printed and published.

THO. ST. NICOLAS, *Clerk of the Parliament.*

A seasonable Speech, made by Alderman Atkins in the Rump-Parliament.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Alderman Atkins was a busy stickler for independency and republicanism, and the principal tool by whose means the Rump Parliament managed the common council. It would seem, from the following and other loyal satires, that he had, upon some occasion or other, given an opportunity for jests of no very savoury nature being passed upon him.

Mr Speaker,

AFTER so many dispensations and outgoings of Providence, we are now the third time returned to sit in this honourable house again; but how long we shall do so, I believe the wisest of us all cannot tell: for the soldiers have of late set up govern-

ments as boys do ninepins, to throw them down again. But how oft soever they turn us out hereafter, I shall never doubt to get in again; for I perceive those changes and revolutions (as they call them) are just like casting of knaves at cards, where some play, and some sit out until the set be up, or the gamesters fall out and throw up their cards, and then they stand fair to get in again. But, notwithstanding so many interruptions and disturbances, many mighty and great works have been carried on by us worms and no men. You, sir, have a new wainscot chair, and our seats, that were but covered with mats when we came first to sit here, are now lined with good broad-cloth of 16s. a yard; and the whole house is hanged in a better manner than any man expected. But this is not all that we have done, for we have reformed religion, and brought the church as nigh to what it was in the primitive times among Jews and Pagans as may be; for the Christians have sold all they had long since, and laid it at our feet, and we begin once more to have all things in common. Beside, sir, we have done strange justice on the late tyrant, and transformed the kingdom into a commonwealth, as Nebuchadnezzar was into a beast. But there is one thing that we have omitted, no less necessary than any thing that we have done, and which indeed the people have much more reason to expect from us; for reformation, as well as charity, should begin at home. To hold forth my meaning in brief to you, sir, it is the cleansing of our own house of office; and if that name be not mannerly enough for this place, it is in your own power to help it: for there is a spare name that hath been lately conferred on this honourable house by the people, which was once called the house of parliament, as it is now the Rump. This name, in my opinion, we cannot better dispose of than in conferring it on the house I spoke of, that not only that, but all other houses of the same quality (of which ours is the representative) may in the right thereof hereafter be called a Rump, as being a name more proper and significant in regard of the relation it hath to that part. And truly, sir, I believe the wisdom and justice of this house can do no less, if you please but to consider the near and intimate correspondence that house has ever held with this, as having ever been entrusted with the most urgent and weighty matters that we ever carried on, and so necessary, that I may boldly say, without that recourse which we have had to it in our greatest extremities, this house might have suffered for it many a time and oft. It is now, sir, as full as this honourable house was once of members, and as unuseful, until we take some course to empty it, as we did this, which, I humbly conceive, we can by no means avoid: for, under favour, I do not think we can use this house as we did the house of lords, I mean vote it down, when it will serve our turn no longer; no, this is a matter of a higher nature, and more weighty concernment; and as the difference is very great in reason of state, so is it also in point of conscience. For though it is true we engaged and swore to maintain the house of lords, yet we did it not after a right manner: for we read it was a custom among the Jews, when they made any solemn vow, to put their hands under one another's hams; and if we had done so when we swore that, and kissed the book, I grant we had been bound in conscience to have upheld it longer than we did, I mean, longer than we had need of it: but we, quite contrary, held up our hands, and so are not bound to keep it otherwise than we took it, that is, hand over head; for, unless we differed from the Jews in other matters more than we do, I know no reason why we should in this.—But now I speak of the Jews, give me leave, by observing one passage in their history, to hold forth unto you the danger of suppressing the aforesaid house. Saul, for want of such a convenience, going into a cave where David had hid himself, had like to have lost his life; for if David had been one of us, I know what had become of Saul, he would rather have cut off his head than a piece of his coat, as I wonder he did not, since, being a prophet, he might have made scripture of purpose to have proved him a tyrant and a traitor, as we did law to condemn the late king after he was put to death. But though David were wiser than his

teachers, he was not so wise as we were; 'tis true, for his own advantage he knew how to make the silly Philistines believe he was mad; but I am mistaken if we have not outdone him that way too, and made the wisest think us so. But to return to the purpose. Suppose, sir, the army should have occasion to give this honourable house a purge again, you would be loth it should work here; and truly I do not know what other way you have to avoid it, unless we should make use of that place where the assembly of divines lately sate, which, for my part, I like very well, if it were nearer; and certainly they have no reason to take it ill, for it is according to the example of the best reformed churches. And I know no reason why we may not as well sit there, and make sour faces at our own charges, as they did at the charge of the commonwealth. For mine own part (did not the common good provoke me to it) I have as little reason to speak as another, and perhaps less; for my breeches are made close at the knees, and so better fitted against a mischance. Beside, I know the worst of it; for I believe you have often heard what I have suffered in the service of my country. But let that pass, though it were the worse for my reputation and my breeches, it was the better for my body and my soul too, for I have edified much by it. 'Tis true, the boys hold their noses, and cry fogh, when they see me in the streets; but, what of that? A wise man knows how to make an advantage of the greatest disasters, and so have I done. For there was a time (Mr Speaker) when this honourable house had like to have been a foul house; and when was that? Truly it was when the 'prentices came hither to shew us one trick more than ever we taught them: Then did I take this worshipful chain off my neck, and very politically put it in my cod-piece; for I know well enough, that no body in this town, where I am so well known, would venture to look for it there; and I was not mistaken, for here you see I have it still. The same thing I did at another time, and that was, when (as you may well remember) a piece of plaister falling from the roof, some of the members cried treason, and many made haste to get out of the house as fast as they could;[1] so did not I, no, sir, I resolved to stay by it; and therefore, having put my chain in my cod-piece, I crept under the bench in this very place where I now sit, and there I lay close, until I heard some that were near me say, they smelled gun-powder; but then I knew it was a mistake, and so it proved indeed: But if it had been otherwise, no danger should have made me forsake my duty. No, sir, I have been so faithful to this house, and so constant to my principles, that I have not changed so much as my seat since the happy beginning of this parliament. In this very place did then I sit; on both sides of me sate two members, that afterwards proved malignants; for they took snuff at something that fell from me in my zeal to the cause, and ran to Oxford to the king; their estates are long since sold, for which the commonwealth may thank me: For verily, sir, I have not been altogether an unprofitable member, according to my talent, and the dispensation of what was in me; for my bowels have been often poured out for the prosperity of this house; and, I hope, my conversation hath held forth so much of the inward man, as may be sufficient to satisfy the well-affected, by whom I am intrusted. And as for my back-biters, I forgive them freely; alas, they hurt themselves, and not me; for if they get any thing by dealing with me that way, they must have good luck.

Sir, I have used the more freedom with you, because I have some pretence to your pardon: for I believe you have often observed, that when any thing has fallen from any of my fellow-members that the house has resented, it has presently been laid to my charge, and I have always taken it upon me freely; for I shall never refuse to serve this house in any sense whatever. I shall therefore humbly move, that you

[1] The disturbance occasioned by this incident is noticed vol. V. p. 165, where it is said, "the whole house of commons were startled at the falling of a little ceiling, and were like to stifle each other for fear the sky should fall."

would be pleased to order this honourable house to adjourn for a convenient time, until the house be emptied and made sweet again; for if we should sit here before, it will not be in the power of any one man to own so much stink as will be laid to my charge.

An Account of the Gains of the late Speaker William Lenthall. In Answer to a Letter.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Sir,

THERE is now again the report of the great gains of your friend the late speaker, so fresh in every one's mouth, and so much related to his prejudice and danger, that 'tis most necessary that the truth of it should come to public view. And because I have heard you so rationally discourse the contrary, and assuring me that never any one in any great employments made so little, nay nothing of advantage by them, I therefore earnestly desire you to relate to me under your hand what you then assured me; for I am very unwilling that that which is not, should be a cause of his ruin. Let me desire you to hasten this to me; for if I can judge, it concerns your friend very much to be vindicated in this particular; so, expecting your answer, I remain

Your assured friend and servant,

From the
14 *June*, 1660. G. G.

Sir,

I AM very glad you have given me the opportunity to vindicate my old friend, the late speaker, in those reports of his great gains, in the hazardous and troublesome employments he hath undergone. 'Tis not easy to rectify a great mistake, when it is spread in almost every one's opinion, which is commonly believed, without examining the probability of it. I have been very strict in the informing myself of the particulars, and would not have put my hand to them, if I had not been an eye-witness of the truth of what I affirm, from the first time he entered the house as speaker to the last that he sate there. You cannot be unacquainted with the greatness of his practice before he was called to that employment; for I having seen his accounts, 'twas more than two thousand pounds per ann. which now for twenty years he hath lost. In the first two years of his speakership, he kept a public table, and every day entertained several eminent persons, as well belonging to the court as the members of parliament. The king taking this expence of his into his consideration, gave him six thousand pounds, of which there is not to this day the one half of it paid. Immediately after the unhappy war broke out, and it was his chance to have his fortunes lie in the activest part of it, so that his estate, for five years, yielded him nothing. The office of master of the rolls falling, by the death of Sir Charles Cæsar, it was conferred on him; but for some years he did not clear his charges, there being but little proceedings in the courts of justice, and there being great diminutions of the profits of that place which his predecessors enjoyed; but he did not, by reason that wardships were taken away, the profit accruing by them to eight hundred pounds per ann. at the least, and also the bishops, who on every creation, or translation, paid a considerable fee to him, which was always esteemed worth five hundred pounds per ann. and the fines on original writs, which were the most advantageous fees that belonged to it; so that ward-

ships, bishops, and the fines on originals, being taken away, there was a loss to the office, in its profits, two thousand pounds per ann. at the least; yet, notwithstanding, he performed a greater duty to the dispatch of business, than has been done by any in that employment before him, and this I think his greatest detractors will acknowledge: But that which occasions most the report of his gains proceeds from the fee of five pounds, which was given him by both houses upon compositions; and considering how much that is in opinion, and how inconsiderable in the reality of it, makes me as much wonder at the confident report, as the readiness it has in finding a belief. What he received by them is so certainly to be known, that if any will but examine the journal books of the house, there they will find every fee for pardons that he received; and besides there is the clerks, and the sergeant that attend the house, have their fees, as well on the pardons as the private bills, and is a check to him; so that he cannot deceive any one that will but enquire; and with the strictest enquiry that I can make, both by the books and the attendance on the house, I cannot find that ever there could be more coming to him than two thousand two hundred and twenty pounds, and this is the utmost that ever he made on pardons and private bills. There was due to him, as there is to every speaker, a fee of five pounds per diem, which from his first sitting to the last he never received one farthing of; nor did he ever take any sum of money, any gift of land, or any other recompence or reward. What other employment he has had, the labour was so great, and the requital so small, that whosoever succeeded him had a salary for his pains; yet he performed his duty to the place with great expedition to all, without any. You have now the reality of what he has or could gain, there being no other way whereby one penny could be supposed to come to him; and I hope it will give you, and all such as you shall think fit to communicate it to, full satisfaction, as it doth me, that I can affirm this for a truth; and also that I am

Your most humble servant,

London, this 19th June, 1660. J. N.

Don Juan Lamberto; or, a Comical History of the late Times. By Montelion, Knight of the Oracle.

The following treatise is a lively burlesque upon the proceedings of public men between the death of Oliver Cromwell and the Restoration. The style is a very close imitation of the Seven Champions of Christendom, Valentine and Orson, and other prose romances of chivalry, and it was, in some respects, very well fitted to the subject of the history; for no romance contains a more wonderful incident than the sudden and quiet restoration of Charles II. to a kingdom where, a few months before, he scarcely had a friend left to own him. The sudden flight, captivity, or submission of so many eminent soldiers was no less wonderful; and, in short, to borrow a simile from Dr Johnson, the whole fabric of government, and all who protected and guarded it, seemed to dissolve at the very appearance of the king, as the walls of an enchanted castle with its fosses, draw-bridge, turrets, and barbacan, vanish into air so soon as the destined knight blows his horn before its gates. Anthony Wood gives the following account of the tract and its supposed author:

"Thomas Flatman, an eminent poet of his time, was born in Aldersgate-street, in the suburb of London; educated in grammar learning in Wykeham's School, at Winchester; elected a fellow

of New College in 1654; left it before he took a degree; retired to the Inner Temple, of which he became a barrister, and equally ingenious in the two noble faculties of poetry and painting, as several choice pieces shew; the titles of the two former of which are these:

"A Pindarique Ode on the Death of the truly noble, and valiant, and loyal George Duke of Albemarle, late General of his Majesty's Forces, &c. Lond. 1670, in three sh. in fol. reprinted in his poems and songs following.

"Poems and Songs. Lond. 1674, oct. There again, with additions and amendments, 1676, oct.; and, lastly, with more additions, in oct. 1682, with his picture before them.

"A Pindarique Ode on the Death of Thomas, Earl of Ossory. Lond. 1681, in two sh. in fol. which earl (the eldest son of James, Duke of Ormond) died at Westminster, to the great grief of many, at about seven of the clock in the evening of the 30th of Jul. 1680. This poem, that pleased the author best, as it did the generality, was printed in the last edition of his songs and poems. Soon after the publication of the said ode, it was read and perused by the said duke, who, being in an high manner pleased with it, he sent to the author a mourning ring, with a diamond in it, worth 100*l.* as a reward for his labour and ingenuity.

"On the Death of Prince Rupert, a Pindarique Ode. Lond. 1685, in two sh. in folio.

"On the Death of King Charles II. a Pindarique Ode. Lond. 1685, in two sh. in fol. At the latter end of which are Gratulatory Verses on K. James II. In the year 1660 came out, under the two letters of T. F. a book called *Virtus rediviva*, a Panegyric on the late King Charles the First, of ever blessed memory, attended with several ingenious pieces from the same pen. Whether Thom. Flatman was the author of these poems, I cannot tell, because they are not among his songs and poems. In the next year was published a piece in prose, entit. Don Juan Lamberto; or, a Comical History of the late Times, with a wooden cut before it, containing the pictures of giant Desborough, with a great club in his right hand, and of Lambert, both leading under the arms the meek knight, *i. e.* Richard Cromwell; which book vending very fast, a second part was added by the same hand, with the giant Husonio before it, and printed with the second impression of the first part. Lond. 1661, qu. To both which parts (very witty and satirical) tho' the disguised name of Montelion, Knight of the Oracle, &c. is set to them, yet the acquaintance and contemporaries of Th. Flatman always confidently averred that the said Flatman was the author of them. 'Montelion's Almanack came out in 1660-61-62. The first wrote by Joh. Philips, as he confesses in his *Merc. Verax.* or the Prisoner's Prognostication for the year 1675. The two other Montelions for 1661-62, are supposed to have been writ by Tho. Flatman, Esq. He also translated from Lat. into English, The Epistle of Laodamia to Protesilaus; which is in Ovid's Epistles translated from Lat. into Engl. by several hands. Lond. 1681, oct. sec. edit. At length, he having lived to the age of fifty-three, or thereabouts, gave way to fate, in his house in Fleet-street, Lond., on the eighth day of December, in 1688, and was, three days after, buried in the church of S. Bride, alias Bridget, near to the rails of the communion-table, under a grave-stone, with inscription and verses thereon, which he had some time before caused to be laid on his son, there buried. This person (whose father, a clerk in the Chancery, was then living in the 80th year of his age, or more) was, in his younger days, much against marriage, to the dislike of his said father, and made a song describing the encumbrances of it, beginning thus:

'Like a dog with a bottle tied close to his tail,
'Like a tory in a bog, or a thief in a jail,' &c.

But being afterwards smitten with a fair virgin, and more with her fortune, did espouse her, 26th Nov. 1672, whereupon his ingenious comrade did serenade him that night, while he was in the embraces of his mistress, with the said song."—Wood's *Athenæ, vol. II. p.* 825.

To this I have only to add, that the pamphlet is seldom found complete, the stupid avidity of collectors inducing them to deface copies, by depriving them of the curious plates. In this, as in other cases of the same kind,

Indignant readers mourn the image fled,
And curse the busy fool that wants a head.

FERRIAR.

CHAP. I.

How Cromwel, Soldan of Britain, dyed, and what befel his Son, the Meek Knight.

Now had Cromwel, the dread soldan of Britain, through the importunity of death, with much unwillingness left this world, and his son Ricardus, sirnamed, for his great valour, the Meek Knight,[1] reigned in his stead: When loe fortune having now a mind to eat sauce with her meat, resolves to gather this great mushrome, and lay him in pickle. There were at that time in England many good knights, who had been greatly despised, and evilly intreated by the soldan in his lifetime, who sought all advantages to reck their most implacable malice on his son the Meek Knight, who was placed on the throne, in the room of his father: The chief of these was Sir Lambert, the knight of the Golden Tulip;[2] one of an eager and revengeful spirit; and beside that very ambitious, so that he not onely sought to be revenged on the Meek Knight for the injuries he had received from his father, but to make himself chief soldan also; however he was very slie and close, and would by no means discover himself until that by his fair carriage he had won to his side many of the chief soldan's knights, who had him in great honour and esteem, for that they took him to be a right cunning and valorous champion.

CHAP. II.

Of the Birth of Sir Vane, Knight of the most Mystical Allegories.

When nature by true consanguinity had created him in his mother's womb, she dreamed to be conceived of a firebrand, that should set on fire her mansion house, which dream she long concealed and kept secret, until her painful burden was grown so heavy that she was scarce able to endure it: So finding at length an opportunity to reveal it to her husband, she revealed her dream in this manner: 'My most honourable lord, you know that I am your true and lawful wife, yet never was in hope of child till now, or that by me your name should survive: Therefore, I conjure you by the pleasures of your youth, and the dear and natural love you bear unto the infant conceived in my womb, that either by art, wisdome, or some other inspiration, you calculate upon my troublesome dreams, and tell me what they are; for night by night, no sooner doth sweet sleep seize upon my senses, but I dream that I am conceived of a dreadful fire-brand, the which shall set on fire our mansion house:' To which her husband answered in this manner: 'My most dear and beloved lady, what art or learning can perform with all convenient speed shall be accomplished; for never shall rest take possession of my heart, nor sleep close up the closets of my eyes, till I understand the signification of this troublesome matter.'

Thereupon he travelled through many desarts and wildernesses, hoping to meet with the hermitage of some inchantress, but he could find none: For then Yil il the necromancer[3] dwelt not in the Strand, neither were there any sorcerers in Southwark; whereupon, seeing no other means to attain his desired end, he went and bought him a fortune book and a bale of dice, and carried them home to his beloved lady, who with great earnestness expected his return for two reasons, first out of curiosity, and then

[1] Richard Cromwell, so called from his peaceable spirit.

[2] Lambert was thus distinguished, because, as Roger Coke informs us, when he was displaced by Cromwell, he retired to Wimbledon, where he turned florist, and spent his time in collecting and rearing the finest tulips that he could procure.

[3] Lilly, the celebrated astrologer, who resolved questions by the planetary motions and combinations.

because that supper was like to be spoiled. Being return'd home, and having refresh'd his weary body with corporal food, as he was sitting at the table, after the cloth was taken away, he called for the said fortune book, and caused his wife to throw three dice under the philosopher Pythagoras, who directed them to this following saying of Hally the conjurer, which gave them full satisfaction of the nature of the infant. The verses were these:

This son is thine with heav'ns good leave,
His tongue all people shall deceive;
Folk shall thee curse for thy nights work,
When thou him got'st, nor Christian, nor Turk:
Throw dice nor more on any day,
For it is truth what ere I say.

CHAP. III.

How the Knight of the Mysterious Allegories grew up, and how he put Strife between his Mother and her Maids, and caused his Father and Mother to go together by the Ears.

While both the father and the mother were scanning what the meaning should be of this same oracle, the child himself gave still an exposition more and more clear as he grew in years: 'Tis true, that when he was a child, he acted but the child's part, and exercised his talents on more mean subjects, though he were not unmindful of his work in what ever sphear he mov'd: He began with his mother's maids, between whom and his mother he made perpetual discords and dissentions, by accusing either the maid to the mistress, or the mistress to the maid; nor could he endure to see his father and mother in peace, using the same policies to set them also at variance, which he did with so much dexterity, that one might perceive how he made it his study: What ever he knew his father dislik'd in his mother, that he made her continually acting; and what his mother approv'd not of in his father, of that he rendred his father always most guilty.

CHAP. IV.

How his Father sent him to School, and how he there set the Boyes against their Master, and bred Differences between the Master and his Wife.

But when these tricks of the young stripling were reveal'd to his father, he bethought himself of ridding this little vermin out of his house: Wherefore, he caused great search to be made after a worthy pedagogue: And at length one was found and brought unto him: To whom the father of the stripling thus said: 'Sir Pedagogue, I have here a son whom I would have thee to instruct, and bring up with great care; therefore if thou wilt take him, and keep him seven years, and give him such instruction as thou art able, I will after that greatly advance thee and thy generation.' Sir Pedagogue made the father of the youth a great bow, and a most obsequious leg, and said unto him, 'Sir Knight, I will perform all thy commands.' Thereupon, he took the stripling home, and endoctrinated him with very exceeding pains. But long had not the young lad bin there, but, according to his usual course, he sowed such seeds of dissention among the boyes, that, instead of their former obedience and respect, they exercised now nothing but rebellion and disobedience: It was enough for the master, who before could frown every scholar he had into a looseness, now to beseech them to lay

down their brick-bats. His wife too, who had before so long been loving to him, now scolds at him like a butter-whore, and he hates her that so lately was so dear to him. Fathers complain, the master fumes, the mistress rants, the husband vexes; in a word, all things are so much out of order, that Sir Pedagogue, preferring his present peace before his future advancement, resolves to carry back this *primum mobile* of mischief, for such he soon discovered him to be, to his own parent, not being able himself longer to endure the trouble of his vexatious contrivances. When the ancient seer beheld his son so soon return'd unto him, he said unto the pedagogue, 'What, are the seven years expir'd already?' Then said the pedagogue, 'I well know, Sir Knight, that the seven years are not yet expir'd; but so great do I find the capacity of your son, that, should I keep him as my poor gymnasyolum, I should both wrong you, and injure the youth: Therefore have I restor'd him to you again, that you may provide for him according to his wonderful and most forward genius.' The crafty fox his father too well knew the disposition of his young cub, therefore said he unto the pedagogue, 'O no, this is not the cause of my son's so soon return, I fear something worse, and therefore I conjure thee to tell me the truth: Was he not wont to set thee and thy boys together by the ears? Did he not cause much strife and contention between thee and thy wife, so that neither thou, nor they, nor she, could rest in quiet for him?' To which the pedagogue made answer, 'that since he must confess the truth, 'twas even as he had said, and no otherwise.' At which words of the pedagogue, the old man shook his head, as if he would have shaken his teeth out of his mouth, for he was very sorrowful to hear of the evil courses which his young son proceeded in.

CHAP. V.

How Sir Vane sent his Son to the King's School, and of the Tumults which he raised there by his Sorceries; how he plotted with the other Boys to break the Preceptor's Neck, and of his Allegory.

Sir Vane having had so ill success with his son in one place, resolves to send him to another, where he might be more severely look'd after: He had not thought long, but he thought of the king's school: Now it so came to pass, that at that time there lived there a gyant, who was a very cruel and imperious dominator over the buttocks of youth, one that spared none, but very grievously and sorely lashed all alike: he was high Sir Obeston, whose school was like Kalyb's rock,* where you heard nothing all day long but the screeks and ruful groans of children and boyes elaborately corrected. Hither the little fox came, his father intending that he should be in this place terrified out of all his designs: But what mortal is able to stop the course of the splendiferous sun, who can quell the raging boreas, or change the wilde nature of the roaring lion? Even so impossible was it to drive back the ill nature of this youth, though it were with pitch-forks: wherefore he went on in his old trade, putting in practice his wonted spells and magical words: the effects whereof did presently appear, for in a little while the schollars were all in an uproar, some would only study on holy dayes, and play upon working dayes, others would begin at the end of their books, and read toward the beginning, saying it was the best way, and that the preceptor was a dunce: Then, because that one of the preceptors, knowing the dangerous consequence of these innovations, strove to oppose them, young Sir Vane contrives with them how to break his neck, and so ordered the matter that they should follow the preceptor to the top

* The head master of Westminster School, from 1622 to 1638, was Lambert Osbaldstone. Kalib is an enchantress in the romance of the Seven Champions of Christendom. Sir Henry Vane was really educated under Osbaldstone.

of the stairs, and throw him down headlong. But the plot being discovered, he was called to a very strict account. 'Sirrah,' quoth the gyant of the king's school, 'what fury hath possessed thy over-whelmed mind, proud princock, thus to adventure thy feeble contrivances against the violence of my strong arm:' The youth, though confounded with the threatning words of the gyant, durst not deny what he knew was so well known; and, therefore, he sought to put it off with an allegory, for he was full sore afraid of the gyant, who had in his hand a great tree, which he managed with as much dexterity as if it had been a ferula: 'Sir gyant,' quoth he, 'I do deny that ere I advised any person to break the preceptor's neck.' 'Now,' quoth the gyant, 'can you deny what is already proved to your face?' 'Then,' answered the young sorcerer, 'I am not rightly understood, for I persuaded them not to break the substantial neck of the preceptor, but the invisible neck of his pride.' 'Then,' quoth the gyant, 'oh varlet! hast thou such fine excuses so early for thy mischief? But they shall stand thee in little stead.' Then the gyant caused his breeches to be taken down, and his shirt to be taken up, and with his tree so nimbly bestirred himself, and laid such vehement blows upon his flesh, that they seemed to shake the earth. 'There,' quoth the gyant, 'take the deserved reward of thy treasons, and be gone from hence, thou wicked and destructive vermine, for I will no more endure thee, since I have now broken thy charms wherewith thou didst intend to have enchanted my castle.'

CHAP. VI.

How he was sent into Nova Anglia, and how he prevailed there also by his Sorceries; how he was thrust out again by the People of that Place, and what the Seer Cotton said to him at his Departure.

After that the gyant of the king's school had thus expelled him, he betook himself to the court; but, because he could be pleas'd with no king, he also took very great distaste at the government of the king who then reigned in Britain. Wherefore he began to give his inchanted cup about, and many drank thereof and were poysoned, so that there appeared great signs of future contentions and confusions among those of the court, who were the king's subjects, by reason of his coming thither; which when his father saw, he greatly feared the inconveniences which might arise from the sorceries of his son; wherefore he contrived how he might send him out of the land. Wherefore he devised with the king that he might be sent away into Nova Anglia, as governour of that place; how so it was that at that time the people of that countrey, as most people that are but newly seized in their possessions, lived in great peace and quiet, and served the God of their country with exceeding unity; but no sooner was Sir Vane come thither, but he causeth a wonderful alteration of affaires among the people. He had delivered into his hands all the chief castles of the countrey, so that he commanded with a very great controul: 'Then,' said Sir Vane unto the people of the land, 'is it fit that yee should maintain a company of idle persons here only for talking unto you in your temples once a week; are not yee yourselves able to do as much? yea, and more if you would set your selves thereunto; why should you then part with a considerable share of the sweat of your browes, and that upon so trivial a score.' When the people examin'd these things they seemed very plausible at first, whereupon some of them denyed to pay the priest his due, others drew away the people from their priests and instructed them in the fields and their private houses, having the temples in great contempt and derision, which, when the priests perceived, they were greatly displeased, and cursed the people, then the people cursed them, so that in a short while their private animosities brake forth into publick rage one against the other. When

the elders of the land saw the confusion which was likely to happen, they resolved to remove the cause of their mischief; therefore they went to Sir Vane, and sharply rebuking him, bid him prepare to be gone out of their countrey, for that they had provided a ship, and a coach to carry him to the sea. Sir Vane, who was an errant coward, durst not deny them, so they placed him in a cart, causing him to sit down on an old trunk on that part which is over the horse; after this, said the elders unto the people, 'This is he that hath caused all this mischief among us;' then the people followed him, hooping and hollowing, not ceasing to throw dirt and stones at him till he was got into the ship. The Seer Cotton seeing him departed, said unto the people, 'Let us now return with joy that this viper hath left us, for he is the bane of nations, nor can any greater unhappiness befall a land than for him to set his foot there.' When, with tears in his eyes, he cryed out, 'Oh England, England, better is it that that ship should perish with the master and all the mariners, then that that young man whom thou didst breed should return unto thee again!'[1]

CHAP. VII.

How Sir Vane was honoured by the Priest of the Temple of Blind Zeal, and how he was by the said Priest anointed Knight of the Order of the most Mysterious Allegories.

After this it came to passe, that when the priest of the Temple of Blind Zeal heard of the great fame of Sir Vane, and of the opinions which he held, he thought the time long till he could come to inter-parley with him. For, said he to himself, our religion is built upon the basis of anarchy and confusion, to the establishing of which all the imaginations of this man's brains do tend: Wherefore the priest sent unto him two fellows that were shabby, whose shoes were tyed with pack-thread, and in whose eyes cuffs were as the abominations of the heathen, who, calling for the man of the house, presented him with this epistle,

[1] Baxter, an indisputable authority in such matters, is himself non-plus'd as to the real nature of Sir Harry Vane's tenets while in New England. He had gone thither with the view of a settlement upon the river Connecticut, but his talents and rank speedily occasioned his being chosen governor. In this situation he lost, by the restless and unsettled activity of his enthusiasm, what he had gained by its intensity; filling the minds of the unfortunate people with all sort of phrenetic and metaphysical dilemmas: But the good sense of the New Englanders, rather than the prodigies mentioned by Baxter, speedily led to their driving their new governor out of the settlement. Baxter's account of the matter is curious:—"The Vanists (for I know not by what other name to make them known) who were Sir Harry Vane's disciples, first sprang up under him in New England when he was governor there: But their notions were then raw and undigested, and their party quickly confounded by God's providence, as you may see in a little book of Mr Tho. Weld's of the Rise and Fall of Antinomianism and Familism in New England, where their opinions and these providences are recorded by him that was a reverend minister there. One Mrs Dyer, a chief person of the sect, did first bring forth a monster, which had the parts of almost all sorts of living creatures, some parts like man, but most ugly and misplaced, and some like beasts, birds, and fishes, having horns, fins, and claws; and at the birth of it the bed shook, and the women fell a vomiting, and were fain to go forth of the room. Mr Cotton was too favourable to them till this helpt to recover him. Mrs Hutchinson, the chief woman among them, and their teacher (to whose exercises a congregation of them used to assemble) brought forth about 30 mishapen lumps at once; and, being banished into another plantation, was killed by the Indians. Sir Henry Vane being governor, and found to be the secret fautor and life of their cause, was fain to steal away by night, and take shipping for England before his year of government was at an end."—BAXTER'S *Life*, *p.* 74.

The Priest of the Order of Blinde Zeal, to the most mischievous of Men Sir Vane, high in his Imaginations, low in his Deserts, and most imperious in his Councel.

'My Son,

'Having lately heard of thy great virtues, so agreeable with the heresies which I profess, according to the dictates of that powerful goddesse, whose chief priest I am, I could not choose but send unto thee these two slovenly fellows, partly to confirme thee, and partly to scrape acquaintance with thee. I do find that thou dost imitate Mahomet very well; and dost endeavour to root up one religion by letting in another to overpower it. Stay yet but a little while, and I will be with thee and help thee with my exhortations; in the mean time be kind unto those two whom I have sent unto thee, for the one is a tinker, the other a currier, but both great deceivers. Farewel.'

When Sir Vane had read this epistle, he was then also covetous of the acquaintance of the high priest, and immediately sent for him; when he was come, they discoursed together, and when they had so done, they were filled with joy at the sight of each other: For he talked unto the high priest in most high and misterious allegories, saying unto him that magistracy was the throne and seat of the beast. 'That the rulers of the earth must be brought at last to serve him and his faction; that his people are not to be subject to the judicials of Moses; that the new creature is faith, which translates a man out of the natural into the spiritual body, and is called his new creature state; that all ministers that have the Father and the Son need not run to the magistrate for maintenance. That all ministers that upheld steeple houses were the relics of popery; that the fall of Adam was onely a type of the instability of fortune. That the devil is the universal worldly spirit, exercising dominion and rule under various forms and administrations of government. That learning and universities are of dangerous consequences in a well ordered government.'[1]

When the high priest heard him speak these things, he marvelled very much, and greatly praised him; 'for that,' quoth he, 'if these things were well taught, and well believed, they would doubtlesse destroy the religion of the Christians, who are our most mortal enemies.' Then did the high priest bow unto Sir Vane, saying to him, 'Thou art in power, and as thou endeavourest to do our work, so is it fit that thou shouldst receive honour from us. ''Tis true,' quoth he, 'thou art a knight after the order of the Christians, but throw it off, for it will be very injurious unto thee; and take from me a title which shall be more beneficial, and comfort thy self in this, that then thou shalt be a better knight then any in the world.' Then did the high priest ask him whether he could fight or no? To which Sir Vane reply'd, that he never could nor never would

[1] These tracts may also be illustrated by a reference to the details of Baxter concerning the Vanists:—"His unhappiness lay in this, that his doctrines were so cloudily formed and expressed, that few could understand them, and therefore he had but few true disciples: The Lord Brook was slain before he had brought him to maturity. Mr Sterry is thought to be of his mind, as he was his intimate; but he hath not opened himself in writing; and was so famous for obscurity in preaching (being, said Sir Benj. Budiard, too high for this world, and too low for the other) that he thereby proved almost barren also, and vanity and sterility were never more happily conjoined. Mr Sprig is the chief of his more open disciples (too well known by a book of his sermons.)

"This obscurity by some was imputed to his not understanding himself; but by others to design, because he could speak plainly when he listed: the two courses in which he had most success, and spake most plainly, were, His earnest Plea for universal Liberty of Conscience, and against the Magistrates intermeddling with Religion, and his teaching his Followers to revile the Ministry, calling them ordinarily Black Coats, Priests, and other Names which then savoured of Reproach; and those gentlemen that adhered to the ministry they said were priest-ridden."—BAXTER'S *Life*, p. 75.

fight.[1] The high priest was right glad of this, for that he could now performe the office himself by anointing, whereas otherwise he must have been forced to have sent for a warriour on purpose to have dub'd him. Thus the high priest took leave for the time, telling him that in three days he would return; desiring him in that space to prepare himself for the honour he was to receive. He was to eat nothing but emblematical dyet, as round cabbages which seem to resemble the earth, and its destruction by fire, in that they are to be boyl'd before they can be eaten. He was likewise to feed upon swines flesh, because a dog was the emblem of ingratitude: he might likewise feed upon horse flesh, because the Bible speaks much of them; and that eating them out of the way was the onely means to keep men from not putting their trust in them: He might drink bottled claret, by reason of its emblematical life and quickness; and he might likewise take tobacco if his pipe had this motto on it, *Evanescet ut fumus;* but he was forbid to drink Greek wine, because that the Christians used it at their communions.

In the mean while, the high priest, being loth to defile so great a solemnity with any oyle that had been unhallowed by the touch of the Christians, sent two of his disciples to cut off a great piece of a certain whale, which was kil'd a little before in the river of Thamesis, which accident they attributed to the provision of the goddess Blind Zeal, thereof to make a sacred oyle of their own, and which they prayed the goddess Blind Zeal to allow for their purpose. This done, after the end of three days the high priest returned to Sir Vane, whom he first question'd concerning the performance of what he had commanded, who, whether he had done it or no, so well dissembled his past obedience, that the high priest oft times gave credit unto his saying; then the high priest proceeding, 'it is now Sir Vane,' quoth he, 'that I must cause thee to kneel, that others after this may be bound to kneel to thee;' to which, when Sir Vane had yielded, he poured the trane oyle upon his locks, bidding him then to rise up Sir Vane, knight of the order of the most mysterious allegories.[2] Then giving him some few instructions, as, that he should be zealous in carrying on the great work of building up Babell, which the God of the Christians had for so long time hindred from being finished; and that he should seek nothing but the advancement of confusion and atheisme, most solemnly he took his leave of Sir Vane, and retired into his temple, which was situate in that part of the metropolis of Britain called Coleman-street.[3]

[1] Sir Henry Vane through all his life laboured under the imputation of personal timidity; but, like many persons of the same character, he faced death with great firmness.

[2] Vane's principle of allegorical interpretation is thus dilated upon by one of his fanatical adherents. It is easy to guess the wild work such expounders must have made with the scripture:—"But when all comes to all, were we reduced and advanced into the perfect knowledge and exercise of the original tongue, what then? All the words thereof at best are but the adequate signifiers of natural, first-creation things. All these things and words too are but the types, letters, shadows, resemblances, rhetorical figures, and significant expressions of spiritual, heavenly, new-creation things. If this be true, what can the main bulk of scripture be but an allegory? Spiritual things expressed and signified by naturall, and the words thereof, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelation, and that in the typical histories and persons, as well as in the sacrifices, ceremonies, and parables thereof? What jejune and feeble interpreters of scripture then must they needs be that cannot allegorize it, nor therefore endure that others should?" - - - -

"This is the new-creature principle of marvellous light and eternal life, by which the lamp or candle of single humane understanding is put out, swallowed up, and transformed into a better and more excellent, the light of the sun. The lamp of man's understanding, till transformed, has nothing to do within the veil. The New-Jerusalem state of life is so far from needing man's intellectual candle-light, that angelical star-light, yea the sun-light of Christ's own natural perfection, is out-shined there by the light of his spiritual form, which is sevenfold brighter. There's no need there of man's candle, or of the light of the sun or moon, for the glory of God lightens it, and the Lamb is the light thereof, Rev. 21. 23, and 22. 5."—*The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, Knt. Printed in the Year 1662. 4. p. 54, 55.*

[3] Many of the meeting-houses of the independents were situated in Coleman-street; and it was from thence that Venner and his fifth-monarchy men set forth on their desperate insurrection after the Restoration.

CHAP. VIII.

How Sir Lambert, Knight of the Golden Tulep, and Sir Vane, Knight of the most Mysterious Allegories, made a League together.

The honour done to Sir Vane being greatly noised abroad, and his dexterity in mischiefe being very well known, Sir Lambert thinking him a fit instrument for the effecting his design, came to him, and exceedingly desired his assistance. Then said Sir Vane unto the Knight of the Golden Tulep, 'I am right glad to see so good a knight at my castle. Know then, Sir Lambert, that I have alwayes bare you a very great love, neither is there any knight in Brittain whom I honour like unto your self; I know right well that thou dost far exceed in feats of armes, and that I am right craftier in councell: wherefore then should we suffer the meek knight to be chief soldan over us, who is not at all like unto thee for chivalry? Why do we not revenge on him the injuries done us by his father?' When Sir Lambert heard this, he waxed greatly in wrath with the meek knight, and sware by his sturdy steed Snorter, that he would not cease till he had pulled the soldan out of his palace by the ears, so that he might have the advice of the knight of the most mysterious allegories. Then Sir Vane promised to assist Sir Lambert all that he might, on condition that he should be the next in dignity to him when he was chief soldan. Then Sir Lambert swore unto Sir Vane by all the souls of his ancestors, that so it should be; 'and moreover,' quoth Sir Lambert, 'in token of this friendship between us, I freely give the fair maid of Wimbleton my daughter unto thy eldest son, so well known by the name of the Over-grown Childe;[1] and know right well, Sir Vane, that she is a right comely dame, and one for whom many a sturdier knight than he would be content to try the sharpness of their blood thirsty lances. She shall have for her dowry my palace of Wimbleton, once the dowry of a queen, and if my sword fail me not, I may chance to make her chief soldaness of Britain.' When Sir Vane heard this, he looked full jocundly upon Sir Lambert; then they clipped and hugged one another, and sware to be as true to one anothers interest as the cripples of the forrest of Covent-Garden are to one another in concealing the rogueries which they commit.

CHAP. IX.

How the Knight of the Golden Tulep, and the Knight of the Mysterious Allegories, came to the Castle of Sir Fleetwood, the contemptible Knight, where they met with the grim Gyant Desborough, and how they went all three and pulled the Meek Knight, who was then chief Soldan, out of his Place by Night.

Sir Lambert seeing now Fortune begin again to cast her wonted smiles upon him, resolved to make use of her while she was in a good humour, wherefore he shewed great willingnesse to Sir Vane to go on in his intended designe. Then said Sir Vane, 'why should our delay be any hindrance unto us? Let us incontinently goe unto Sir Fleetwood the contemptible knight, who hath great power over the soldan's forces;[2] I know right well

[1] Vane had a surviving son, who was afterwards knighted by Charles II., and became founder of the family of Darlington: But his three first sons died without issue. An intended marriage between one of these sons and Lambert's daughter was to cement the alliance of their fathers.

[2] The peculiar cant of Fleetwood gave him great influence among the soldiery, and, together, perhaps, with his relationship to Cromwell, made him a proper tool for Lambert's use in removing Richard from the protectorate, a task which he might have found difficult had the family not been divided among themselves. This pitiful

that I can with ease cause him to do whatever I list, for that his understanding is exceeding shallow, and we will make him to believe that he shall be chief soldan, on condition that he will help us for to depose the meek knight.' Sir Lambert was right glad of this advice, so they rode on toward the forrest of Saint James, neer unto which stood the castle of the contemptible knight. They were no sooner come to the gate but they were conducted by gentle Stamford, (who was chief squire to Sir Fleetwood) up unto his masters lodging. Then said Sir Vane unto the contemptible knight, 'Rouse up thy self, thou man of courage, and let us not be in bondage unto the meek knight, who is young, and hath not understanding and wisdome sufficing for so great an employment. Hast thou not been in all the soldans warres? Think then how treacherously the soldan hath dealt with thee, in preferring the meek knight his son before thee.' 'Tis true then,' answered Sir Fleetwood, 'that it is the desire of my heart to make my self chief soldan, but there are so many valorous knights that will oppose me, that I fear much to undertake the enterprise.' Then said Sir Lambert, 'I know right well, Sir Fleetwood, that without force we can little avail; but of that I make no question, knowing the great honour and reverence which the host of the soldan beareth to me. Moreover, I have told many of them that which I intend, and they are resolved with me to live and dye.' Then said Sir Fleetwood right cunningly, 'since that you, Sir Lambert, can prevail so much by your own power, let not me interpose my weak force to injure the fame of so worthy a knight.' But Sir Lambert, who was as cunning as he, reply'd 'that he would not adventure without him, that as he was chief in power, he should be chief in the undertaking.' 'Alas, Sir Fleetwood,' quoth the knight of the golden tulep, 'think you that I am arrived here to rob so hardy a knight as you are of your prize? No, Sir Fleetwood, for I only come at the request of the good knight Sir Vane to proffer my assistance, which, if you shall not think fit to receive, I am ready to retire, for that there be other forrests and castles to seek adventures in besides those which are in this countrey.' Sir Fleetwood was right glad of what Sir Lambert said, so that, according to his custome, he wept for joy, not thinking that the knight of the golden tulep had spoken treacherously. As they were thus parlying together, in came the grim gyant Desborough,[1] who lived in the forrest of Saint James, that was close by. 'With your leave, sir knights,' quoth he, 'I am come here to visit my brother the contemptible knight, and I hope that does not offend yee. If yee think your selves affronted, and that any of yee be so hardy as to dare fight in defence of the meek knight, I do here openly challenge him the combate, for that I do abominably hate the meek knight and all his adherents:' Then answered Sir Lambert and Sir Vane, that they were as mortal enemies to the soldan as he was, and therefore they desired the gyant not to think amisse of them. 'Say you so,' quoth the gyant Desborough, 'then you say well, else had I crushed yee to pieces in my fury, like rotten apples;' then proceeding, quoth he, 'what shall we do with this proud princock who hath raised himself to be a soldan over us? Is it fit that the unkle should be governed by the nephew?' Sir Vane, willing all he could to incense the gyant to anger, told him that it was an allegory of the worlds confusion, when children rule their parents. Upon that the gyant Desborough stamped so hard upon the floore, that you might have heard it a mile off, and swore by all his country gods, that his nephew the meek knight should no longer live, if he refused to resign his soldanship. The words were no sooner out of his mouth, but he draws out a whole canon out of his pocket, charged with a brace of bullets,

spirit is well known; for, when the soldiers urged him to resist the encroachments of the Rump, they could gain no answer, excepting that God had spit in his face.

[1] Desborough was a man of a fierce, boorish, and intractable character, whom even Cromwell dreaded, although he was his brother-in-law. His violent threats were supposed to have deterred Cromwell from assuming the crown, and to be the immediate cause of Richard's abandoning the office of protector.

each weighing twenty pound, and cocking the same, commanded the contemptible knight, with the knight of the golden tulep, to follow him. It was now night, and pale Cinthia had withdrawn her light from the world, unwilling to behold the treacherous actions of mortals; when they began their journey toward the palace of the soldan, they rode hard, and being soon arrived there, they went directly to the soldan's lodging, for that the soldans janisaries being before corrupted, gave them free accesse. Then said the gyant to the soldan, 'Proud peacock, thinkest thou to pearch over thy betters any longer? resign thy power, thy scepter, and thy royal robes, and dissolve thy council that thou keepest to plot against us, or I will take thee such a blow on the pate, that I will make thy head ring noon, and send thee to the infernal shades, there to make vain complaints to Pluto of thy misfortunes:' With that the gyant Desborough heaved up his weighty instrument of death, on purpose to have given him such a blow as should have rent the foundations of his noddle. The meek knight was astonished at the sight, and stood for a while as one that were dumb, but seeing the danger that his brains were in, he fell on his knees before the gyant Desborough, beseeching him in gentle courtesie to distressed knights, that he would spare his life, and he would submit to whatever the gyant should command: Hereupon they disrob'd him of his apparel, and attired him in simple and base array, his armes, that were lately employed to wield the mighty scepter, they now strongly fetter'd up in iron bolts, and so conveyed him to a desolate dungeon, which belonged unto his own palace, where he had nothing to do but to make these sad lamentations.

'O, cruel destinies, why is this grievous punishment allotted to my penance? have I conspired against the Majesty of heaven, that they have thrown this vengeance on my head? shall I never recover my former liberty, that I may be revenged one way or other upon the causers of my imprisonment? may the plagues of Pharaoh light upon their counties, and the miseries of Oedipus on their tenants, that they may be eye-witnesses of their daughters ravishment, and behold their mansion-houses flaming like the burning battlements of Troy!' Thus lamented he the losse of his liberty, accursing his birth-day and the hour of his creation: His sighs exceeded the number of the ocean sands, and his tears the water-bubbles in a rainy day, in which condition we shall leave him, and go to talk of something else.

CHAP. X.

How Sir Vane's Son icleped (the Over-grown Childe) courted the fair Maid of Wimbleton, and of the Gown which she bespoke, and how 5000 Jewellers wrought Day and Night to finish it.

Leave we now to speak of the meek knight, and return we to relate what happened between the son of Sir Vane, icleped the Overgrown Childe, and the fair maid of Wimbleton, whom, partly in pursuance of his fathers commands, partly out of an eager desire he had to be doing, he did very hotly pursue in the way of love, and so forth. Sir Vane was very glad of the match, hoping thereby, that after the death of the knight of the golden tulep, his son might come to be chief soldan: And Sir Lambert liked it, knowing that well he could not come to be soldan himself without his friendship and assistance; which he had no other way to make sure to himself, but by so near an alliance between their families. Therefore, when the Overgrown Child had dressed himself as fine as any fippence, he called straightway for his fathers chariot, and bid the charioteer drive unto the palace of Sir Lambert: When he came unto the gate, the porter eft-soones opened the gate that he might have entrance; then was he straightway beheld by one of the pages to the fair maid, who with great reverence met him

and conducted him to the chamber where his lady did repose her self. When the Over-grown Childe came into the room he was exceedingly amazed to behold the beauty of his mistresse, so that he remained dumb for a great space. While he stood in this posture, his backside being ashamed that his mouth should be so silent, opened itself, and with one single monosyllable did so alarum the company, that it is thought that the fair maid of Wimbleton would have been very angry had he come onely as an ordinary suitor. Some say the Over-grown Childe did this unawares, but others, more probably, affirm that he had a double end in it, either because he saw himself in such an amaze, to make his mistresse amazed at him as well as he was at her, or else hoping that the good nature of his lady might cause her to blush for his miscarriage, whereby he might have an opportunity to see the full blown roses of her cheeks; but as soon as he was recovered of his extasie, he began to think himself of saying something that might be acceptable unto the fair lady whom he so admired: 'Most divine and peerless paragon,' quoth he, 'thou only wonder of the world for beauty and excellent parts of nature, know that thy two twinkling eyes, that shine more bright than the stars of heaven, being the true darts of love, have pierced my heart, and those thy crimson cheeks, as lovely as Aurora's countenance, have wounded me with love. Therefore, except thou grant me kind comfort, I am like to spend the rest of my dayes in sorrow, care, and discontent.' To this the fair maid of Wimbleton reply'd, that she returned him many thanks for the courteous proffer of his affection. 'Gentle sir,' quoth she, 'seeing that it is the will of my father that we two should lye together in one bed, let not his will be resisted, but let us enjoy one another as soon as we can, for often hath my nurse spoken proverbially unto me, saying, happy is that wooing which is not long a doing.' When it was known that the two parties had got one the others affection, the bonefires blazed, the bells rang; and Sir Lambert and Sir Vane were both drunk that night for joy. Then were there great preparations for the solemnization of these most royal nuptials; but that which surpasses all was the gown in which she was to appear when she was to go unto the temple; indeed so great was the rarity of it, that it requires a golden pen to write it, and a tongue washt in the conservatives of the muses honey to declare it; for it was to be made of diamonds set in rings of Barbary gold. The toyle was great, so that it required a multitude of artificers to accomplish the same; therefore they sought far and near for men of art, and in a short space they got together to the number of five thousand, who wrought day and night in their several employments to carry on the great work. These diamonds were all enchanted by magick art, and the vertues of them were so precious, that it is almost incredible to report: For therein one might behold the secret mysteries of all the liberal sciences, and by art discover what was practised in the courts of other princes; if any hill within a thousand miles of the place were enriched with a mine of gold, they would describe the place and countrey, and how deep it lay closed in the earth; by them you might truly calculate upon the birth of children, succession of princes, and the continuance of commonwealths, with many other excellent vertues, which I omit for this time.

CHAP. XI.

How Sir Lambert went to fight against the Christians in the Land of Cheshire; how he overthrew them; and of the Challenge that was sent him by the Swinheard of Maxfeld.

Sir Lambert and the gyant Desborough, having, as we said before, divested the soldan of his power, and cast him into prison, they set up in his stead forty tyrants to govern in his room, untill Sir Lambert could come to be soldane himself; for you must know that all the paynims that were in armes were under the command of Sir Lam-

bert. Now these forty tyrants being in power, for they were paynims also, tyrannized over the Christians in most grievous wise: So that when the Christians could no longer endure the sad and heavy oppressions of the paynims, which were indeed more lamentable then tongue can expresse, they were resolved to be avenged of the paynims, and to rise up in armes against them. For you are to understand, that the Christians had a king of their own, a just and milde prince, whose right it was to rule over them; but the paynims, having overthrown him in battel, forced him to quit his lawful inheritance, and to flye out of his kingdom. But when the Christians groaned under the heynous cruelties of the paynims, then they bethought themselves again of recalling their king, and of freeing themselves from the power of the paynims: Then did the Christians assemble together in many places of the realm of Britain, forming themselves into bands and troopes in most souldier-like fashion; but no where did they rise in so great nombers as they did in the famous countrey of Wales and the forrests of Chester: This so alarum'd the forty paynim tyrants, that they forthwith sent Sir Lambert with a very great army against them. When Sir Lambert drew near unto them, he encamped his whole army exceeding strongly: But when the Christians saw how neer the whole army of Sir Lambert was unto them, and how weak they were, by reason that they were disappointed of those succours that were promised them, they were sore afraid, for that their number was but small; and, besides this, they were most of them young men that never had practized feates of armes before. The Paladine of Chester saw right well in what an ill plight his troopes were; wherefore he had no mind to have fought with Sir Lambert at that time: for that Sir Lambert's forces were all men approved in war, right hardy and couragious, and exceeding many more in number. Sir Lambert, well knowing the advantage he had in his numerous Pagans, marched towards the Christians, who were encamped beyond the Dangerous Bridge, with great fury, with an intention for to give them an immediate assault, and force them from the Dangerous Bridge: [1] whereupon the Christians were in great doubt whether they should resist the Pagans, or return again every one to his own home: when, loe, up stood the Swinheard of Maxfield, otherwise called the Namelesse Knight, and uttered his mind in these words: 'My most dearly beloved countreymen,' quoth he, 'the badness of our present condition right well I understand, and how basely we are betrayed through the vile enchantments of Scoto the necromancer: However I question not but to break all his charms, whereby we may be free from the fury of those cursed Pagans, that seek nothing but our ruin.' When the paladine heard this, he bad him take his course. Then the Swinheard of Maxfield mounted himself on a courser, and by his trusty squire sent him this defyance, himself staying under a tree to receive his answer.

The Swinheard of Maxfield to Sir Lambert, Knight of the Golden Tulep.

'Sir Lambert, I have heard ere now of thy valour, but know that I fear thee no more then the lyon feareth the timorous hare; I am resolved therefore to meet thee at the head of all thy troopes, there to try the force of thy sword, nor do thou disdain to accept the challenge of a Swinheard, who may chance to prove as good a knight as thy self.' When Sir Lambert read the challenge, he said no more to the squire, but only bad him to take notice of the colour of his horse, and of his burgonet. Then the squire rode away, and Sir Lambert pressed forward toward the Dangerous Bridge to

[1] This alludes to the last battle of the long civil war, namely, the defeat of Sir George Booth, who had taken arms for the king in Cheshire, by Lambert, commanding the parliamentary forces. The battle was fought at a bridge near Norwich.

encounter the Christians: Then there began a sharp conflict betwixt the Christians and the paynims, wherein for a while the Christians behaved themselves with great confidence and prowess. For the Swinheard beholding the horse and burgonet that his squire had described unto him, with great courage spurred on his faithful steed, (which was a most remarkable one, for that it was a horse that had but lately belonged to the Knight of the Inchanted Mill) and without giving him the least notice of what he intended, he struck him so terrible a blow upon the visor of his helmet, that, with the fury thereof, he made sparkles of fire to issue out in great abundance, and forced him to bow his head unto his breast; but Sir Lambert soon returned unto him his salutation, and struck the Swinheard such a desperate blow on the top of the helmet, that the great noise thereof made a sound in all the mountains, and so began between them a most marvellous and fearful battel; for now Sir Lambert and the Swinheard thought no other thing but how to overthrow each other, striking each at other such terrible blows, as many times it made either of them senseless, and, both seeing the force of one another, were marvellously incensed with anger. At length the Swinheard gave Sir Lambert such a terrible blow, that, if it had hit right upon him, it would have cloven his head in pieces, but with great discretion Sir Lambert cleared himself thereof, so that it was strucken in vain, so that with great lightness he retired, and struck the Swinheard so furiously, that he fell quite astonished to the earth, without any feeling; then might you soon perceive, by the abundance of blood that issued out of his mouth and through the visor of his helmet, that the Swinheard was now ready to breathe his last. Sir Lambert, having thus overthrown the Swinheard, with great eagerness pursued the Christians, who, being overpowred by the numbers of the Pagans, thought it safer to commit themselves to the protection of by-paths and wayes unknown to the enemy, rather then to yeeld to the cruelty of the merciless Pagans. When Sir Lambert had obtained this victory, he caused it to be spread far and near, making it ten times as great as indeed it was, and he wrote unto the forty tyrants to give them notice thereof, who thereupon honoured him as a god, and sent him presents of gold and precious stones; but he cared not for the forty tyrants, nor for their presents neither, but gave them unto his soldiers, who admired him for his courtesie; for he thought that, because he had overcome this small handful of the Christians, that he was now able to overcome all the world:[1] However, as then he held fair correspondence with the forty tyrants, because he was at a far distance from them, and for that he could not do any thing farther till he had consulted with Sir Vane how far he might presume upon his new successe.

CHAP. XII.

How Sir Lambert returned to the good City of London, and of the Feast which Sir Vane made him, and how they consulted to put down the forty Tyrants.

After this battel Sir Lambert returned with great joy and triumph to the good city of London, where he was expected with much earnestness by Sir Vane, the gyant Desborough, and Sir Fleetwood the contemptible knight. When Sir Vane heard that Sir Lambert was returning, he was right glad, and resolved forthwith to go and meet him and conduct him to the city. Eftsoones therefore he called his dwarfe to bring him his palfrey, and being mounted, he took on his journey. He was clad in a flame coloured suit of Neapolitan silk, which was partly emblematical, partly for instruction; emblematical, in regard it signified his zeal to what he undertook: and as to instruc-

[1] Lambert distributed among his soldiers the sum of 1000*l.* which the parliament had voted him for the purpose of buying a jewel, as a mark of their favour, after the defeat of Sir George Booth.

tion, it show'd us, that though the silk came from Naples, an abominable and sinful city, yet that a man was never the worse for wearing it, so that he did it upon an enigmatical score. His hat was likewise of a strange fashion, for behind it hung down on his back with a long flappet to keep off the rain; but before it had no brim at all, to shew that a man ought to put away all things that hinder him from looking towards the heavens. On his shield was pictur'd Fortune standing on a rock, with this inscription underneath: "She is thus mine." In this mysterious garb he came into the forrest of Barnet, where, when he saw Sir Lambert, he alighted from his palfrey, and Sir Lambert did the like, and then they embraced one another most lovingly. Quoth Sir Vane, 'I am right glad, Sir Lambert, of this your safe and happy return, and for the great victory which you have won, whereby you are now esteemed one of the most worthy champions of Europe, and right well I know that you have done your part, and that now it remains for me to do mine; therefore let us proceed on our journey, and if I do not play the fox as well as you have played the lyon, let me be deprived of my knighthood, which I hold the greatest honour which I have in the world." For you must know, that although Sir Lambert were indeed as right cunning a knave as Sir Vane, yet in councel Sir Vane would never give him the superiority, though at knocks he alwayes let him go before him. Sir Lambert submitted with all gentlenesse unto the speech of Sir Vane, and so they came together unto the good city of London. When they passed through the town, the people of the city were all very sad, and in great perplexity, for they cared not at all for Sir Lambert, nor for his successe, but wished with all their hearts that he had been slain by the Swinheard of Maxfield. But they on the other side, who had no reason to be in such heavy plight, made great rejoycings among themselves, feasting and banquetting one another in most ample manner; but the banquet which Sir Vane made exceeded all the rest, not so much for riches as for the strangenesse thereof, for he made use not onely of the meats and drinks of the Christians, but of those also of the Heathen, as pillaw and sherbet, intimating thereby, that as he made use of all sorts of dyet to sustain nature, so Sir Lambert ought to make use of all sorts of interests to make himself great. When they had ended their feasting, Sir Vane and Sir Lambert retired into a private roome, there to take councel concerning their affairs. Sir Lambert disclosed then unto Sir Vane all that was hidden in his brest, of his desire to make himself soldan, and his intention to put down the forty tyrants; but withal he discovered his fear to attempt such an enterprize, which would be so dangerous if not accomplished. But Sir Vane, who out of his cowardly nature loved to keep himself out of all peril, but cared not upon what dangers he put others, replyed, 'That Sir Lambert had no cause at all to be timorous, for that the forty tyrants were ill beloved of the people, and he well beloved of all the old soldans post. That the gyant Desborough, and Sir Fleetwood the contemptible knight, were sure to him.' To which Sir Lambert answered, That 'twas true, that he thought he could with much ease put down the forty tyrants, but what must we do then? cryes he: To which Sir Vane reply'd, 'Leave that to me, I have a plot in my head;' and the more to encourage Sir Lambert, he repeated to him a certain prophesy, the which ran in these words:—

The Prophesie.

When the dead shall awake to joyn themselves with the living, then shall valour be at her height, and beauty in the supremest point of her glory.

'This prophesie, know right well, Sir Lambert,' so said Sir Vane, 'can concern no person living but thyself, as I shall shew thee by the easie exposition thereof, which flows without any force from the words.

'When the dead shall come to joyn themselves with the living, that is, when we who in the time of the soldan were dead as to the affairs of this world, shall come to joyn ourselves with the living, that is, with the gyant Desborough, and Sir Fleetwood, who were in great authority while the soldan was in being, then shall valour be at her height, that is, then shall your self, who are right valorous, be soldan, and beauty be in the supremest point of her glory; as much as to say, your passing beauteous lady shall be soldanesse.' When Sir Lambert heard this, he took up a new resolution, and resolved to venter what ere come of it. Then said Sir Lambert to the knight of the mysterious allegories, 'Sir Vane, thy wisdom is to be extolled, and thy words to be prized above fine gold. Wherefore let us, as soon as we have smoaked out our pipes, go and talk with Sir Fleetwood, and my cozen the gyant Desborough, concerning it; for if they'l but joyn with us, Ile go presently about my work.'

CHAP. XIII.

How Don Hazlerigo, the Knight with the Hot Head, being one of the forty Tyrants, suspected the Intention of Sir Lambert, and how he would have had Scoto the Necromancer have enchanted him, and put him into his Castle at Lambetho, and how he cuft his Dwarf for playing at Span-Farthing.

Sir Lambert being now full of hopes, and greatly swelled with the prophesy which Sir Vane had told him of, he began now to be very active in the prosecution of his design; but when he saw that the two gyants, ycleped Creed and Berry,[1] were come to joyn with him, and that Sir Lilburn, the degraded viceroy, was also come in unto his party, he eftsoones resolved, by the advice of Sir Vane, to make known some of his desires to the forty tyrants. When the forty tyrants read them, they liked them not at all, but were highly provoked, especially Don Hazlerigo, the knight with the hot head,[2] who, being the most passionate person in the world, fell into such a rage, that many of the forty tyrants themselves, though they knew his kindnesse to them, did greatly tremble thereat. Quoth he, 'how dares this princock thus presume! am not I the wisest and the most valorous knight that ever Oceana brought forth, how happeneth it then that the gods permit this contest between us? Have they no thunderbolts to lend me, that I may nail this bold audacious traytor to the earth?' Then turning to the forty tyrants, 'Am not I above ye all,' quoth he; 'why do yee then not do what I command? Let there be a great caldron fetched, and let this presumptuous traytor be boyled therein, and when he is boyled, he is boyled, and there will be an end of him.' Hereupon one of the forty tyrants said that Don Hazlerigo had spoken like a right worthy cavalier; and if all men were of his mind, there wanted nothing but a caldron. Don Hazlerigo replyed, that he had one at home, wherein his damsels did boyl foul cloathes, and oxe livers for his meaner servants, and thereupon he called his dwarfe to fetch it: but the dwarfe not answering to the call, Don Hazlerigo in great fury went forth to seek him. Oh the sad disastrous fate of the unfortunate dwarfe! For Don Hazlerigo no sooner sought for him, but he beheld him playing at span-farthing in the yard belonging to the palace of Westmonasterium. 'O are you there,' quoth Don Hazlerigo in great despite; 'I'le be with you eft-soones.' He was no sooner neer him, but he reached the dwarfe such a cuffe on the ear, that you might have heard the blow

[1] Colonels Creed and Berry, military commanders of some reputation, and attached to what was called the Wallingford-house, or army faction, of which Lambert was the real and Fleetwood the ostensible leader.

[2] Sir Arthur Hazelrig, a hot-headed and furious republican: he particularly detested episcopacy and monarchy, and adhered to the Rump Parliament as the best way of keeping them both out. He died in the Tower about 1660, partly of regret for the Restoration.

crosse the river of Thamesis unto the temple of Saint Maryovers, crying out in great rage, 'Fetch me the huge caldron, sirrah.' The dwarfe, who neither knew the meaning of his words nor of his blowes, was in a great amaze, but at length recollecting himself, quoth he, 'Am not I as good a squire as he that belonged unto the Marquis of Stamfordia? yet he beat the famous Don Hazlerigo, why may not I?' with that he laid his truncheon on the brest of Don Hazlerigo with such a force, that he was scarce able to keep himself from falling backward. Don Hazlerigo having thus missed of the caldron, returnes again with as much haste as he could (for the dwarfe hard pursued him) unto the forty tyrants, with whom he saw it was much safer to contend then with his dwarfe. He fum'd, and they star'd, he foamed, and they were astonished; he could not speak for anger, neither durst they speak to him seeing him so angry, yet they could not choose but ask him where the caldron was? to which, after much stamping and staring, he replyed, that he had found out another sort of punishment, which he esteemed far better. Then turning himself to Scoto the negromancer, [1] he thus revil'd him: 'Where are all thy charms, nocturnal Scoto? have all thy spirits forsaken thee? hast thou now no power over the great Belzebub, who is also ycleped Lucifer? to what end hast thou thy enchanted castle at Lambetho, if thou makest no use thereof? Awake, great Scoto, from thy dreaming trance, and raise a troop of infernal fiends to shelter thee from the ruin that will else befal thee.' When Scoto heard Don Hazlerigo say thus, quoth he, 'Right valiant knight, if thou wilt bring Sir Lambert unto me, that my charmes may lay hold of him, I will put him in my castle of Lambetho, from whence it shall be in the power of no knight to free him; but at present I cannot prevail, for that the spirits which belong to Sir Vane the sorcerer are as strong to defend him, as mine are to doe him annoyance: Yet is there one way left, and that is for thee to take with thee some three or four other knights like thy self; then must you be sure to lay hold on him at such a time when he hath nothing on him but his shirt, for then he shall not be able to resist the charms which are laid upon him, so that we shall have our wills of him to do what we please with him.' When Don Hazlerigo heard this, he vanish'd immediately from the forty tyrants, telling them what strange exploits he would do ere he came back.

CHAP. XIV.

How Sir Lambert put down the Forty Tyrants, and how he and the Baron of Sussex justed together.

When Sir Lambert heard of the intention of Don Hazlerigo, and the rest of the forty tyrants, and of their cruel plot, which was to have him sodden to death, he waxed sore in wrath, and caused the muster rolls to be numbred of those that were resolved to stand by him, and when he saw himself strong enough to deal with the forty tyrants, he went into the chamber of councel, where he found Sir Vane, the gyant Desborough, Sir Berry the knight of the colepit, the gyant Creed, the contemptible knight, and the gyant Husonius, called also Polyphem, [2] to whom he spake in these words:—

[1] Thomas Scot, one of the regicide judges, and executed as such after the Restoration. He was so proud of his share in that tragedy, as to say he wished for no better epitaph than "Here lies Thomas Scot, one that adjudged the king for death." He was a staunch republican, and warm adherent of the Rump Parliament. He behaved with great firmness at his execution; and being, while addressing the people, interrupted, according to the inhuman practice of the time, by the sound of trumpets, he coldly observed, that it was a poor cause which could not bear the words of a dying man.

[2] Colonel Hewson, one of Cromwell's principal satellites, a stout, bold, and resolute fellow, who had been originally a cobler. He had but a single eye, which occasions his nick-name of Polypheme. Hewson, from the rudeness of his manners and singularity of his appearance, was a chief object of ridicule among the cavaliers.

'Right worthy Champions,

'Yee know right well that I am not apt to seek that by force which I could obtain by fair means. How I am injured by the forty tyrants you understand; neither am I ignorant how yee are all affronted for my sake; should I therefore now forsake you, I should be a greater traytor to you, my friends, then to my self; but since it is so, I vow never to sleep in bed of down, nor to unbuckle my shield from my weary armes, till I have quelled your foes, and given you full power over your enemies.'

These heroical speeches were no sooner finished, but the champions, arming themselves with approved corssets, and taking unto them their trusty swords, told him how ready they were to follow him in any undertaking.

Now had Aurora chased away the all to be spangled darknesse, when, lo, Sir Lambert, intending to do by the forty tyrants as Aurora had done before by the black brow'd night, assembles his forces together, and pitches his tent close by the palace of the forty tyrants.[1] But they, having notice of his comming, muster'd their powers also together, and sent them against Sir Lambert under the command of a right valiant knight called the Baron of Sussex, and now they stood opposite each to other within the reach of the dismal gun: it was thought that these engines would have by and by breathed out their fury in flames of fire, and have sent their leaden messengers to seare up the veins of mortals, and dam up the passages of life, but Sir Lambert, who was as valiant as he was cunning, and as cunning as he was valiant, and so either both valiant and cunning, or else neither cunning nor valiant, was loth to fight, for he feared the party which was for the lawful King of Britain, least they, whilst he was combating against the forty tyrants, should come and take the power from them both: wherefore he would not engage, but sought all other means to suppresse the forty tyrants that he could. Now, as he was riding about, he met the chief of the forty tyrants, who was the knight of the gilt mace, whom they had made general of the forces of Sir Lambert, coming to the assistance of the forty tyrants, and all the way he came, he cried to the souldiers of Sir Lambert, that they should desert Sir Lambert, and yield obedience to him, who was their chieftain. But Sir Lambert, unwilling that the souldiers should hear with that ear, lights off his horse, takes up a great brickbat, and flings it full at the head of the knight of the gilt mace, and but for the mercy of a kind fate, had dasht out Sir Lenthal's brains, and then taking the horses by their bridles, he thrust them, the chariot, and all that were in it, quite out of the city of Westmonasterium, as you would thrust a rolling stone before yee through a bowling green: Nor were the souldiers idle all this while, for what vollies they could not discharge out of their guns they discharged out of their mouths, calling one another doggs, rogues, and sons

[1] The strange and abortive conflict between the guards of the parliament and those of Lambert is thus described by Heath the annalist:—"In the meanwhile Haslerigg in a heat, and Herbert Morley his son-in-law, and other the commissioners then present for the army, by order sate up all night in the speakers chamber adjoyning to the house, and issued out several commands to such forces and commanders as they thought would stand by them, resolving to oppose force by force, and be baffled no more with this legionary spirit that had haunted and plagued them so often. But Lambert was awake also, and at the same time marched several regiments into King-street, Westminster, and possessed himself of all the avenues to the palace; such forces as these commissioners had got to their side being forced to march round St James's wall in the night-time, and so through Tuttle-street into the Abbey, and St Margarets church-yard, both parties standing upon their guard till the morning, October 13, at which time, about eleven o'clock, the speaker coming to the house in his coach, was stopped near the gate that leads into the palace by Lieutenant Colonel Duckenfield, and his coach turned and sent back: Lambert on horse-back then faced the regiment of Morley and Mosse in the said church-yard; and much stiffness and ill looks there passed between the officers, and some words, but never a blow, for the soldiers were resolved not to fight one against the other for the best parliament or the best cause that ever was in England. In this posture they continued till night, when the council of state, who umpired the business between the red-coats, commanded and ordered them to their several quarters, as good-friends as ever."—Heath's *Chronicle of the Civil Wars, Lond.* 1676, *fol.*

of whores; and, that their hands might be in action likewise, they threw at one another hand granadoes, the which, according to a new invention among souldiers, were made of the tops of turneps, bound together with a with. While the two fierce armies stood looking so grimly each on the other, Scoto the negromancer was gotten privately into a high tower built on the top of the west end of the temple of Westmonasterium, that when the combat did begin he might assist the forces of the Baron of Sussex by his magick spells.

'Now,' quoth he, 'is the battel surely begun, for me thinks I hear the Baron of Sussex cry for help; now is the time that my charming spells must work Sir Lambert's overthrow;' which being said, thrice he kissed the floor of the said tower, and thrice besprinkled the circle with his own blood, which with a silver razer he let out from his left arme, and after that he began to speak in this manner: 'Stand still, yee wandring lamps of heaven, move not, sweet stars, till Scoto's charmes be brought to full effect. O thou great demon, prince of the damned ghosts, thou chief commander of those gastly shapes that lightly glide by misbelieving travellers, even thou that holdest a snaky scepter in thy hand, sitting upon a throne of burning steel, even thou whose eyes are like sawcers, and who tossest burning fire brands abroad like tennis balls, I charge thee to open thy brazen gates, and send forth thy legions of infernal fiends, for that of them I now do stand in great need.' Belzebub being so severely charged, took the pains not onely to ascend to the earth, but to go up also to the top of the tower to receive the commands of Scoto the negromancer, who longed for the encounter that he might set him on work; but the devil having staid till night, and seeing nothing for him to do, was so sorely enraged against Scoto, that he took him by the legs, intending to have thrown him from the top of the tower, but afterwards bethinking with himself that he should lose a good servant, and that he should spoyle the story, for that it was never heard in any romance that any negromancer was ever punished till some knight had ended his enchantments, he set Scoto on his legs, and in great fury flung down to hell again. For to tell yee the truth, there was no combate of note all that day, excepting between the Baron of Sussex and Sir Lambert; for Sir Lambert knowing that he was well beloved by the souldiers belonging to the Baron of Sussex, was resolved to goe and speak to them, thinking by fair speeches to win them to his side; when the baron saw him he was likewise resolved to hinder him, whereupon they prepared to the career, but they onely brake their launces in the first encounter: whereupon the baron drew his sword, but Sir Lambert entreated him to just once more; most willingly, reply'd the baron; then meeting together, Sir Lambert's horse was almost down, for the horse that he rode on all that day was none of the best, and the baron likewise lost one of his stirrups, being glad to catch hold by the maine of his horse: Sir Lambert having more mind to be chief soldan then to be bastinadoed, seeing the baron maintain the fight so equally against him, took his leave, telling the baron he should take another time to be quit with him. But the forty tyrants seeing no hope of relief, and that they were unequal in power to Sir Lambert, were content to submit unto him, which they did accordingly, giving him possession of the palace, and of all that was therein, causing the Baron of Sussex to draw off his forces; which done, Sir Lambert went home with much glee and content, supp't quietly, and lay with his sultanesse in most pleasant-wise.

CHAP. XV.

How Sir Lambert and Sir Vane, being Pagans, went about to set up the Worship of their Heathen Idols; and how they intended to have altered the Laws and Government of Britain.

When Sir Lambert had thus by his power put down the forty tyrants, Sir Vane and he doubted not now to carry all before them; therefore they fell into consideration how they might secure to themselves the chief power, which they had got into their own hands as well as they could: Sir Vane was of an opinion, that, seeing it was their intention to erect a new empire, they ought to change the religion of the country, and to make a new one as neer the humour as they could of these people whom they saw adhering to them upon the hopes of such an alteration, and already inclined to such a change as might well agree with their interest. First and foremost therefore, knowing that they must take asunder what was already established before they could put their own together, they resolved to abolish wholly the religion of the Christians, for that it was so opposite to what they intended, that it was impossible for them to let the least tittle thereof remain: And because it is no hard matter to beware by other mens harms, seeing that the too much pretending to knowledge among the vulgar Christians (it being dangerous for any person to have more knowledge then he is able to manage) had been the cause of their confusion, they resolved to reform that error, and to take from the people all meanes of diving into hidden things; to which end they had ordered that all schooles of learning should be taken away; and so far they were from having any teachers among the people, that they ordered it should be death for any one to teach his children the primer: Yet because they knew that the awe of a deity was very necessary, though never so airy and notional, Sir Lambert being now chief soldan, caused proclamation to be made, whereby the God of the Christians was deposed, and eight other deities erected in his roome; four of these deities were of the feminine gender, and four of the newter; of the female deities, two were Latine, Destinia and Ignorantia; one Italian, La potta del Papa Giovanna; and the fourth French, Foutre du diable: Of the male deities one was Latine, Summum Imperium; one Spanish, Puerco del Paradiso; the third Italian, Cazzo nel culo; and the last of Scotch extraction, called the piper of Kilbarchen; and he farther proclaimed that his subjects should attribute divine worship unto these, and that these onely should be adored as the onely and most supreme gods, powers over the earth: As to future expectations Sir Vane took it all from Mahomet, changing little or nothing. Having thus settled religion, they proceed to alter the civil government. Sir Lambert said that he did not like the lawes, and therefore would have new ones; but Sir Vane said it was altogether unnecessary as yet to have any at all, for that necessity would compel their party to be yet a while unanimous and loving one to another, and if the Christians had any lawes to fly to, it would hinder their party for destroying those their enemies, which was to be done no other way, but by giving their party leave to practise all manner of tyrannies and violencies over them.

Yet one law Sir Vane liked well that it should be made, which was a law against the importing of barrel-figgs, least thereby the Christians should learn unity, seeing things of the same nature stick so close together. Then, in imitation of Joshua, who drave the Canaanites sheere out of the land to give his people a full possession thereof, they intended to have destroyed all the old inhabitants of Britain, both nobles, gentry, and yeomen, by making their own party lords over them, who were all of a new race, as b ing the sons of the earth, and such therefore whom no tyes of consanguinity had interest to make them in the least wise merciful: When these things were divulged

among the Christians, there was a famous divine among them that went to Sir Vane to reason the case with him. Quoth he unto him, 'it is a very dangerous thing to alter the religion and take away the laws of a nation:' Sir Vane replyes, that as to the alteration of religion, it was a thing which they thought convenient, and therefore, since they had the power in their hands, they were resolved to do it; and as for taking away the laws, he thought 'twas very well done also; for that was the difference between theeves and honest men: 'Theeves indeed were necessitated to make laws among themselves, and to observe them; but honest men,' said he, 'such as we and our party, have no need thereof; for that we are no theeves, but robbers; and if we do possesse other mens goods, it is because we have right thereunto, being born to inherit the earth: 'Alas,' quoth Sir Vane, 'laws are the guides of the soul, and therefore those who would be counted most free ought to live without um, for if it be a mark of slavery to have the legs or hands bound, certes it is a signe of far greater subjection to suffer the mind to be in fetters.' When the ancient seer heard these arguments, he was convinced, not by the strength of Sir Vane's reason, but because he saw it was in vain to contend with an unreasonable strength; and therefore, with great sorrow for the affliction which he saw was like to fall upon the Christians, he took his leave of the knight of the mysterious allegories, and departed.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Christians rebelled against Sir Lambert, and how he marched against them into the North, and what happened thereupon.

The Christians were now in a sad condition, for that the heathens having vowed their destruction, went about to put in practise all those designes which they could think on for the effecting of their purpose. But they had one champion yet alive, who was hight Sir George, who was the most worthy champion that ever the Brittaines had; who, seeing the destruction that was like to fall upon the Christians, resolved to oppose himself in their defence; whereupon Sir Lambert sent defyance unto the loyal knight, telling him that he would shortly meet him in the plains of Northimbria. But before he went, he consulted with the knight of the mysterious allegories, how he might secure the metropolis of Britaine, which he was now going to leave behind him, and what persons he might entrust for to manage his great affairs in his absence. Whereupon they agreed to constitute several seers of the Square Table, which, being assembled together, should have the name of a Councel of Safety.[1] Now, that they might not crosse the proverb, as they were to have new laws, so they resolved to make new lords. And indeed Sir Vane, who was altogether for allegories, told Sir Lambert, that there were no men fitter then those from whose trade or occupation he might draw some allusion, that he might teach him still what to do: Therefore he advised him to choose one grocer, that it might mind him of braying his enemies in the morter of affliction, and grinding them as small as pepper. He bid him take one drawer of

[1] General George Monk had now begun his journey southward. Lambert set forth to meet him, and before his departure visited the executive government of the state, it consisting of the following persons, who formed a committee of public safety: Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Steel, Whitelocke, Vane, Ludlow, Sydenham, Salloway, Strickland, (these last seven were in the interest of the Rump,) Berry, Lawrence the president of Cromwell's council, Sir James Harrington another Rumper, Johnstone of Warriston a Scotchman, Henry Brandreth a cloath-drawer and citizen, Cornelius Holland another Rumper, and Colonels Hewson, Clarke, Bennet, and Lilburn.

This strange medley of persons, differing in views and principles, was selected to gratify the over-refined and fantastic notions of Sir Henry Vane, whose models of government were greatly too curious to bear practical tear and wear.

of cloath, such was the Seer Brandritho, to shew that there ought not to be any differences among factions of the same stamp; he bid him take one that was employed in cole-pits, such was Sir Berry, the Knight of the Cole-Pit, to shew that a politician ought alwayes to be undermining; one Scotchman, such was the Seer Warreston, to shew the treachery and falshood that politicians ought to use; one ploughman, such was the gyant Desborough, to shew the care that a politician ought to have, and how he ought to observe times and seasons; and one cobler, intimating thereby that a politician ought to look after no mans ends but his own. When Sir Lambert had made choice of his councel, he spake unto them in these words:—

'Right Worthy Patriots,

'I have here made choice of ye, that ye may assist me in the carrying on my great work. I must leave ye for a time, for that I am going to meet the loyal knight in the plains of Northimbria, who hath bid me defyance, wot ye well that ye have to deal with a proud and insolent city; if therefore they will not be ruled, smoke um to death in their own hives, as they do bees. He was famous that burnt the temple of Diana, and Nero was famous that burnt Rome; then be ye famous also, and burn London. I shall say no more, because I repose a confidence in ye, not doubting but that ye will stick close unto me, if not for my sake, yet for your own ends, which by no means but mine ye can ever be able to attain.'

When he had uttered these sayings, they all stood up, and cryed, 'Long live the Soldan of Brittain.'

CHAP. XVII.

How the Seer Wareston[1] lay with a Lady of Pleasure, that came to him with a Petition, upon the Council Table, and what happened thereupon.

Leave we now, Sir Lambert, a while, and let us rehearse what happen'd at the councel of safety, of which the Seer Warreston was chief president, who was a right notable knave, and exceeding salacious, as you shall understand by that which follows. There was a lady at that time, who had certain sad occasions to visit the councel of safety for the redress of certain grievances, but could never find a fit opportunity to deliver her supplication; but at length finding that the Seer Warreston was all alone in the councel chamber, she prevail'd with money of the dore-keeper to let her in. When she came in, she appeared right comely unto the seer, and related her story unto him with such a grace, that he was straightway enamoured of her; quoth he, 'Well do you deserve, fair lady, to have your petition granted, but should I grant you your petition, would you grant me mine?' 'Alas!' said the lady, 'it is not for you to petition, who have so much power in your hands.' 'Ah!' replyed the seer, 'you have wounded me; and I hope you will cure the wound which you have made,' and saying these words, he pulled her by the gown upon his knee, as he sate in his great chair, and would have kissed her. The lady, not ignorant how much coyness inflamed, made great resistance; but the more she resisted, the more was he on fire; so that there was exceeding great contention and strugling between them; at length the lustful seer being the stronger, had thrown her upon the councel table, and there laid her flat on her back, where at length she gave him

[1] Sir Archibald Johnston of Warristone, called Lord Warristone, was a stubborn presbyterian of the most rigid class. Yet he complied with Cromwell, under whose domination he retained his office of clerk register for Scotland. He was afterwards a leading member of the committee of public safety. He was apprehended at Rouen in France, after the Restoration, and delivered up to the English government, and, although his great age, and the decay of his intellects, rendered him an unfit object of punishment, he was publicly executed 22d July, 1663.

leave to quench his desires with the spoils of her seeming chastity, on condition that he would grant her request. He had no sooner finished, but in came Sir Fleetwood the contemptible knight, and some others, who seeing the seer in a strange posture, with his band rumpled, his cap off, the sleeve of his gown torn, and his face more redder than ordinary, desired to know of him what had happened unto him. The seer not at all abashed, told them the whole story, who entered thereupon into great consultations among themselves. Some were of an opinion, that since the Seer Warestons genealogy was likely to increase, that the souldan should allow him a larger stipend. One stood up, and said it was requisite that the contemptible knight, and the knight of the allegories, should be sent to the temple of the gods, La potta del Papa Giovanna, to enquire of the oracle whether it were a boy or a girl, that provision for the birth and education might be made accordingly. Others were of opinion that 'twas convenient to know what his name should be. This debate took up above a weeks time, with continual pro's and con's, and at length they concluded that, if it were a boy, he should be called by the name of young Finbrandus, and that he should be sent to the enchanted castle Newgate, to be bred up in all the secrets of that place, by the several gyants that frequented the castle; but if it were a girle, that she should be delivered to witch Creswellia,[1] to be taught all kind of sorceries and enchantments; and so the councel was dismist for that time.

CHAP. XVIII.

How Sir Lambert marched against the Loyal Knight as far as the Forrest of Northimbria; and how the Councel of Safety sent the Gyant Husonius to kill the Christians for playing at Foot-ball.

Sir Lambert was now gone towards the forrest of Northimbria to encounter the loyal knight. Now you must know that before Sir Lambert departed out of the good city of London, there came unto him the Seer Feko, high priest of the temple of the idol, ycleped Foutre le Diable, and the Seer Rogero,[2] high priest of the idol Cuzzonel Culo, and declared unto him, how they had that night seen a vision, and having told what they had seen each unto the other, that they had both dreamed the same dream; 'Me thought,' quoth the Seer Feko, 'that I was in a great field, where I saw Sir Lambert's horse feeding among a multitude of other horses, when on a sudden Sir Lambert's horse elevating his rump, let an exceeding great fart, so that the noise thereof caused the valleys to sound, and the hills to echo, and with the strength thereof blew away all the said horses, so that when I looked about again I could not see one horse left. Now, while I was musing upon the strangenesse of the accident, there came a young man to me cloathed in blew, who bid me declare what I had seen unto Sir Lambert, for that as his horse had farted away all the other horses, so should he scatter all his enemies. When Sir Lambert heard this, he caused his butler to be sent for, and commanded him to carry the two high priests into the buttery, and set the bread and cheese before them, and to give them as much ale as they would drink, which as soon as he had said, he gallop'd away as fast as he could to encounter the loyal knight. Now, after that he had been gone a good while, it happen'd one morning that the weather being cold, the young men of the city of London went to play at football in the streets, which being related unto the councel of safety, they were sore afraid, fearing lest the Christians having such a pretence to assemble together might rise against them, where-

[1] Mother Cresswell was an infamous procuress of the time.

[2] Feake and Rogers were both eminent independent preachers, and at the head of the fifth monarchy men. See the preceding volume, p. 482.

fore they sent command immediately to the gyant Husonius to go into the city for fear of the worst. Now such was the hast he was in, that because he could not readily find his own arms, he was forced to put on his head a great iron porridge-pot which was next at hand, instead of his shield he took a pot lid, and in lieu of his mace, he puld up one of the great elms in the forrest of St Jameses, and thus accoutred away he goes, taking a great band of souldiers along with him. The Christians hearing of his coming, shut the gates of the city thinking to keep him out, but the gyant pusht them open with as much ease as if they had been made of past-bord; and finding his own shield defective, he made use of one of the gates for his buckler all that day. Yet, notwithstanding his coming, the Christians continued playing at foot-ball, not dreaming that their sport had been offensive. But so it fell out that one of the Christians striking the ball right strenuous, by which his foot kick'd the ball full in the gyants face, so that his eye was in great danger. The gyant, who had but one eye, and being jealous that the Christians intended to put out that too, was sorely enraged, wherefore in great fury he laid about him with his huge elm among the multitude, killing six of the Christians at one blow, which the Christians beholding, they incontinently fled away; that when the gyant Husonius saw, he thought it good time to satisfie his hunger as well as his revenge. Thereupon he straightway went and took up one of the dead Christians, and so sitting down upon the ridge of a house, in a moment devoured him raw, without either bread or salt, and having finished his bloudy meal, 'Now,' quoth he, 'have I din'd as well as ever I did in my life, had I but a childe to close my stomack.' The young men seeing this, would have altogether fallen upon the gyant, so little they cared either for his arms or the vastness of his proportion; but the chief governour fearing the danger of popular tumults, chose rather to put up in silence the injuries of the gyant than hazard the safety of the city, when there seemed other probable means of securing it; wherefore the gyant seeing at length none to oppose him, returned with great triumph to the place from whence he came, and was received with much gladnesse by the councel of safety, onely they rebuked him that he did not bring the rest of those Christians along with him which he had kill'd, that he might have had them for his supper.[1]

CHAP. XIX.

How the Forty Tyrants were set up again, and how Don Hazlerigo caused several Children to be whipped to Death for calling him Rumper.

Sir Lambert being now at a great distance from the city of Londinum, the forty tyrants conspired together, and in a short time they so managed their businesse, that

[1] Heath gives the following account of the skirmish between Hewson and the apprentices. The wrath of the colonel was much awakened by the mob's shouting, in allusion to his original profession, Whoop, cobler! whoop, cobler!—"Then began the tumults in London, and instant applications were made to the lord mayor and alderman to declare against both army and Rump, the last of whom was most abhorred and cryed out against, with the general voice of No Rump; and a petition for a free parliament, as the only way to preserve the city and kingdome, was preferred for hands; which the committee of safety under high penalties forbid; but no regard being had to them, nor no application of any person to them but their own army folk, (save that Sir George Booth obtained his liberty upon bail from them because of indisposition, and for recovery of his health in better air,) the said petitions were carried on and high things resolved on; shops being shut up, and the public only minded, people running in clusters in the middle of the street, and hearing and telling of news, and threatning or expecting (as news came) nothing but destruction.

"These things being posted to Wallingford-house, Colonel Hewson with his regiment was ordered to march into the city, and quell these tumults and uproars; who accordingly came strutting in, and seeing some gatherings of apprentices and others, having commanded them to be gone, bid his musqueteers fire, who killed two men about the Exchange: horse and foot were also quartered in the streets and round about the city." Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 431.

they vanquished the councel of safety, and all that adhered unto Sir Lambert; for Don Hazlerigo having got some few armed troops together, came to Londinum with so much haste and fury, that both the gyants Desborow and Husonius were much appal'd, and besides that he had joyned himself with the Knight of the Green Ocean. When the forty tyrants heard that Don Hazlerigo was coming to town, they went forth to meet him every one clad with a gown of Cyrean purple embroidered with gold; for they never cared what they spent, so it were of the public money, and before each person went 20 squires bare with cognizances on their sleeves, every one carrying in his hand the arms and pedigree of his lord. Don Hazlerigo was on a hill when he saw um coming towards him with their hats on about a mile off; wherefore immediately he sent away one of his squires to know of them how they durst be so bold as to keep their hats on before him while he was in sight? whether they knew who he was? and whether that were their grateful acknowledgment of the favours which they were then about to receive from him? Whereupon, with many humble expressions of sorrow for their offence, they presently unvaild; when they approached neer, he gave them the farthest end of the lash of his whip to kisse, having rebuked them first for their sawcinesse. As he returned, he rode hindmost in a silver coach gilded with gold, besides which ran 200 pages and footmen attired in blew velvet; the trumpets that went before him sounding his praises were like the sands on the sea for number, making such a dreadful noise, that many report that they saw the graves in many church yards to open, and men start up in their shirts to ask what the matter was. Coming into the chamber of councel, they placed him under a canopy of state, when on a suddain rising up with a look as furious as Tamberlaines, 'What rage (quoth he) did possesse that vain fool Sir Lambert to lift himself up against me, who am in worth as much above him as the heaven is above the earth? proud vaunting piece of insolence, shortly shall he too late repent, when he shall receive the same punishment from my hands as the haughty Almidor, king of Morocco, did from the hand of St George. Behold ye are now once more established by my power, therefore let us to work, and handle this insolent nation without mittens; above all things beware of consideration, knowing that delays are dangerous. If we must burn, let us burn, if kill, kill, 'tis no matter whom, what, or when; we lose our authority while we enter into such consultations; consulting shews fear, and fear was never the mark of absolute dominion; the devil, their sire, and his dam go with all consultations and deliberations, and sage thoughts; but be ruled by me, and I warrant you all things will go well.' When he had spoken these words he departed home to his spouse. Now not long after it happened that he was going in great state to the house, certain little children playing together, cried one to another, 'There goes one of the Rump,'[1] which was a term of ignominy that the people of Britain had thrown upon the forty tyrants; which, when it came to the ear of Don Hazlerigo, he caused the said children to be sent for; when they came before him, with a stern countenance, he commanded that they should be forthwith taken away, and whipped to death with whips of knotted whip cord; and when one said unto him that it was too cruel a sentence, he replyed that it was too merciful, for that they might thank him that he did not cause them to be offered up to the idol Molock in the valleys of the Chimeron, and with that he flung away in a great rage in order to his other affairs.

[1] "It will not be impertinent to give an account of it [the nick-name of the Rump] since it was the frequentest word or by-word of the times. This term was first given them by one Mr Walker, who writ the History of Independency upon their secluding and debarring the house to their fellow-members in 1648, when there remained a fag-end or tail; but was almost abolished by the height and violence of their prosperity, nor was heard of again until Richard's parliament, when Major-General Brown, repeating the many injuries he had received from that party, or juncto, in a scornful apostrophe, branded it with this note of infamy, The Rump, which now, upon their readmission again, was their onely appellation except among their own party."—HEATH'S *Chronicle*, p. 422.

CHAP. XX.

How Sir Lambert submitted, and how the Gyants Desborrow, Cobbet, Creed, and Hewson, seeing themselves disappointed of their Designes, went to fight against Heaven.

When Sir Lambert saw that he could not get unto the loyal knight, who, seeing himself far unequal to Sir Lambert in number, kept himself in his strong holds; he thought upon a way how to keep the loyal knight from coming to him; he saw his soldiers wanted work, and therefore, to keep them from mutining, and being idle, which two inconveniences commonly go together, like a citizen and his wife, he gave them a command, that they should build up a wall in the land of Northimbria, the which in bredth should reach from sea to sea, and in height up unto the clouds, and which should be so thick, that fifty coaches might go a brest; and, to secure it from the thunder-thumping-bullets of the dismal noise-making cannon, he sent for the Seer Feko to enchant it. Now where travellers were to passe to and fro, he ordered that there should be a great gate made of massie brasse, which should be bolted with bolts as big about as an ordinary steeple, the shooter of the lock was to be as broad as an acre of ground: Then said the artificer unto Sir Lambert, 'who shall turn the key?' And Sir Lambert replyed, 'Let there be a mill to turn it.' Now, as Sir Lambert was contriving about this wall, Sir Vane hearing of his design, sent him a letter, the substance whereof was, that he had heard of the wall which he was going to build; and therefore he advised him, because love would break through stone walls, to make it of brick; in answer to which, Sir Lambert sent him another, wherein he assured him that the wall should be of brick accordingly, and that if he would not believe him, he might come down and see. Sir Lambert had a double design in making this wall; first, because that being he was not ignorant that his soldiers must dig very deep to lay the foundations of such a wall, he knew nothing to the contrary but that they might find some mine or other, whereby to enrich both themselves and him; but his main drift was to keep the loyal knight from coming into Britain: moreover, this wall was to be guarded by never-sleeping dragons, which were to be sent for from Lydia, as also by mastiff dogs, which were to be kept hungry for that purpose. You'l say now he was in a fair way, but woe unto a man when ill luck follows him! Now, said the knight of the golden tulep unto himself, shall I have such a wall as there will not be in the world such another, nor was there ever such one before. Travellers shall come and see this wall of mine from all the parts of the earth, and shall bring mony in their pockets, and shall enrich my land; then will I plant appricocks and peaches against this wall, and when they are ripe, I will say unto my wife, 'Lo, the fruits of my wall!' While he was thus solacing himself under this wall, came unto him the sad news how that the forty tyrants were got into power again, and that Don Hazlerigo with an army had forced all his one and twenty seers to run away, swearing that he would not onely boyl Sir Lambert now, but make porridge also of his flesh; he fell straightway into a swoon, continuing so for eight and forty hours. When his friends saw that, they sent for physicians, who were in great amaze; but at length they agreed that he should be laid under a pump, the well being first cleans'd, and filled with aniseed water; which was done accordingly, and so they laid him under the spout, and pump'd strong water into his mouth for ten days together: at the end whereof, through the heat of the water, he began to revive, and elevating his drowzy head, 'Oh!' quoth the knight of the golden tulep, groaning like a soul in purgatory, 'accursed be the loyal knight; for my cake's dow, and all by his means.' But the gyant Desborow cursed the knight of the mysterious allegories, being very free of his malediction, because that by his means they had put down the forty tyrants, saying that he was the arrantest knave

that ever pissed with a pr—. Sir Lambert now considering the sadnesse of his condition, was in a bushel of troubles, so that he knew not what in the world to do. 'Should I go to the town of London,' quoth he, 'what should I do there? Walk about the streets with my hands in my pocket like a Dutch sailor? That befits not him that once rode about the streets of Westmonasterium like a country hagler, causing his enemies to creep into crevises. That becomes not him who once vanquish'd the baron of Cheshire, and laid the Swineheard of Maxfield sprawling on the ground. But 'tis a folly to talk, I must either go or stay; well Ile go: But God knows my heart, 'tis even as a bear goes to the stake; and I know I shall be baited like a bear too; and what then? Why a bear's a bear, and a knight's a knight: Nay, and a knight's a bear too; for by the same consequence that I a knight am made an ass, shall I a knight be likewise made a bear; but let um take heed of their bears, that is, let um look to themselves; for I ever get um in my paws again, Ile gripe um a little faster then I did before.' When Sir Lambert had spoken these words, he threw his cloak over his shoulders, and in very melancholy wise spur'd his stead forward. The forty tyrants hearing that he was come unto the good town of London, they sent for him to have him in examination; but when he came before them, Don Hazlerigo look'd upon him with a very grim aspect; 'Sirrah,' quoth he, 'sir knight, what made thy over-venturous, fool-hardy, coxcombly presumption dare to advance itself against our noble mirror of knighthood? Did'st thou not know that I was cholerick; how then dared'st thou to provoke me?' Sir Lambert then pleaded for himself, saying, that he had not done what he did, but that he thought 'twas for the good of the nation. 'Thou lyest like a rogue,' replies Don Hazlerigo; and having said those words, commanded him to be taken away forthwith, and to be thrown into the caldron of boiling lead, which was prepared in a place not far off: and they say he had certainly been boyled to death, had not the knight of the mysterious allegories interceded for him; though indeed he did not prevail so much upon him, but rather prevail'd upon the intentions of some of the forty tyrants, who, liking not the proceedings of the loyal knight, resolved to make use of him again, in case any such quarrel should happen, as they suspected.

When the gyant Cobbetto, the gyant Credo, the gyant Hackero, the gyant Husonio, and the gyant Rodesbo[1] heard of the ill success of Sir Lambert, they grew very mutinous against the gods of their religion; they wondered that their gods would use them so discourteously, that it was neither a friendly part, nor the part of gentlemen to deal with their idolaters in that fashion; they tax'd them with the want of morality and common civility; and at length, one thing aggravating another, they resolved to make them know themselves, and if they would not do that, to pull them out of heaven by the head and ears. But how shall we come at them? quoth one; well enough, cries another; are there not mountains enough in the world? Let us never leave setting one upon another till we reach them.

Thereupon, Credo and Cobbetto were sent to bring away Arthur's Seat, and the rest of the mountains in Scotland; Husonio was sent to fetch Atlas out of Africa; and Hackero was sent to fetch the mountains of Caucasus. Then did the gyants Husonio and Hackero prepare them wonderful stilts, wherewith to wade through the deep ocean: now, because that the length of them was such and so vast, they took the largest steps that ever were known, one stilt being alwaies ten mile before the other, which may seem incredible, but that we do not find it set down in the apocrypha.

The gyant Credo, seeing them preparing them such stilts, he presently made himself such too; for, quoth he, surely they must be excellent for dispatch, which he found to be true; for, by the help of those stilts, he went to the furthest parts of old

[1] Colonels Cobbet, Creed, Hacker, Hewson, and Rhodes, many of whom have been before mentioned, were all ringleaders of the army or Wallingford-House party, and shared in the disgrace and downfall of Lambert.

Scotia, and back again, in lesse then a quarter of an hour, bringing a huge and mighty hill upon his head, with more ease then a Turk carries his turban: Now, because the hill covered him all over, so that he could not be perceived, some say that the hill walk'd, and it was taken for a great miracle throughout all Albion. When he came to the place appointed, he took the said mountain off his head, as one would take off his cap, and with one hand set it upon the top of Plimlemmon; he had no sooner done it, but the caverns of his belly roar'd, and immediately sent forth such a mighty tempest as blew the said mountain quite away some fifteen miles into the ocean, as you would blow away a feather with a smith's pair of bellows, and so was all that labour lost. Scarcely had this misfortune befallen them, when the gyants Husonio and Hackero returned, the one from Tennariffe, the other from Africa; they related strange things; how that, as they were taking up the mountains on their backs, the knights of those countries came upon them, so that they were forced to fight with all comers and goers for six days and nights together: Husonio said that he had slain three millions of knights, and Hackero reported how he had killed five millions and ten knights, besides two dwarfs; but at length hearing that Atlas was coming to defend his own mountain, being very weary, they retired forthwith; for they were loth to venture rubbers with a gyant of such fame as he was: However, they brought with them four or five smaller hills, which were not above two or three miles high a piece, which they had put in their pockets for fear of being discovered. But as they were going to place these one upon another, according to their first resolutions, lo, another accident that spoiled all: for early in the morning, behold there came five milk-maids forth to milk the kine that were grazing in the adjoyning pastures; when the gyants saw them all in white, with milk-pails on their heads, they admired at the strangenesse of their head-gear; 'for were they mortals,' quoth they, 'they would not approach as they do, but seeing us, would certainly be affrighted at our shapes:' thereupon the gyant Credo went down to meet them, and when he came neer, he said unto them, with a stern countenance, Are ye spirits of the North, or of the South, or are ye spirits of the lower regions, or spirits of the spheares? If ye be such, think you that we, who are now going to revenge ourselves upon the gods, will let you escape, who are but their ministers?' With that he gave one of the milk-maids such a blow on her pail as made her pail and her head come almost to the ground together; which, when the rest espyed, they threw down their milk-pails with great indignation, and fell upon the gyant with such a fury, that he, not being able to resist their strong violence, was forced to yield, while they drag'd him to the ground by the hair of the head; being in this plight, he began to call and cry; but 'twas well if the rest of the gyants had enough of courage to see him; for they durst not stir one inch to his assistance. 'Villain thou art,' quoth one of the amazon virgins, 'I'le teach thee to hurt Jane,' and with that she gave him a claw that plowed up his face from ear to ear. 'Nay,' quoth another, 'for the honour of Saint George, let's cross him;' and so she made a furrow from his chin to his forehead; one would have cut off his gingumbobs, but that fear made him smell so strong, that they were forced to quit him; which blessed time being come, with a countenance full of the effects of a sad conquest, he went to his fellow-gyants, who, partly affrighted at the direful mortifications of his visage, partly seeing the milk-wenches advance, and considering that they should never be able to conquer the gods, who were beaten onely by two or three sprights, as to them the milk-wenches seemed to be, they took up their heels, and with no small diligence ran away, leaving their intended design to any body else that durst undertake it.

CHAP. XXI.

How the Loyal Knight enter'd Londinum, and what hapned thereupon.

Not long ago, we left the loyal knight in the country of Scotia, devising with his company concerning the wellfare of the countrey of Britain. He at length seeing the forces of Sir Lambert dissipated by the power of the forty tyrants, rode toward the city of Londinum, meeting many knights by the way that followed the king, whom he still directed in their course, who made to him report of the dealings of the forty tyrants at Londinum. When he enter'd into the city of Londinum, he caused Don Lamberto to be cast into prison; but long had he not been there, but he made his escape, thinking to have gathered his forces together again, and to have encountred the loyal knight; but being hardly pursued, he was again retaken, and again committed to the care of the knight of the lyons. When the forty tyrants saw that they could make no resistance against the loyal knight, neither of themselves, nor by any other means, they came to the loyal knight, saying unto him, 'We thought till now, my lord, that ye were one of the best advised knights of the whole world, but that we now by proof perceive the contrary. You think that what ye do is for safety of your honour, but you will find it to be the losse of you and your men.' But the loyal knight replying, 'Full well,' quoth he, 'do you manifest your horrible treason; for, besides your treachery in compacting the death of your lord, you would have me also a traytor to his posterity, as ye have proved.' Then said the forty tyrants, 'To hinder us from ruling in London?' To which the loyal knight making answer, 'Never,' quoth he, 'shall traytor reign in London while the most honourable king of the world liveth.' When this debate was ended, he summoned the king's friends together, and gave them the chief power over Britain, which was no sooner restored unto them, but they sent for the true and lawful king of Britain, who not long after was received into his chief city of Londinum with great joy and triumph: And so concludeth the first part of this history.

FINIS.

Don Juan Lamberto.

THE SECOND PART.

CHAP. I.

How the Seer Lisle hearing of the Return of the lawful King of Brittain, devised for to flye out of the Land; how he made him a Periwig of Camels Hair, and how he fled into Egypt in a winged Chariot.

Now as they were resting themselves in the forrest under the forsaken tree, Sir Lambert unbuckled his armour, and was laying himself down in a posture to sleep, when, lo, there came a snayl creeping towards him. 'Oh that I could now pray,' quoth he, 'as

well as the old soldan could, for certainly this is an evil spirit;' but when he gathered up his resolution and struck it, the poor snayl pull'd in its horns, and then he had compassion thereon; 'for,' said he, 'this poor snayl is in my condition, and pulls in its horns, even as I am forced to pull in mine, because of the tapp which the forty tyrants have given me.' But the forty tyrants, though they had vanquished Sir Lambert, did not yet enjoy their intended ease and quiet, for they were sorely press'd upon by the loyal knight, and the rest of the Christians that were with him, who were indeed too cunning for them. For the loyal knight seeing that his forces were not powerful enough for them, at first feigned himself to be a pagan likewise, at which they were right glad, and commanded him to pull down the gates of the city of Londinum, which, when he had done, they said to one another, 'Now the towne's ours,' for they thought that they had made the loyal knight cock sure to them; but when he saw how they had abused him, he called for one of the city gyants, who was seven yards high, and fifteen foot about the waste, and bid him go and pull those proud and furious dominatours from their imperious thrones, who presently took his march, and being come to the place where they were met, he put his hand in at the window, and took them out one by one, as men take out young squabs out of pigeon holes Then did the forty tyrants howl and bawl, and yawl and fume, and swear and tear, as the poet most elegantly hath it,

—— rending their throats for anger.

But little good did it do them, even no more than scurvy-grasse-ale doth a man good that drinks it to cure his cornes; for the gyant had no more compassion on them than the lyon hath upon his prey. They begged, 'tis true, but he frown'd; then they begg'd again, but he frown'd again; then they begg'd again, but then he frown'd terribly, so that his brows came down to his chin, and then they trembled like aspin leaves. 'Tis well,' quoth the gyant, 'that I give you time to consider of the evil which ye have done, and that I do not presently gobble you up, as for example. With that, it is reported for certain, that he took up the Seer Cornellolanellus, and having first rubb'd him between his forefinger and his thumb, as they do damsons, to make him tender, he toss'd him into his mouth, and swallowed him whole, the which I take to be more probable, because he hath since been much sought after, and could never be found, nor so much as heard of. When the seer Lisle[1] saw that, he was full sore afraid; 'for,' quoth he, 'there is no man deserveth lesse from the Christians than I have done; for ye must know, my dearly beloved friends, that this samen seer was one of the chief of the forty tyrants, who upon all occasions did sentence the innocent Christians to death, sitting upon a throne made for that purpose, clad in scarlet and fine linnen.' Wherefore, espying his opportunity, he ran hastily away from the face of the gyant, and fled unto a certain castle which appertained to the witch who was called the Sable-brow'd Enchantress, which stood near the hamlet of Bloomesbury, where he remained hidden certain days under the coats of one of the harlots of that place till the heat of the search was over. Now, that our history may be clearer, seeing that we are fallen to speak of this right notorious seer, we thought it necessary to discover something of his genealogy. His father was a cow-keeper, who derived his pedigree from the fierce Fireanton, who was the first Switzer that ever was in the world, and his mother was the fair Elisabetha, who noised hot chaldron pyes about the streets of

[1] Lisle, one of Cromwell's mock lords, was not only one of the regicide judges, but president of Cromwell's pretended high court of justice, by which Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr Hewet were condemned to death. He fled after the Restoration to Vevai, in Switzerland, where he was assassinated by some Irish cavaliers, employed, as was supposed, by the Duchess of Orleans, sister to Charles II., in revenge of her father's murder.

Londinum, and was descended from the beautiful Scourandirona, who was chief chary-woman to Nimcodds clerk of the kitchen. It is reported that the babe being born, did fart right often, whence some, out of the depth of their foresight, did strangely conjecture that the time should come when he should stink for fear in his latter days; when he grew up, he was much given to thrust himself into joyntstools with the bottomes upward. Hereupon some said he would come to be the *Pontifex Maximus*; but others, that were of a deeper foresight, did right sapiently conjecture, that though he might arrive to high degree, yet in one part of his life or other he should come to be in a very streight condition. Now trust me, and how is it in the power of man to help it? for, as the proverb saith right well, Fortune is fickle, so that there is nothing more inconstant than wayward fortune. This made that potent Magnifico Don Slaolfolko Guasto Campo cry out when he was vanquished by the most potent and most furious Knight Don Fernando Fereno mano, 'Oh,' quoth he, 'the stripes of cruel fortune, what are they like? like the dashing of the proud billows against the sturdy rocks? no, like the roaring of the untamed lyon? no, like a noise of fidlers? no, neither. What then? there is nothing to be compared unto them; the lashes from a hang-man at the carts tail are but ticklings of the skin in comparison of them, for they make ladies weep, knights to howl, and gyants to roar.' But let us return to our story, leaving Don Slaolfolko to bewail his misfortunes himself. Now you must know, or else you know nothing at all, that the Seer Lisle was that cursed man that had the cursed mishap to fall into the gripes of this accursed and cruel fortune. But mark ye right well what I shall say, he may thank himself for it, for when he came to those years which are ycleped years of discretion, he began to feel in his little pocket, but found therein no money, then quoth he, 'O my accursed stars, why suffer ye this evil for to befall me.' Then there arose a thing out of the earth like a sea-horse, with long hair as black as charcoal, at the sight whereof he fell flat on his back to the ground; and as he lay along, the spirit walked and walked over him, and at length piss'd in his face, after which it spoke unto him in this phrase:

> 'The tears of the lady and blood of her lord
> Shall unto thee great riches afford.'

The seer pondered this saying in his mind, and laid it up in his brest as charily as a country gentlewoman keeps her jewels: long look'd he for this time. 'O when will it be,' quoth he, 'that I shall increase this my small pittance which, with so covetous and sparing a hand, fortune hath measured me out? When shall I dine with a dozen dishes of meat, and look pleasantly to see my consort carve up the second and third course? When shall honour attend me, and the respect of the people wait upon the train of my gown? These are the things I gape for, and to obtain, what would I not do? I think there is nothing that I would not do: Stay, let me examine myself. Could I renounce the religion of my country? a peccadillo, a poor pitiful peccadillo! Could I perjure myself? yes, I think I could, nay I am sure I could. Could I dispence with the murdering of one or two, or two or three, or forty or fifty or so? not by way of duel, for I am none of your hardy knights, but as a judge I could, which is both safe and honourable.'

These his resolves were not long undiscovered to the subtil searchers into the dispositions of men, of which the chief soldan of Brittain and the forty tyrants had then good store. Now, mark ye, there is nothing more luckie in the world than for a man to be booted and spurred, and to have nothing to do but to get up and ride upon an occasion when it offers itself; even so it fell out with our seer. For the soldan, whose intention it was to extirpate all the nobles of Britain that were friends to the lawful king of Britain, had framed sundry and several grievous accusations of hainous crimes

and offences against them, that so he might bereave them of their estates and of their lives at once. Now, lest the people of Brittain should think that he did any thing contrary to the lawes which were used in that realme, he devised with himself to erect a tribunal in imitation of a court of true justice, which when he had brought to passe, yet still he wanted one who would undertake to sit as chief judge, and to pronounce the direful sentence of untimely death upon such innocent knights whose hard mishap it was to be sacrificed to his wrath and fiery indignation. Then the soldan of Britain, casting about and revolving in himself where he might find a fit instrument to perform that office, he was at length informed of the seer Lisle, wherefore he immediately caused him to be sent for to appear before him, who incontinently made his addresse unto him, and that with so much readiness, that for hast he put on both his stockings the wrong side outward, which mark of obedience and willingnesse the souldan was right glad to see. 'Gentle Lisle,' quoth he, 'thou canst not be ignorant how that I have many a right worthy knight who are professed enemies to my greatnesse now within my power, which I must cause to be put to death, that so I may be secured in my great dominions; now so it is that I have chosen thee to be their condemnator.' Then the seer Lisle made him three bowes and seven congies and a half, promising faithfully to do effectually whatever he commanded: 'For,' quoth he, 'great soldan, thy behests are just, therefore have I forsaken the God of the Christians to serve the God whom thou servest, and to submit to thee in all things: for who is like unto thee among all the princes in the world?' Thereupon he was without delay cloathed in scarlet, and a throne was provided for him, where he might sit in majesty to exercise cruelty as he pleased upon the distressed Christians; and indeed so dexterous was he and lordly in his office, that few or none of the Christians escaped his bloody sentences. Wherefore the soldan was right glad, and it pleased him to see that the seer was so faithful unto him; therefore he gave unto him the lands and palaces of the Christian princes, so that the seer lived right illustriously, his heart being at ease and wallowing in plenty. But, as after winter cometh summer, and after summer cometh winter again, as after fair weather cometh fowl, and after fowl fair, so, after the long tranquility which our seer enjoy'd, ensued the boystrous storms of heart killing sorrow: for, lo, he that before look'd big and haughty, and sate upon high places, where all men might view him, yet feared not the paw of the bayliff, nor the fury of the soldans janisaries, is now not to be seen by any, sculking sometimes in ovens, sometimes under the coats of harlots, sometimes in old trunks, sometimes, like Diogenes, living in tubs, yet no where in security, but still affrighted with continual fears; which kind of life, through the excesse of trouble and discontent that was in it, growing irksome unto the Seer Lisle, he bethought himself how he might escape out of the land of Britain into some other country. 'But,' quoth he, 'into what country shall I go? Shall I go into Swedland? no, why? first and formost, because in that place the winters are long, and the summers are short. Secondly, because the summers are short, and the winters are long. Thirdly and lastly, because it is an unfortunate country, and they can never keep what they get, which is too much my own condition. As for France and Spain they be kingdomes which are no places for me: for even as the stork delighteth in common-wealths, even so do I. No, I will go into Egypt, for that is a pleasant country, and because the people of that country be of my own religion, and there lived the Jewes, of whose number was Achan, from whom I am lineally descended by the fathers side: and though there be no kings, yet there be tyrants, who are men after my own heart; and I will go into Egypt because of the Red-Sea, for ye must know that I have been bred up near red seas most part of my life, and was a maker of red seas myself; therefore, as it is the nature of ducks, teal, and mallard to frequent the shores of great rivers, as also of the ocean, and as it is the nature of the soland geese to build about the impregnable island of the Bass, so doth it agree with my desire to inhabit near the Red-sea.'

CHAP. II.
Yet of the Seer Lisle, and of other Things.

When he had thus fortified his mind with the barricado's of constancy and rampires of resolution, so that it was impossible to force it with the morter-pieces of perswasion, he bethought himself which might be the best way to conceal himself in his flight: Hereupon he entred into a very great consultation and debate concerning what was to be done, with the Sable-brow'd-Enchantresse, and other of his friends; some were of opinion that he should wrap himself in a lyons skin, and so walk to the sea shore upon all four; but this enterprize was left off, because that after they had tryed the sage three or four times they found him very insufficient to roar, of which there was an exceeding great necessity, if the countrey people should come too near to view or handle him as he went along. But there was nothing that pleased him so well as the way which last of all he devised with himself, which was to put on a periwig and a beard of camels hair; 'for,' quoth he, 'a camel is a beast that beareth great burthens, and I bear a great burthen of woe and misery, and therefore, since I must carry this great burthen, it is fit that I should be as like a camel as I may.' Then did the Sable-brow'd-Enchantress send away incontinently three spirits, Rimbombo, Nachor, and Rantantamboro, into Arabia, to fetch away the tails of four camels, who went and came in less then a quarter of an hour, for they went as if the devil had drove um, which is 10000 mile in a minute. When the Sable-brow'd-Enchantress had the camels tails in her possession, then did she with wonderful art frame thereof a certain large periwig, the locks whereof reached down to his middle, and it was very graceful and comely to behold. Now when the sage had put it on, he and the enchantress communed together in this wise: Quoth he, 'Most renowned Mariana,' for so was the Sable-browd-Enchantress named, 'who do I now look like? for certes it cannot be that I should be taken for whom I am indeed.' 'No,' quoth she, 'my most worthy seer: It is for thy sake that I have run my self into very great hazzards, nor would I by any means that after all the pain which I have taken, that thy face should be no whit altered; but be thou assured that the gods have prospered my undertakings, for thou lookest not like thyself, but thou lookest even like Hector of Troy: most assuredly I could, like Circe, have changed thee into a swine, but I thought it better that thou should'st look rather like Hector than a hog.' 'Most courteous enchantress,' replyed the seer, 'I can never end celebrating your most high and more then humane art, especially in the curling of my periwig, which is done with so much art, that I never saw the like in all my life.' 'Gentle seer,' replyed the enchantresse, 'know right well, that so great is the respect which I bear unto thee, both in respect of the kindnesse which I have received from thee, and which thou hast afforded unto my damsells, that I would not thou should'st want any assistance that I can afford thee. Therefore now I call it to mind, there is one Gyges, who is in great esteem with the famous Sir Pluto, Knight of the Infernal Shades, who hath a ring, the vertue whereof is such, that he whoever wears the same shall walk invisible:' 'That,' quoth the seer, 'would be of great advantage unto me, and I would, when I had made use of it, return it unto Sir Gyges with all possible speed, and the choicest of my courteous thanks.' Hereupon Rombombo, Nachor, and Rantantamboro were again dispatched unto Sir Gyges, to desire him, in the name of the Sable-brow'd Enchantress, that he would in courtesie lend her his ring, the which had such excellent vertue, that she might pleasure a distressed knight, who was one of her friends, who had great occasion thereof. Sir Gyges replied, that he was alwayes courteous unto distressed knights, and had no lesse respect to the Sable-brow'd Enchantress, so that he was right sorry that he could not do as she desired, for that he had lost the ring that she sent for

most unfortunately; for, having left it off one morning when he went to wash his hands, the Damsel of the Castle swept it away, and threw it among the rubbish out of the castle gates. When the sage Lisle and the enchantress heard this, they were right sorry, and were ready to weep for the anguish that fell upon their spirits. 'But,' quoth the Sable-brow'd-Enchantress, 'since I cannot have that, I will try my spels for another;' so she prepared all things in a readiness, and first she drew a large long circle, which was the strangest that ever was seen; in the midst of this circle they placed a bed, the which had never been lain in before, into which the sage Lisle was commanded to enter, and put himself naked between the sheets. Then the enchantress sitting down upon the bed-side, uttered several charms in the Slavonian language, at the end whereof there arose from the four corners of the wind four black horses, with spirits on their backs in the shape of monkeys, who demanded of the enchantress what was her pleasure? who presently commanded them to fetch unto her one of the nimphs of the Hesperian orchard, who presently hurried away with such a tempest as made the earth to shake like an aspin leaf, at the noise whereof the mountains hopp'd and danced up and down, making a noise like the chopping of pot-hearbs: but they appeared again in the twinkling of an eye, together with the damsel, who seemed unto the eye as plump as a partridge, and as ruddy as a queen apple. Being come, the enchantress caused her to be laid in the bed by the side of the sage Lisle, then drawing the curtains, and telling the seer, that if he used the fair virgin well, that he should have his hearts desire, she departed out of the room. Now, when the seer and the virgin were alone in bed together, they enjoyed one the other all that night in a most pleasant wise, so that the fair Philotheta, for so was the virgin ycleped, having received great content from the seer Lisle, quoth she, 'I am the happiest person in the world, for I thought when I dyed that I should have lost all the pleasures of this earth, but thou hast given me new satisfaction, when I thought I should never have enjoyed the sweet solace of a man more. For to tell thee truth, right worthy seer, I am the soul of a poulterers wife, who, when my husband broke, was preserved by the charity of such knights as frequented this castle, to which I was daily invited by the enchantress; how I came hither again I know not, however I have reason to give thee thanks for the marvellous courtesies which thou hast afforded to me this night;' so pulling off a ring which she wore upon her thumb, she gave it him, desiring him to accept it as a token of her love, and having so said, she immediately vanisht out of his sight. When he had thus obtained the ring, he found there was one thing more which would be a great hindrance unto him, which was the tediousnesse of the journey, by reason of certain great cornes which he had upon his feet; wherefore, calling unto him again Dame Mariana, the Black-brow'd-Enchantress, they thereupon entered into new debates, and at length she resolved to make him a flying charriot. It was made of the cawle of a sea mare four months gone, which she caused to be killed in the night, three minutes past the sixth hour, the sun entering into the oriental nadir, for being taken from the sea mare at that nick of time, though it were as light as a feather, it became as hard as steel. The frame thereof was like a sedan, the poles thereof were smaller than the smallest needles. Now the enchantresse having prepared all things ready, took the seer and put him into the charriot, together with a bottle of anniseed water and four tavern biskets; then she embraced and kissed the seer, and hug'd him, giving unto him a bird-call, telling him that he should soon find the vertue thereof, and bidding him withall be sure that he never left whistling till he came into Ægypt. And indeed so cunningly had she charmed this bird-call, that as soon as the seer began to whistle there came four ostriches, which, placing themselves under the four poles of the charriot, spread their wings, and being mounted high into the air, steered their course directly to the land of King Pharaoh. The enchantress with heavy sorrow looked after him,

till the noise of other knights knocking at her castle gate called her to look after her other affairs.

CHAP. III.

How the Gyant Husonio went to seek a Den and a Mountain, and what happened thereupon.

'Nay by my faith,' quoth the gyant Husonio, 'for I must not tarry any longer in the land of Brittain, seeing that the enchanted castles are all pulled down, and the sun-defying forrests are all rooted up by the forty Tyrants. Oh this Britain has been an old swinger of gyants; for there were gyants that inhabited therein of yore, but there came a people out of the east, who did so lam-baste their great sides, that they were enforced to leave their habitations: Certes even so is it now with me.' When he had uttered these speeches he called for an astrologer and a book of mapps.

'Then,' quoth he unto the astrologer, 'where is the greatest mountain in the world, and where may I be most likely to find a den?' The astrologer eftsoones replyed, that men of his profession did not look after mountains in this world; but if he would go into the world of the moon, he could shew him mountains enough, with dens ready furnished, with Turky chairs and couches of right curious workmanship. When the Gyant Husonio heard that, he waxed exceeding wroth, and took the astrologer upon the palm of his hand, and thrust him into his mouth as you would put a brown loaf into an oven with a peel. Quoth he to the seer or astrologer, 'either find me out a better mountain and a den, or tarry there, for till that time thou shalt have no other study but this, and therefore sit thee down upon one of the stumps of my teeth and consider of it.' Now you must know that the astrologer, being so near his ears, could not chuse but put many things therein: among the rest he put thereinto a certain great and puissant flea: 'Poh,' quoth the gyant, 'what's that?' 'It is,' replyed the astrologer, 'the spirit Pipantabor, who is to conduct thee in thy roads and in thy journeys.' When he heard that he was well pleased, for he was right well contented therewith, although many times it tickled him full sore. But it now was high time for the gyant to take up his pack, for that he was informed of the hot pursuit which the loyal knight made after him, whom he dreaded more than the dove doth the eagle. Wherefore the gyant incontinently took his club and thrust it into a ring, which was as big about as a charriot wheel, whereunto was fastened a cloak-bag, which was near a quarter of a mile about, and a quarter of a mile in length, for it was as thick as it was long, and as long as it was thick; when he had so done, he laid his club upon his shoulder, and his pack hung behind like a hare upon a hunters staffe; then putting one legge before another, he began his journey, praying for a good successe all the way as he went unto the spirit Pipantabor, in this manner:

'O thou mighty Pipantabor, who dwellest in the ear of a great gyant, yet fearest not the quagmires of wax which are therein, hearken unto my words, and listen to my sayings as a chambermaid listens to hear the private discourse of her master and mistriss. If thou say'st thou doest not hear me, thou liest, neither art thou the mighty Pipantabor; and if thou say'st I cannot hear thee, thou liest yet more, for art not thou locally in my ear and close by the timpamuci thereof, which by reverberation communicateth sounds unto the brain? therefore thou must and shalt hear me; but what would I have thee do? why I would have thee to shew me a mountain and a den; yea, I say unto thee, shew me a mountain and a den where the loyal knight may not find me out, and I shall sacrifice unto thee for thy pains an hecatomb of black listed lice, well fatted with humane blood. If thou dost not, thou art neither civil nor courteous, for

what guest will not be kind to his hoast who hath entertained him, and given him harbour, as I have done unto thee.'

Having uttered these words, he came unto the sea, the which he waded through, though in many places thereof it was a full inch above his chin: neither was it altogether without impediment, as ye shall hear eftsoones. For ye must know that he could not wade over so suddenly, but that there befel him a certain accident, the which was this. Neptune and his wife Thetis, having been at supper with King Eolus, were coming home late, attended by many Tritons and Mermaids of honour, when, by the multitude of the torches that attended them, they discovered the gyant, which was to them an unusual sight. Seeing such a monstrous gyant with such a monstrous cloak-bag at his back, 'Certainly,' quoth Neptune unto Thetis, 'our house is rob'd;' then Thetis also espying him, cry'd out, 'O,' quoth she, 'my best bason and ewer, what shall I do for it!' Neptune seeing his wife so much concern'd, thought it no time to dally; therefore out of the charriot he comes; which, when the gyant Husonio beheld, and saw also by the looks of him that he was plaguy mad, he resolved to take what advantage he could, and therefore squeezing his hypochondrions, he let such a fart as blew out all the torches; then taking his cloak-bag in his right hand, and his club in his left, he put himself into a posture of defence. The fart as it was great, so it was strong, and the scent thereof so much offended the nose of Thetis, that she was not able to endure it; 'O come away Neptune,' quoth she, 'and do not poyson thyself and me too: let my bason and ewer go to the devil, so as I may but get out of this stink I care not.' Neptune, unto whom Thetis was alwayes dear, would not displease her, but retired; yet in his retreat resolving to have one blow, struck at randome; now you must know that Neptunes mace lighted upon the head-piece of Husonio, which was of steel, with so much violence, that through the force thereof sparkles of fire issued forth of his said helmet; the which lighting upon some of the torches that were next, set them on a flame; when the torches were lighted, Neptune could not hold, he being also inflamed like his torches with a desire his Thetis should see him fight, wherefore he dings again to the gyant with mighty fierceness, and boldly in the words of Sir Lancelot thus bespeaks him,

'Lay down thy load, Sir Gyant, though.'

But to this Husonio made answer,

'My load's mine own, my answer's no.'

And saying those words, for he feared the multitude that was about him, he sank into the sea, and letting another most formidable fart, he blew the sea up in such a manner, that there was a leagues distance from the bottom of the sea and bottom of the waters; whereby it came to passe, that the gyant walked under the sea as dry as if it had been in his own dining-room, and so escaped Neptunes fury until he came unto the strond of Normania. Right happy was it that this strange adventure fell out; for the people that dwelt near the sea shore during this separation, which continued twenty four hours, so violent was the force that was the occasion thereof, greatly enriched themselves with the spoils of wracked ships, which had been heaped up by Neptune and his Tritons for their own use many ages before.

I need not tell you how the gyant Husonio made himself a fire when he came on shore, for what need he make him a fire to dry himself who walked so dry as he did through the sea? yet others say he did make a fire, but it was not to dry himself, but to parboyl his supper; which, as soon as he came on shore, without much meditation

he went to provide. Quoth he, 'I can do no more mischief in my own country, therefore I will do it in another:' and upon these words he went and cut down a whole forrest without considering in the least who was the landlord, or whether the landlord held it only for life or in fee. Nor was it long ere opportunity put meat into his mouth, as I shall prepare to tell you. There was a certain great town some leagues distant from the place where the gyant Husonio had made his great fire; thither two men and a boy were driving a numerous herd of large oxen; the gyant seeing them coming, laugh'd for joy, and, when they approached near, he took the said oxen one by one, and swallow'd them down whole, and when he had swallow'd them all, he took the two men and the boy, and swallow'd them also; 'For,' quoth he, 'these knaves may chance to go and raise the country.' When he had swallow'd all the said oxen, he found his stomack indifferent full, which caused in him a desire to rest his bones, which desire caused him to lay himself all along before the said fire; he had not laid there long, but he fell into a deep sleep, which, being perceived by one of the men that he had swallow'd by the terrible snoaring that he made, the man, not unwilling to miss so notable an opportunity, crept out at his mouth, and seeing him so fast asleep, he went in again, and told his fellows thereof, urging the benefit of the occasion with such a pithy and well ordered speech, he so wrought upon his companions, that they arose, and with great secresie drove the cattel toward his mouth, but coming to his teeth, they found them so close shut, that it was not possible to open them without waking the gyant, wherefore they were sore afflicted: but what will not the invention of man do when it is in a streight? for, seeing themselves stopp'd here, they bethought themselves that the gyant had another hole, through which they hop'd to passe more securely, because it was not so near his ears; whereupon they drove the oxen back again, and searching, they found the back passage without any barricado's at all, so that with great content they at length got clear of their prison; when they were got loose they were as merry as crickets, but the gyant awaking, quoth he, 'What a huge stool have I had! but it was well I had it, for certes at the middle of the night the oxen began to rise plaguily in my stomack.'

CHAP. IV.

How Sir Vane and Sir Lambert disputed together, and how Sir Vane made Sir Lambert believe that the Moon was made of Green Cheese.

Now you must understand that after the Knight of the Golden Tulip was retaken through the great courage of the Knight of the Bath, he was secured in the Castle of the Lyons, and eke the Knight of the Mysterious Allegories was there secured also, so that they had often opportunities to discourse together. Now when they saw each, they congratulated one another right lovingly; quoth Sir Vane, 'I am right glad to see you, Sir Lambert, though not so glad to see you here; however it is better to be here than in the open fields where there is no shelter against the rain, nor any other kind of storm that should happen, for here we have houses over our heads, so that if it should rain dogs and cats, we could have no harm.' 'And by the masse,' quoth Sir Lambert, 'you speak right cunningly, Sir Vane; and, besides this, we do not fear to have our corns trod upon by the horses of the enraged charrioteers, nor are we in danger to be bruised by those sturdy gyants yeleped carrmen, nor need we fear to have our gantlets snatch'd from us going late in the direful plain of Lincolns-Inna; however liberty is worth its weight in pure gold.' 'If that be all,' replied Sir Vane, 'comfort thyself, Sir Lambert; for this restraint which is put upon us ought to make us esteem the better of ourselves; for experience tells us, that have lived long in the world, how that men lock up their choicest jewels in the most secure places of their houses; and you see that though at

first the nightingal be moody, yet eftsoones will she sing in her cage as pleasantly as in the open air; and I pray what is the body but the prison of the soul? and yet our souls fear nothing more than to be set at liberty.' 'Then,' said Sir Lambert to Sir Vane, 'since that we are here met so fortunately together, I entreat you to accept of a small entertainment from me this night, for that I have many things concerning which to confer with you.' 'Most willingly,' replied Sir Vane, 'for that your company is right pleasing unto me.' When supper was brought in, they commanded their servants to depart, for that they intended to be very private. 'Then,' quoth Sir Lambert, 'most renowned Knight of the Mysterious Allegories, methinks that we, being knights, should not be here without our ladies: though as for mine, I might have the same opinion of her as Helion had of the fair Constantia, because of the reported familiarity which was between her and the soldan of Brittain.' 'As for that,' replied Sir Vane, 'I will shew thee many examples of ladies whose fame hath been blasted; which yet before the end of the string have made a shift to rectifie the mistakes between their knights and them.' 'But,' quoth Sir Lambert, 'suppose that may not be, but that the error he committed, can that be said to concern me any way, which was never any pain to me in the world, and of which never any part of my body was sensible.' 'Then,' replied the Knight of the Mysterious Allegories, 'cuckoldry is a very great mystery, and every man understands it not, for true it is, that though you be at Grand Cairo, and your wife be in any part of the land of Brittain, yet, at that very moment of time that she admitteth a stranger to copulate with her, shall the invisible horn find shelter under the thicket of your fore-top.' 'That,' quoth Sir Lambert, 'full hardly can I believe, for that you may as well make me believe the moon is made of green cheese.' 'Certes,' replied Sir Vane, 'you are very ignorant, for the thing by which you seem to prove the impossibility of what I averre, is the greatest argument of the truth thereof.' 'Why,' quoth Sir Lambert, 'is the moon then made of green cheese? then will I be hanged.' 'Hark yee,' quoth Sir Vane, 'how you confound yourself, and how I shall use your own arguments against you, for if it be not, then will I be hang'd.' 'But have you no other argument,' replied Sir Lambert. 'Most surely,' replied Sir Vane; 'First, because I have said it, whose wisdome, by which you have so long been govern'd, would receive no small affront, and yourself not a little disparage yourself, should you not believe me in this thing as well as in others' Then proceeded Sir Vane, saying, 'Know yee then right well, Sir Lambert, that in metaphysicks the notional difference makes a clear distinction, as falling into an incapacitated sence of the objected medium. As for example, I say the moon is made of green cheese; for green, metaphysically distinguished, is white by reason of the objected medium, which is the blew air; for if you look upon green through a blew-glasse, then it will appear'——Hereupon Sir Lambert interrupting him, said unto him, 'What! thou wilt by and by make me believe the moon is made of blew cheese.' 'No,' replied Sir Vane, 'for I am no changeling, though the moon be one; I say the moon is made of green cheese. For mark yee what I shall say; behold your virgins afflicted with the green sicknesse, they are said to look green, when they are in verity white; we call geese green, yet who is such a goose as doth not perceive them to be many times grey; meat is said to be green roasted when it is all over red with blood: and all the world that knows what green fish is, knows it to be white. And thus the moon being either red, grey, or white, may properly be said to be green; now that it is a cheese, the allegorical configuration of the supernatural ideas doth make manifest: for you see how that a cheese in its spherical rotundity waines and waines, till it come all to be all eaten, and then presently appears a new cheese; even so you see it is with the moon, which, when it is at its smallest decrease, that is, all eaten up by the gods, then comes a new moon. Moreover, do you not see holes in a cheese? and did not the negromancer Galileo discry holes and concavities in the moon?' When Sir Lambert

heard this, he twisted his mustachios with his fore-finger and thumb, listning unto the words of Sir Vane like unto a sow in the beans: 'But,' quoth he, 'Sir Vane, for all this you tell a strange story, certes I know not how to believe it.' When Sir Vane heard that, he waxed wroth, and sware by his gods, that unlesse he would believe that the moon was made of green cheese he would not give his daughter unto his son. Sir Lambert was much appall'd thereat, and incontinently alter'd his opinion, saying, that if he would swear it, he would believe it. When Sir Vane, putting the top of his little finger upon the top of his nose, sware in the following manner:

"I, Henry Vane, Knight of the Order of the Mysterious Allegories, do swear by the smock of Dejanica, that the moon is made of green cheese, and if it be a lye, the devil confound me."

Then Sir Lambert, putting his fore-finger in his tayl, sware as followeth:

"I, Sir Lambert, the valiant Knight of the Golden Tulip, swear by the beard of Hercules, that, both directly and indirectly, I do believe that the moon is made of green cheese, and that it is agreeable to the litteral sence of allegorical conclusions."

When they had both sworn in this manner, they shook hands in most friendly manner, and Sir Vane being mightily puft in his mind for so great a conquest, went to bed.

CHAP. V.

How Sir Baxtero, Knight of the Lions, went in quest after Sir Ludlow, Knight of the Powdring-Tub, and how he encountred the Gyant Thomabedlamus, and how he prevented the Lust of the said Gyant, and afterwards departed towards Assyria.

Now it fell out that Sir Baxtero[1] having heard how that Sir Ludlow was departed out of Brittain, he made great lamentation and moaning; there be that say how he wept even like a young damosel, who, being sent to the alehouse, loses her money by the way. 'O,' quoth he, 'is Sir Ludlow departed? then what do I make here? Surely it is to no more purpose for me to stay here than for an astrologer to live in an oven: Alas! if he do flie the encounter of those knights that are in pursuit of him, who is as valiant as Hector, how is it possible for me to encounter them, who am so much inferiour to him? Now, by all the gods, I am like a man in a wood, like a man in a mist, yea in a thick mist, like a man in a forrest, yea like a man in a thick forrest. Farewel, great mirrour of chivalry; now do not I know whither to go after him, neither is there any one that can tell me: for, should he be gone to the south, and I should go to the east, what were I the nearer? Therefore, great Fortune, be thou my guide, and direct my stick to fall the right way, for I do intend to go that way my stick falls.' Then, greatly perplexed in his soul, he set up his staffe, and it fell toward the south-east; then did he incontinently buckle on his helmet, and bestriding his sturdy courser, who was ycleped Stanfurder, he pricked forward toward the sea-coast. Now was glittering Phœbus riding with a swift career through the midst of heaven, causing the hand of the dyal to point to that hour of the day when men in towns and cities prepare to satisfie their hunger, when the Knight of the Lyons, weary with long travel, laid him down under the shadow of a spreading oak, nor was it long ere the cares of his mind hung plummets upon his eye-lids, which were closed thereby so close together that you could not thrust the point of a needle between them, by which you may guesse that he was fast a-sleep. But Fortune, that intended nothing lesse than to let him sleep, was resolved to awaken him, for, loe, the gyant Thomabedlamus, full of high soaring

[1] Colonel Barkstead is termed knight of the lions because he was Lieutenant of the Tower under the protectorate of Cromwell. He was one of the regicides executed after the Restoration.

thoughts, set his bugle to the corner of his mouth, and blew such a blast, as if all the bulls of Basan had been roaring together; all the trees in the forest shook for fear, and bow'd their lofty heads as they are wont to do when blustering Boreas comes in the devils name among them to gather acornes. Now you must know this, or else you know nothing, that the fair damosel, ycleped Tatterdemaliona, was fled from the rage of the cruel wight her father, who had, as she said, and the story doth also averre, sent her to pick daisies, for that she had yielded up her maiden-head too inconsiderately to Kilmaddox, the Knight of the Bloody Cleaver: Long had she wandered, so that her feet looked like clariff'd whey, and she panted like a broken-winded horse, clambring up the King Ludd's mountain: Sometimes as she sate she picked the gravel out of her feet, for the author of the history saith, that she was very sore by reason of the same; sometimes she was in chase of certain evil creatures, ycleped fleas, that did delacerate her snowy bosome, which caused those ivory mountains to be displayed unto the view of burning Phœbus, so that whoever was near her might discern the beauty of her nakedness, and the nakedness of her beauty, without the prospective glass of Tychobrache. Now you must know that the gyant Thomabedlamus, as he was leaning over a high oak into the green platt, whereas the distressed damosel sate, espy'd her in this condition and posture: now wot yee well when he saw her that he was in a great agony, for his goggle eyes rolled up and down, and the drivil ran down his beard for joy, for that the lady was passing beauteous; but he did not study to wooe her with love-verses, neither did he sigh for sorrow, neither did he beat his breast, or make complaints of her disdain; 'for,' said he to himself, 'is not this forrest mine, and all that is therein? Then who shall give me any disturbance? Seeing that there is no knight so hardy who dares approach these enchanted shades, I will enjoy this damosel as many times as there be leaves in this forrest, for that she pleaseth me wondrous well:' Then the gyant rushed in unto her, and said, 'Hail, fair damosel, if thou wilt yield unto me I will do thee no harm:' when, as she beheld so great a gyant, she squeeked right effeminately, and made such a loud yell as she had been a young grey-hound ty'd up in her kennel. Then the gyant bespake her, saying, 'Squeek not, fair damosel, so loud, for thou squeekest in vain.' 'Alas!' quoth she, 'Sir Gyant, it is time for me to squeek when thou seekest to croppe my virgin-flower:' 'Then,' quoth the gyant, 'tell me not of thy virgin-flower, what signifieth thy flower, or thy virgin-flower to me? We gyants never consider them at all.' When the damosel heard him speak so terribly, the blood forsook her pale cheeks, and though her feet were so sore, as we told you before, yet she assay'd to run away, but the gyant catching her about the waste, laid his great paw upon her coral lipps, and stopped her mouth, beginning to deal with her as men deal with curtezans at Venice. The damosel finding her mouth stopped, made a noise like a pig that is grasp'd about the snout. Now you must know that the Knight of the Lyons, being, as we said, awakened out of his sleep, heard the noise which came out of the damosels nose, her mouth being stopt, at which he greatly marvelled, for he wondered what it should be; peeping, therefore, through the bushes, he saw the gyant and the damosel together, and how the gyant tumbled the damosel as children tumble great snow-balls in the streets. 'Ah!' quoth the Knight of the Lyons, 'certes this fair damosel must needs be in a peck of troubles, but how to relieve her I cannot tell; for, if I should assaye to strappe his jacket, and he should curry my coat, then were the damosel and I both in a worse condition than before: However, great pity it is that she should suffer, and great shame for me to let her.' And, having said these words, he rushed in upon the gyant, and ere that he could be aware of him, and, as the story saith, while he was at rem in re, he gave him such a remembrance upon the small of the back, that, had he not been a gyant, most certainly he had broken his chine. The gyant was hereupon in great wroth: Could you blame him? but, finding himself so

weak by reason of the stroak, that he could not go, he spatt at the Knight of the Lyons, and spatt so violently in his face, that he had almost beaten the Knight of the Lyons backward: But the Knight of the Lyons recovering himself, saw how that his tassel gentle lay like a bridge between his belly and the fair damosel, wherefore without delay, with a courage Mounsier, he smote thereon so hardily, that he cut it in twain, as it had been a silken thread, and the sword glancing along, took away also one half of his testicles, as you would slit a walnut in twain, the pain whereof made the Gyant Thomabedlamus to roar like any lyon. 'Ay me,' quoth he, 'hard hearted girl, now by all the gods I do curse thee from the bottom of my heart to the bottomless pit of the infernal shades' When the Knight of the Lyons had performed this adventure he departed toward the land of Assyria, but, because he was hard pursued by the Loyal Knight, he changed his upper garments to palmers grey, the best means to passe without molestation.

CHAP. VI.

How Sir Ludlojus, Knight of the Green Powdring Tub, was hid under a Tree, and so escaped his Enemies, because of a Bird.

And it fell on a day, how that Sir Ludlojus,[1] Knight of the Green Powdring Tub, was riding all alone toward the land of Assyria, which being heard at the court of the King of Brittain, several knights were sent to pursue him, and take him; and certes they pursued him right sorely, for he was much hated by them; but when the Knight of the Green Powdring Tub saw them coming, his heart was almost drowned in fear, and his lungs had e'en forgot to what purpose they were made. 'Alas!' quoth he, 'unfortunate knight, what wilt thou do? If thou runnest for it thou wilt certainly be overtaken, and wilt onely give thy enemies the mirth of a pleasant chase. And why should'st thou hazard thy life by staying, which kind fortune may save?' Then, seeing no other remedy, he cast himself from his horse, and peeping about he espyed a bush, and crept thereinto, for the wood was very thick there. Now when his enemies came to seek him there they could not find him, but they saw a bird sit on a tree, the which bird men call an owl, and then said they that there was no-man, for the bird sate there, and so they went away. So when sable night had curtain'd the world in darknesse he proceeded on his journey, and from that time unto this day, it is said that Sir Ludlojus hath that bird in great reverence, and worships it above all other birds in the world.

CHAP. VII.

How the Gyant Okey wandered up and down the World in great Terror, and how he was afterwards found in a Wood by the Soldane of Brittain's Daughter, in whose Presence he slew himself, with other Accidents that after happened.

You do well remember that when the christian champion had discomfited the post of the Meek Night, as also of the forty tyrants, that the disloyal Gyant Okey[2] secretly fled, partly out of anger for the loss, partly for the preservation of his life. So in great grief and terror of conscience he wandered like a fugitive up and down the world, sometimes remembring of his past prosperity, and sometimes thinking upon the rapes

[1] The celebrated Lieutenant General Ludlow, of whom we have said enough in a previous tract. He fled to Switzerland after the Restoration, to avoid the fate of the other regicides.

[2] Colonel Okey, one of the regicides, fled abroad after the Restoration; but was, by the intrigues of Sir Geo. Downing, the envoy to the States General, surprised at Delft, along with Barkstead last mentioned, brought to England, and suffered death.

that he had committed, and how he had sorely afflicted several knights who were thrown into his power by the necromancer Hugo Petros. Sometimes his guilty mind imagined that the bleeding ghost of the good King of Britain, whom he had murdered, followed him up and down, haunting him with fearful exclamations, and filling each corner of the earth with clamors of revengement. Such fear and terrour raged in his soul, that he thought all places where he travelled were filled with multitudes of knights, and that the strength of countries pursued him to heap vengeance upon his guilty head for those wrongs that he had wrought, whereby he cursed the hour of his birth, and blamed the cause of his creation, wishing the fates to consume his body with a flash of fire. In this manner he travelled up and down, filling all places with eechoes of his grief, which brought him into such a ease, that many times he would have slain himself.

But it happened that one morning very early, by the first light of Titans burning torch, he entered into a narrow and streight passage, which conducted him into a very thick and solitary forest, wherein he travelled, till such time as glistering Phœbus had pass'd the half part of his journey. And being weary with the long way, and the great weight of his armour, he sate him down, and began anew to have in remembrance his former committed cruelty; and complaining of fortune, he thus published his grief, for, seeing himself without remedy, he resolved like the swan, to sing a while before his death, and so thinking to give ease to his tormented heart, he warbled forth these verses following:

Mournful Melpomene, approach with speed,
And shew thy sacred face with tears besprent,
Let all thy sisters hearts with sorrow bleed,
To hear my plaints, and rueful discontent;
And with your moans, sweet Muses, all assist
My mournful song, that doth on woe consist.

Time wears out life, it is reported so,
And so it may, I will it not deny,
Yet have I try'd, and by experience know,
Time gives no end to this my misery;
But rather Fortune, Time, and Fates agree,
To plague my heart with woe eternally.

Ye sylvian nymphs, that in these woods do shrowd,
To you my mournful sorrows I declare;
You savage satyrs, let your ears be bow'd
To hear my woe your nimble selves prepare.
Trees, herbs, and flowers, in rural fields that grow,
Are never troubled with such lasting woe.

You furious beasts, that feed on mountains high,
And restlesse run with rage your prey to find,
Draw near to him whose bruitish cruelty
Hath cropt the budde of virgins chaste and kind.
I know no means to yield my heart relief,
'Tis only death which can dissolve my grief.

When as I think upon my pleasures past,
Now turn'd to pain, it makes me rue my state;

And since my joy with woe is overcast,
O Death, give end to my unhappy state;
For onely death will lasting ease provide,
Where living thus, I sundry deaths abide.

Wherefore all you that hear my mournful song,
And tasted have the grief that I sustain;
All lustful murderers that have done wrong,
With tear-fill'd eyes assist me to complain;
All that have being, do my being hate,
Crying, haste, haste, this wretches dying state.

This sorrowful song being ended, he laid himself all along upon the green grasse closing up the closets of his eyes, in hope to repose himself in a quiet sleep, in which silent contemplation we will leave him a while; and return to Mistris Francisca, the soldan of Brittain's daughter:[1] For she was beloved by two right famous knights, Sir Reynoldo, the valiant knight of the castle Dunkirkum, and the young knight of the flaming fan, ycleped Don Ricco, who both did greatly contend for her; but it fell out, that Sir Reynoldo was drowned in the great ocean; for he went about to fly over the sea, but he could not; for either his wings were too short or too long, or else something else was the matter, for it so happen'd that he failed in his enterprize: Now when Sir Reynoldo was dead, Don Ricco did incontinently enjoy his love; but he was likewise bewitched by the cruel Pockyhora, who was the most notable enchantresse of her time, and so he dyed likewise. Whereupon the beautiful Mistris Francisca made great moans and lamentations, but it was all to no purpose; therefore, she departed secretly from her father's court, for that she was made believe by the inchantresse Pockyhora, how that Don Ricco was not dead, but was gone to pursue an adventure in the court of the king of Morocco, against two knights of the pewter syringe, who had right sorely abused him: Now in her travels she wander'd over hills and dales, over mountayns and valleys, and one night, among all the rest, she lay in a gravel-pit all night, and as she lay asleep, a right vehement shower fell from heaven and moistened her garments to her oriental skin, then she arose and rung her lilly white smock, and so she went on her way; and at length she came to the forest, where the disloyal gyant Okey lay under a chessenut tree. Now when they beheld each other, they greeted one another in a most wonderful manner, and the gyant would have lain with her, but she refused, saying that she was not in a condition to do any such thing. Then said the gyant unto her, 'In the name of all the gods what make you here?' To which she replied, 'I pray, sir gyant, what make you here?' 'Oh,' quoth the gyant, 'I am stuft up with sorrow;' 'and I,' quoth the lady, 'am almost stifled with woe.' 'Oh,' quoth the gyant, 'then surely our cases are both alike:' 'Certes,' quoth the lady, 'they are so, even just so like as fourpence is to a groat.' Then the gyant would have perswaded her to have slain him; but she refused, bidding him to do it himself, for she said, that the soldan of Brittain had never bred her up to be any bodies servant. The gyant hearing her words, was right sorrowful, and lay still a good space as he had been in a trance, but anon rising up again, and staring about him some three or four times, 'there he is,' quoth he, and then he ran with great fury towards the body of a great oak that stood hard by, for he took it to be the knight of the Black Armour: 'Accur-

[1] Mistress, or, in modern language, Miss Frances Cromwell, daughter of Oliver. Reynolds and Rich, named as her admirers, were both colonels in the army of the protector, who made some figure in the civil wars, and held commands in the garrison of Dunkirk.

sed wight,' quoth he, 'now shalt thou pay for all thy villanies,' and so saying, he struck so violently against the tree with his iron mace, that he brake it all in shivers. 'How,' quoth the gyant, 'art thou able to bear such a blow, and yet stand? Certes I will cast thee down to the ground eftsoones, and tread out thy guts:' And having said those words, he ran his head so violently against the tree, thinking to have born down the knight of the Black Armour with the weight of his body, that with the force of the shock he dash't out his own brains: 'Ah,' quoth the gyant, 'sir knight, right valiantly thou hast overcome me; yet I could have wished thou might'st have fallen likewise:' And anon he groan'd like an expiring whale, and then he gaped so wide, that his chaps were almost a quarter of a mile asunder, and then his soul went forth in the shape of a sea-horse, but whither I wot not.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Arch-Priest Hugo Petros made Love unto the fair Dolcomona, and who was married to Kilmaddox, Knight of the Bloody Cleaver, and of the Letter which he wrote unto her, and what happened thereupon.

Now you must understand, that in Londinum there lived an arch-priest, who was ycleped Hugo Petros;[1] to him had the soldan of Brittain given large possessions, and did oft times discover unto him his bosome thoughts: This made him rich, and his riches made him insolent; he was also greatly lustful, so that he never looked upon any damosel that was fair, but he lusted after her. Now it happened on a day, that he went to buy offerings for his paynim god, the which it was ycleped Greedy-Colon, which he worshipt more then any other god; and as he was buying his said offering, he chanced to espie the fair Dolcomona, wife to Sir Kilmaddox, knight of the bloody cleaver; she was sitting under a bower, with a fan in her hand, made of an old beaver, wherewith she kept off the flies from the sacrifices; her face was full fairly fat, and her arms were plump and round, like two collars of brawn; her cheeks were as red as scarlet, and her eyes were like the eyes of a ram, her fingers were thick and small, and at her side hung a large pouch, and the keys of Sir Kilmaddox's castle. Now when the arch-priest beheld her, he was marvellously enamour'd on her, and greatly desired for to enjoy her; many opportunities he sought, and many he failed of: Wherefore, with a heart full of despair, and much wasted, for that the fat thereof was almost dript away, through the heat of those flames that continually tossed it, he went to the knight of the sack-but, who dwelt in a castle close by, and before the gate of his castle there was a ship which hung in the air by magic art, and when men saw that ship, then they said one to another, This is the castle of the knight of the sack-but. To him the arch-priest disclosed all the secrets of his heart, desiring his assistance withall. The knight of the sack-but replied right courteously that he was ready to serve him to the uttermost of his power: 'Nor do I imagine,' 'quoth he, 'that the fair Dolcomona hath a heart so stony, which will not be broken by the hammer of thy eloquence.' When the arch-priest heard him say so, he was much comforted, and determined to give her notice of his love in the most passionate lines, the tenor whereof were as follow:

[1] The celebrated Hugh Peters, Oliver Cromwell's fanatical chaplain, and the principal instrument in working up the hatred of the military against the king. His character hovered between that of a hypocritical knave, an enthusiast, and a hypochondriac. The cavaliers imputed to him a great and habitual latitude in what the cant of the age termed *creature-comforts, i. e.* in sensual indulgence of appetite. There was an obscure scandal concerning his intrigue with a butcher's wife, which seems to furnish the subject of the ensuing chapter.

'Most Incomparable Dolcomona,

'I am both your servant and your chaplain; I beseech you not to stop your ears, for that I am burnt up in affection toward your fair person, but rather to set them wide open to hear my rude lines; for you must know, most redoubted lady, that the beauty of your admirable person, and the supernatural form wherein you are fram'd and composed, hath even ravish'd my spirits, broken my heart, split my whole senses in sunder, and quite bereft me of all rest both day and night, and only with doting on your peerlesse beauty; again, fair lady, my meat, drink, manners, yea in my very countenance, they all plead at the bar of thy fair face, and resplendant countenance; if you refuse me, denying these my unrestful thoughts, I can look for nothing but present death, nay, I rather covet therein to be locked fast as in a prison, than receive denial from your fair lips. O most fair, most courteous, most amiable, gentle, and also right youthful lady, be not thou the cause that I shall determine my life by loosing your love, but rather grant what I desire, and thereby make me for ever yours in hearty affection. If you urge how I dare offend the gods by this unlawful act? to that, fair lady, I answer, that I am one of the vicars of the gods upon earth, and therefore it wholly rests in my power to absolve you from your sins, and enjoyn you penance, which, trust me, lady, shall be very easie, so you will grant me your love.'

Then the arch-priest sealed up this letter, and gave it to the knight of the sack-but, and he gave it to his doughty squire, who was ycleped Anonanonsir, charging him that he should deliver it into the hands of the fair lady Dolcomona, with as much privacy as could be imagined. But sometimes the fates will not permit those things to come to passe, which men do in their own thoughts contrive. For Sir Kilmaddox seeing the squire whisper in the fair Dolcomona's ear, with an angry countenance demanded the cause of the squires coming: She ask'd him what that was to him? Then Sir Kilmaddox struck her so hard upon the cheek, that he had almost stunn'd her, whereupon she cried out murder with a loud voice; after that she ran with a great fury out of the doors, with one of her teeth in her hand, which Sir Kilmaddox had struck out of her head, vowing in great wrath to be revenged on him. So she went to the castle of the knight of the sack-but, and incontinently the squire waited on her up to the arch-priest. When the arch-priest beheld her, he ran unto her and embraced her, and kissed her so hard, that she cryed out through the anguish of the pain; 'What ailes the joy of my life,' quoth the arch-priest? 'Alas,' replied the fair Dolcomona, 'the cruel Sir Kilmaddox would have slain me, raging with jealousie.' 'Now by the gods,' quoth the arch-priest, 'if I were a knight I would slay him myself, but I will hire one that shall do it, and that shall be all one:' Thereupon the arch-priest went and hired the knight of the coal-wharfe, who was a right grim knight, and he went and fought with Sir Kilmaddox, and killed him straightway. Then was the arch-priest right glad, and he said to the fair Dolcomona, 'Let us now enjoy those pleasures which with so much hazard we have purchased;' which, when she had readily consented to, because they would be private, he carried her forth in a charriot toward the forest of Maribona: Now was the scorching Phœbus raging in the midst of heaven, when these two loving couple laid themselves down under the shade of a spreading chessenut tree; nor was it long ere the arch-priest, raging with concupiscence, began the combat of love; when a country swain, searching for some cattel that he had lost, espied them at their sport; then the swain ran presently and called others that were hard by, and when they came, they were right joyful to see what they saw, for the arch-priest was ill belov'd of all the people of Brittain. When the arch-priest saw that he was so surpris'd, he withdrew his file from the iron, and rising on his feet, quoth he, 'My good friends, first read ye the lives of the holy fathers, and then condemn me if you think fit to the gallows; it was Pluto in my shape, and with my voice,

that hath done this mischief, and not I, for the arch-priest of Britain could do no such evil.' However it was related abroad, and believed for a truth, so that the arch-priest suffered great infamy thereupon.

CHAP. IX.

How the Negromancer Scoto, seeing the Devices of the Forty Tyrants to fail, would have raised up the Devil to his Assistance.

The night was as dark as black pitch, and a thick mist covered the face of the skie, so that a man could in no wise have seen the stars, though he had the eyes of the quick-sighted Lynceus, when a dark cloud of melancholy thoughts enveloped the brow of Scoto the necromancer. 'I was,' quoth he, 'in former time, so long as Fortune smiled upon me, one of the chief commanders of the land of Brittain; but now, pale be the brightnesse of the clear sun, and cover the earth with everlasting darknesse; skies turn to pitch, elements to flaming fire! Roar, hell; quake, earth; swell, seas; blast, earth; rocks rend in twain, for now will I try the utmost of my magick spells; for men do fail me, therefore devils must help me.' So he got him a great hoop, made of black ebony, and tyed it round about with long thread laces; in the midst thereof he stood, yclad in a vestment of seagreen perpetuana; on his head he had a past-board hat, covered with a green case, oyled; his loins were girt about with a girdle, made of bulls pizzles, enchanted by magick art, at the first peeping of the new moon; before his brest he wore a plate of tinne, whereon was pictured a gorgons head. Then he muttered a hundred and ten words, as fast as he could tumble them out of his mouth, and read a whole sermon, made by the seer Strong. the which he had written in characters of short-hand. When the devil heard that, he was greatly amazed, not knowing what it meant, for that it was one of the latest inventions among mortals. Then he came unto the seer Scoto, and said unto him, 'What wouldst thou have, thou vain fool? Get thee about thy businesse, and come to me when I call for thee, which will be very suddenly.' With that he departed, but whither I wot not.

CHAP. X.

How a certain Vandal, ycleped Vennero, came to Londinum, and defied all the Christians; and how his Fury was abated.

Now you must know that in those days there lived a Vandal in a wood, who was hight Vennero,[1] for when he was born, his mother left him in this wood, being pursued by two blood-thirsty satyrs, who would have done something to her, that, it seems, she would not have them do. Now being so left there, this samen young Vandal was suckled by a wild mare, and he grew up, and fed upon the barkes of trees. Now it came to passe, that in processe of time there came a christian wandering to the wood, and he rushed forth, and slew him, and drank up his blood, and liked it wondrous well, so that he desired to have a whole ocean full, some to keep in hogsheads,

[1] In the year of Charles the Second's restoration, Thomas Venner, a hot-brained enthusiast, at the head of about fifty or sixty fifth-monarchy men, sallied out armed into the streets of London, to establish the visible reign of the saints, being previously assured by their frantic leader that no weapon formed against them should prosper, nor a hair of their heads be touched. They routed the train-bands, an encounter which is ridiculed in the text, and retired to Cane-Wood. From thence they were forced by a party of the guards, and again entered the city, where, after doing some mischief, and exciting great alarm, they were driven into a house, made prisoners, and their leaders executed, protesting on the scaffold, with dreadful blasphemy, that if they were deceived, it was God who deceived them.

for the winter, and some to draw out in bottles for the summer. Then they told him if he would go into the city of Londinum, and kill Christians, he might have as much as he would drink. With that he pulled up a hollow oak by the roots, and cut therein holes for his arms, and it was unto him as a coat of male. Then he came unto the city of Londinum in great wrath; for he sware that he valued the Christians no more than butchers dogs valued rubies. So, as I told you before, he press'd into the city of Londinum by night, and then the people were all charmed up with the charmes of Morpheus. But when they rose in the morning to go about their businesse, they had better have kept themselves in their warm beds. For why? Why, because this cruel Vandal met them as they came out of their doors, and destroyed them; and when he had so destroy'd them, he eat them without either capers or samphire. What a disturbance this bred in the city of Londinum you may well conjecture. When these tidings came to the eares of the christian knights, they resolved to purchase fame with the blood of this Vandal: many other rewards were also promised to him that should vanquish him, beside that of fame, by the fair dames of Londinum; as bevers, new suites, purses of gold, nights lodgings, and the like, for they would have given any thing at that time to have been rid of this Vandal. There came Don Contumeliano, the Knight of Fortune; but the Vandal eftsoones laid him upon the cold earth, and then saw'd off his eares with the rough end of a bone of a sirloyn of beef. Then there was the knight of the Blew Apron, and then there was the mighty Vulcan, with twenty grim Cyclops's besides, and they laid upon his head, as they used to bang their anvils, when they made the armour of Achilles; but the Vandal was mad to hear such a noise about his eares, which caused him so to lay about him, that his enemies fell before him like mow'd barley. Then fear came upon the people of Londinum, and they knew not what to do. At length, some wiser than some, caused great traps to be made like mouse-trapps, which they set in the street, having first baited them with bread and cheese; but the cunning Vandal took away the bread and the cheese, and yet the trapp fell not down, for he made no more of the trapp than St George made of an enchanted castle; which, when Don Crispiano, the knight of the Golden Last, perceived, he gave the Vandal so fierce an encounter, that the Vandal lost his stirrups, and had fallen, but that he held by his horses neck; for he now had got him a horse, but how I am not able to inform you. But for Don Crispiano, he measured his length on the ground, and his shield was taken from him. Then the Vandal demanded his name; but he answered, he had no other name then the Knight of the Golden Last. The next that set upon him was the Knight of the Eagle, so called, for that the castle where he lived was known by that sign. The Vandal and he right valiantly couched their spears, and the first course proved so valiant that their spears shivered all in splinters. Each combatant, perceiving valour to brandish on the top of his helmet, they thought fit to make a pause. 'Right valiant mortal,' quoth the Vandal, 'I am glad that I have met with thee, for thou seemest to be right strong, but for all this I care not a button for thee; th'other bout I'm resolved to have with thee. But what said the thatcher to his man? First let's drink.' So he called for a whole gallon of *aqua vitæ*, and mixed it with the blood of the Knight of the Golden Last, who was last slain, and drank it up at one draught. After that they made a second course, wherein the Knight of the Eagle got the better; for he press'd so hard upon him, that he ran his lance into his neck, the anguish of which wound caused the Vandal to fall to the ground. When he was fallen to the ground, the Christians came in sholes and took him, and bound him with iron hoops, and threw him into a dungeon, and after that they hang'd him, and so there was an end of this Vandal.

CHAP. XI.

How Pacolet, the Dwarf, cousened the Necromancer Scoto, when he had him upon his Horse, and, instead of carrying him into the Territories of the King of Hispania, brought him to Londinum, where he was hanged.[1]

Now Scoto the necromancer, seeing that he could not avoid the fury of the Christians, and for that his charmes did also fail him, he fled away, for he prayed right fervently unto blustering Boreas; wherefore blustering Boreas, hearing his prayers, took him, and carried him away in a cloak-bag into the Land of Flandria. Now, as soon as Pacolet the dwarf espyed him, quoth he unto the seer, 'Right worthy seer, in the name of the Ruler of the Air, what make you here?' Quoth he, 'If I make any thing, I make buttons, for I am in deadly fear of the Christians.' Then said the dwarf, 'Right worthy seer, know this, that I am lately come out of the Land of Hispania, where I know to secure thee as safe as a thief in a mill; therefore come along with me, and stay no longer to expostulate, for upon my horse we will suddenly arrive in Hispania, where thou shalt be kept as secure as medlers in hay.' So the seer Scoto caused the dwarf to be highly feasted, setting before him macaroons and hypocrisse. So on the morrow they went towards their journey; but mark what followed. Having thus ordered his affairs, he came in the dead time of the night unto the tent where Scoto lay, crying out so loud to him, that he awoke him. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'little appeareth in you the love of your safety, seeing that for it you are unwilling to break your sleep.' Whereupon the seer replied, 'Thou hast done well to awaken me, for I was even now in a most fearful dream. Methought a crow did bear me swiftly through the air, and as she was flying away with me, another great bird met me, and struck so hard at me, that the blood issued out in great abundance. Now this dream maketh me to fear that the Christians have some intelligence of my designes.' 'Away,' quoth the dwarf, 'with this childish fear. Will you for this neglect the love of your own life?' 'By Mahomet,' quoth the seer, 'thou sayest the truth.' Then the dwarf took the seer behind him upon his woodden horse, and turning the pin, the horse rose up into the air so swiftly, that in a little space they were come to the city of Londinum. The seer, perceiving the horse to stay, said thus unto him, 'Friend, are we at our journeys end?' 'Yea,' said the dwarf, 'and fear nothing.' 'By Mahomet,' quoth the seer, 'the devil hath born us hither very quickly.' So he brought him into a great hall, which belonged unto the palace of the King of Brittain, and bid him enter thereinto, and so he entered therein. Now when the Christians heard that Scoto the necromancer was in the great hall, they came into the hall where Scoto sate. Then Scoto, perceiving himself betray'd, would have crept into an augur hole; but they would not let him, and then he cried out with a loud voice, 'Thou false traytor!' quoth he, 'to my person, I vow to be revenged of thee for this fact; and know this right well, that I never dyed yet in any mans debt to whom I ought a mischief; therefore assure thy self, that if ever I come again to be one of the forty tyrants, I will remember thy box at Christmass; nay, though I stay till Easter I care not much.' Then the dwarf told

[1] Mr Thomas Scot, according to Ludlow, "endeavoured to pass beyond the seas, and was taken by pirates, who, having plundered him, set him ashore in Hampshire; yet, by the assistance of his friends, he procured another vessel to land him in Flanders, where he was no sooner arrived, but he was seized by an agent for the king. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, then governor of the Spanish Netherlands, who had been ambassador for the king of Spain in England, during the government of the Commonwealth, remembering the particular obligations he had to Mr Scot, caused him to be set at liberty. Being freed from these dangers, and afterwards finding his name to be inserted among others of the king's judges who were required to render themselves, if they expected any benefit by the act of indemnity, in confidence at least of saving his life, he surrendered himself to the English agent within the time limited by the proclamation."—*Memoirs*, III. 64.

the Christian knights, that if this right diabolican necromancer did escape them this time, a world of miseries might ensue thereon. Whereupon they incontinently took him, and hang'd him up with a new rope, upon the highest pinacle of the palace, in the sight of many Sarazins that came to view and behold his fatal end.

CHAP. XII.

How the Gyant Husonio went and built him a Castle in the Air, intending to live a private Life; and how Sir Boreas quarrel'd with him; and how he thought to have affrighted Sir Boreas, and what happened thereupon.

The gyant Husonio, having met with many misfortunes, as I told you before, or whether I did or no 'tis no great matter, he resolved upon a very strange adventure, as you shall hear anon. 'Most miraculous it is,' quoth he, 'that I can live no where in quiet for these same Christians; however, if I cannot live quiet upon the earth, by Mahomet I will live quiet in the air, and there I will build me a castle.'. 'How, in the air?' quoth his dwarf, 'that is impossible.' 'Slave!' quoth the gyant, 'thou liest; for dost thou not see how our God, Mahomet, lives in the air? Even so will I live there also; for why may not I live in the air, that am a gyant, as well as a little sparrow, that I can crush to pieces between my thumb and my fore-finger?' The dwarf, then seeing him begin for to wax wroth, 'Nay, sir,' quoth he, 'if you are resolved to live in the air, you shall live in the air.' Being thus reconciled, the gyant went on with his project. Quoth the gyant then to himself, 'What is there that will abide in the air? Feathers, most certainly. Why then suppose I should compose this castle of feathers, certes it would be right easie, but very light; the better for that, and the wind should blow me up and down like the down of a thistle.' With that the gyant smiled to himself, as Jupiter smiled when he cuckolded Amphytrio, for he was right well pleased to think how he should dance in the air. 'Nay, but,' quoth his dwarf, 'though feathers be light, yet thou art right ponderous, and it is against the rules of philosophy for heavy things to mount up.' With that the gyant rail'd against philosophy like a tankard-bearer for three hours together, and would presently have arm'd himself upon an adventure, which was to knock all the philosophers in the world o'th' head. But his dwarf, lesse in bulk, but larger in wit, told him that the building of his castle would be of far greater concernment than the killing of philosophers. 'Then,' quoth the gyant, 'as concerning this castle, for I would fain have this castle built, and built in the air.' And when that he had vented his mind in such wise, he went into the north, and cut a rock of adament all into shivers: they say that if his dwarf had not pull'd him by the elbow, he would have cut the said rock as small as herbs to the pot, for that when he was hewing, he never considered what he did. Then he bethought himself, how that the nature of the loadstone was to cleave to the north-pole as close as he was wont to stick to his fair leman. 'So then,' quoth he, 'if I can but make a castle of this loadstone, and fix it thereon, the devil himself can never remove it.' So he made him a castle of the pieces of loadstone which he had hew'd out of the rock, and when he had done, he fastened several rings of iron unto the sides thereof; then he toss'd it up with a vengeance, and wish'd it good luck; 'For,' quoth he, 'the devil is in it if the top of the pole do not catch hold of some one or other of the rings which I have made on the sides.' as in sooth it happened. Now when it was fast, he bid his dwarf hold fast about his middle, and then he gave a jump, and leap'd in at one of the windows. Now when this castle was thus hung by geometry, it seemed unto the Samoedes and people of Groynlands as a vinegar bottle upon the top of Salisbury spire. And when it was dark, that the gyant lighted candles, they took it for they knew not

what themselves, for they never dream'd that it was a castle in the air. Now when Sir Boreas saw this strange thing he was astonished, and he whistled so loud that he awoke the gyant; so he looked out at the window, with his night cap on, and asked Sir Boreas why he whistled so loud. 'I will whistle yet louder,' quoth Sir Boreas, and with that he whistled so furiously that the gyant Husonio was forced to pull in his ears. Then the gyant was right grievously enraged, and went and struck fire, and lighted a torch, and caused his dwarf to stick it in his tayl, and so he went backwards with his head between his legs, to meet Sir Boreas, as the fellow went to fright the tanners dog. But Sir Boreas was a right hardy knight, and feared him no more than if he had been an ordinary man; for he presently blew out the gyants torch, and then gave him such a blow on the bare flesh, that he strook him back again into his castle over the wall. Now the gyant thought himself safe; but Sir Boreas swore his castle should not hang there; so he cut the ring by which it was held, and rubbed the north-pole with garlick, which caused it to lose its magnetick force: and so the castle, with the gyant and his dwarf, fell into the bottomlesse pit.

CHAP. XIII.

How the Knight of the Lyons cast himself headlong from the Top of a Tower, and broke his Neck; and of the several Misfortunes that befel the Forty Tyrants; and of several other delectable Passages, and so good buy to yee.

Now you must know that the Knight of the Lyons, before he executed the fatal tragedy which he intended, made a speech, but that speech is lost, for that the records thereof are not to be found. But certain it is that that very evening he abandoned the sight of all company, and repaired to the top of an high tower, the which it was built all of marble, wherein he barred himself so fast with iron bolts, that none could come within hearing of his lamentations. Then raged he up and down like frantick Oedipus, tearing his eyes from their natural cells, accusing the heavens of injustice, condemning the earth of inquity, and cursing man, because he could not be Knight of the Lyons still: another while he wished that some unlucky planet would descend from the firmament, and fall upon his miserable head. Being in this extreme despair, because he was put away from the Castle of the Lyons, he never hoped to return thither again. And so about midnight, being a time when desperate men practise their own destructions, he cast himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck, and all besprinkled the flinty pavements with his blood and brains.

Then was Sir Haringtonius,[1] Knight of the Rota, also in deep distress, for he fled from the fury of the Christians as dust flyes before a whirlwind; and he cried out, 'Oh yee fatal torches of the elements, why are you not clad in mournful habiliments, to cloak my wandering steps in eternal darknesse?' More he would have said, but that a certain salt rheume fell upon his lungs, which caused him to have a very great burre in his throat, so that thereupon he was in wonderful despair. Now as he was in despair, so was he in Arabia likewise, and being in both together, a most desperate whimsey came into his head. Wherefore he got to himself odours and spices of sundry kinds, as also the odoriferous branches of lignum *rhodium*, and several other sweet woods:

[1] Harrington, the ingenious author of the Oceana, was a free-thinker in religion, and a speculator in politics. He formed a club, called the Rota, *for diffusion of his republican principles*. Anthony a Wood is very particular in his account of this association, or *gang*, as he terms them. After the Restoration he was apprehended on account of treasonable writings and practices, committed to the Tower, and deprived of the benefit of a writ of habeas corpus by a most arbitrary removal of his person to a castle near Plymouth. His imagination became disordered for several years previous to his death, which took place in 1677.

and when he had piled them in a heap together, he put thereunto fire, and then threw himself into the flames; for that, it is said, he had long before resolved, if misfortunes came thick upon him, to die like a phenix, for that the Knight of the Lyons was alwayes accounted a phenix: now if he were a phenix, then men said true, but if he were not a phenix, then men did not say true.

But as for Sir Ludlojus, the Knight of the Green Powdering Tub, though he did not dye, yet there befel him an accident, quite contrary to that of the Knight of the Lyons; for when he came to the Enchanted Castle of Parismus, he demanded entrance right boldly. But the gyant Parismus had made his house of office just before his castle gate, so that if knights were not very wary, they fell thereinto up to the head and ears, as it happened to Sir Ludlojus, so that he came to be in the strangest pickle that ever knight was in. Now you must know, that by the knights falling into the privie, the enchantments of Parismus were dissolved, as it hath many times happened in story: So that the fair maid of Wimbleton, being now freed from the bondage she was in, came forth and scraped Sir Ludlojus so clean, that he smelt as sweet as a razor. Then she and the knight departed together, but whither, or what became of them after, I hear of no body that kenneth.

I must also inform you, that many of the forty tyrants, falling into the hands of the Christians, were hanged, which was the chiefest occasion that we can hear of, that they lived no longer; so that it is not fitting that we should take notice of the dead, because that after their deaths they never did any thing considerable. Only it is said that Sir Harry Martino, the Knight of the Turpentine Pill,[1] begged and intreated hard for his life, offering both his testicles for the redemption of his neck. But Dame Waradina would by no means let him alter his property, willing he should be hanged rather than disable himself for her service; and so, being hanged amongst the rest, he took his leave of this world, but whether he changed this life for a better, he himself best kenneth.

'Ah me,' quoth Sir Wallopius, 'and hath the loyal knight dissolved the charmes of Scoto the necromancer?' 'Most certainly,' replied Sir Munsonius, who was ycleped the Slovenly Knight.[2] 'Then what shall become of us?' quoth Sir Wallopius. So they went unto a certain necromancer, and he made them a tomb, which was enchanted by magick art. Now this sepulcher was incompass'd about with a wall of iron. So when this monument was framed by art, Sir Wallopius and Sir Munsonius caused themselves to be enclosed therein, where we shall leave them conversing with furies, walking spirits, and black pots of ale, according to the tenor of a certain prophesie foretold some ages agon.

FINIS.

[1] Henry Martin, the renowned parliamentary leader, was imprisoned for life in Chepstow Castle, for his share in the condemnation of Charles I.

[2] Robert Wallop and Lord Munson, both judges upon the trial of Charles I., escaped death after the Restoration, but had their estates sequestered, and were declared incapable of any public trust.

Modern Policies, taken from Machiavel, Borgia, and other choice Authors, by an Eye-Witness.

Hom. Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν νοέω, καὶ φράξομαι.
Salust. *Libidinem dominandi, causam Fragm. belli habent, et maximam gloriam, in maximo imperio putant.*
Plautus in *Nam doli, non doli sunt. nisi Astucolas,*
Capteivis. *Sed malum maximum si id palam pervenit.*
Trinumus. *Ambitio jam more sancta'st, libera'st à legibus,*
Petere honorem proflagitio, more fit: Mores, leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam.

By Arch-Bishop Sancroft.

Printed in 1652.

The learned William Sancroft, one of the most distinguished among the high-church divines, was, in 1642, admitted a fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and remained unmolested in that situation until 1649, when, the Engagement being pressed upon him, he chose rather to throw up his fellowship than to comply with the republican rulers. After the Restoration he filled many church preferments, and in 1670 was advanced to the dignity of Primate of England. He was one of the seven bishops whose trial produced such a deep impression on the people of England, as greatly hastened the revolution. Yet at that crisis he refused to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and, having sacrificed to his conscience in his old age the primacy of England, as in his youth he had resigned his fellowship when it was all he had to support him, he retired to Fresingfield, his native place, where, deprived of his bishopric, he died 24th November, 1693.

To my very good Lord, my Lord R. B. E.

My Lord,

I WAS never so proud, as to think I could write any thing that might abide the test of your judicious eye: What I now send appeals to your candor, intreating you to lay aside the person of a judge for that of a friend. It is at best but a pamphlet, whether you consider its bulk or worth: The result of a few pensive hours spent in recollecting what the memory had registred from public observance, or private reading, in a theme so sadly copious as this is: If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it was this: Having had opportunity to look abroad into the world, I took some notice of the contrastos of the Italian princes; I remarked the Spaniards griping Portugal, his grounds for the challenge of that kingdom, and his way of managing those grounds: I looked upon his method of propagating Christianity in the west; (where one says, the Indian is bound to be religious and poor upon pain of death.) Moreover, I observed with what artifice the pope moderated in the European quarrels, and with what devices he twisted the gospel, and the advantage of the chair together; and in all the strugglings and disputes that have of late years befallen this corner of the world,

I found, that although the pretence was fine and spiritual, yet the ultimate end and true scope was gold, and greatness, and secular glory.

But, my lord, to come nearer, when I saw kingdoms tottering, one nation reeling against another, yea, one piece of a nation josting the other, and split into so many parties and petty enmities, and each of these quoting the Bible to palliate his mad and exorbitant opinions, I sighed, and it grieved me to see popular easiness and well-meaning abused by ambitious, self-seeking men; for there is a generation that is born to be the plague and disquiet and scourge of the age it lives in; that gladly sacrifice the public peace to private interest; and when they see all fired, with joy warm their hands at those unhappy flames which themselves kindled, tuning their merry harps when others are weeping over a kingdom's funeral.

But above all, it pierced my heart to see the clergy in such a high degree accessary to the civil distempers and contentions that have every where shak'd the foundations of church and state; so that, as a catholick noted, there hath been no flood of misery but did spring from, or at least was much swell'd by their holy-water. I searched evangelical records, and there was nothing but mild and soft doctrines; I enquired into the breathings of the spirit, and they were pacificatory; I wondered from what presidents and scripture encouragements these men deduced their practices, and at last was forced to conclude, that they were only pretended chaplains to the Prince of Peace. Those torches that should have been for saving light were degenerated into fire-brands; those trumpets that should have sounded retreats to popular furies, knew no other music but martial alarms.

I have endeavoured in the sequel to represent to you the arts of ambition, by giving you the picture of a person over covetous of glory; the piece is coarse, but yet like; drawn only in water colours, which some of greater leisure and abilities may possibly hereafter lay in oyl.

You know that the desires of man are vast, as his thoughts boundless as the ocean, Πλοῦς τετειμένος ἀπέραντος ἐπιθυμίας. A bored tub is not more insatiate. 'Tis pitty that greatness should at any time be out of the road of goodness; and I would sometimes, if I durst, with Socrates curse him that first separated profitable and honest. *Jamblichus.*

It does to me a little relish of paradox, that wherever I came, Machiavel is verbally curs'd and damn'd, and yet practically embraced and asserted; for there is no kingdom but hath a race of men that are ingenious at the peril of the public; so that as one said of Galba in respect of his crooked body, *Ingenium Galbæ malè habitat*, so may I say of these in regard of their crooked use; that wit could not have chosen a worse mansion than where it is vitiated and made a pander to wickedness.

If you ask me what I mean to trouble the world, that is already under such a glut of books? you may easily perceive that I consulted not at all with advantaging my name, or wooing public esteem by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and thought it might possibly be of some caution to prevent the insinuation of pious frauds and religious falacies into my native country. If any plain-hearted, honest man shall cast away an hour in perusing it, he may perhaps find something in it resembling his own thoughts, and not altogether strange to his own experience. It is not the least of our misfortunes, that sins and vices are oft times endear'd to us by false titles and complements, being cozened with a specious name, though much incoherent to the thing we ascribe it. Or else, omitting the vice, which is the main, it intimates only the virtue, which is the by: As for example, we call an ambitious man μεγαλεπήβολος, a person of notable aim and high enterprize; whereas in truth, it signifies an indirect affector of grandeur. And I find that by incautelous entertainment of these phrases, our judgments are often bribed to misapprehensions, and we seduc'd to bad actions. I have endeavoured in the ensuing discourse to wipe off the paint and

fucus, that so things may appear in their true complexion, unadulterated with the slights and subtelties of deluders.

My lord, that your lordship may be one of those which the dark poet calls δὶς ἥβησαντα, that the youth of your honours may be renewed to you, that your happiness may be acquainted with no other season but a spring, is the earnest vote of

Your bounden Servant.

The name of prince, which I often use, must be understood as convertible with any person or persons whom God hath intrusted with a just supremacy: All the dialects of government being concerned in the abuse, I have made the chief and most familiar to represent the rest.

I am not ignorant, that the quotations may justly seem more numerous than method and the rules of art will conveniently allow. I have this to say, to vindicate me from affectedness, that I have been little studious of elegance and curiosity in the composure, esteeming nakedness to be the best dress of truth; and, if I mistake not, those attendants I have here procured for her may afford some material, though little ornamental advantage.

A Præmonition.

It is far from the design of this treatise to derogate from the honour of the calling, or worth of the person of any sober statesman; 'tis a knowledge that no man observes with more due respects than myself, because I know it is in no mean degree essential to the peace and flourishing condition of a kingdom or common-wealth. 'Tis a jewel to be lock'd up in some few rare cabinets, and not to be made cheap, and exposed to irreverence, by being bared, and prostituted to every vulgar eye. The pseudo-policy here mentioned is contradistinct to that science which is ever built upon piety and prudence; for upon these solid bases your wise architect delights to raise the glorious superstructure of government in a prince, and subjection in a people: So knitting the interest of both with reciprocal mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involved in the good of the other; that majesty may be preserv'd in its just splendor, and yet the liberty of the subject remain inviolate. He is the Atlas of the falling state, cures it when sick, sets it when dis-jointed, meets it in its several pressures with suitable reliefs. Such was Philip de Commines, of whom one said it was a measuring cast whether Lewis were the wiser king, or Philip the wiser counsellor: Such was Burleigh to our late Queen Elizabeth, whose advice had very eminent influence into the prosperity of her reign, which was such as, I believe, few ages can parallel, and future times will read her happy annals, as written like Xenophon's Cyrus, *Non ad historiæ fidem, sed ad exemplum justi imperii;* so that if we love peace, or plenty, or liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgment to own that in Plutarch, τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνθρωπος ὑκτάλαι τελειοτέραν.

Cato Major.

But as the corruption of the best things makes them worst, so this noble knowledge has been abused to loose and ambitious ends, by some men who seem to have suck'd the venom out of all politics, misapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the urgency of their own occasions, like the laws that were made in Causinus his Babel to be ruled by manners, and not manners by laws. They vex true policy by misinterpreting and false glossing, framing in their hearts Dianas of hypocrisy and subtilty, and worshipping in their actions.

Ophyogenes et Psylli, Furialibus commentaviis illustrant.

The rules following there are few so silly as to believe, though too many so wicked as to practise; and not only so, but by a bold imposture to persuade that such actions as are deduced from these principles are justifiable, and, if fortunate, commendable.

That all may see these rocks and shun them, and detest knavery though never so specious, and nauseate sin, though robed in successes and triumphs, is my daily prayer.

FIRST PRINCIPLE.

The Politician must have the Shadow of Religion, but the Substance hurts.

There is no superstition in politics more odious than to stand too much upon niceties and scruples, and therefore Machiavel cut the hair, when he advised, not absolutely to disavow conscience, but to manage it with such prudent neglect, as is scarce discernable from a tenderness, not permitting it to be touchy and reluctng, nor yet prostituting it, unless upon solemn and insuperable occasions. He notes it from Papirius in Livy, who slighted the Pullarii handsomely, and was rewarded; whereas Appius Pulcher did it grosly, and was punished.

But, because the politician is best able to tell his own documents, you may please to conceive you found these broken discourses in his study, to each of which I shall add an antidote. External holiness invites awful regards; there is no mask that becomes rebellion and innovation so well as religion, nothing that so much conceals deformity, and pretends beauty: 'Tis an excellent thing so to dissimulate piety, that when we act strongly against it, in that very article of wickedness the people saint us: Herod would fain worship when he means to worry:

Ipso sceleris Molimine, Tereus creditur esse pius.

This is that which leads the world in a string, that hallows the most hellish enterprises, for the common people (which are the τὸ πολυ) never see behind the curtain, a handsome gloss is with them as good as the text. I believe the great naturalist was in the right when he called a deity a jolly invention, *Irridendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid est summū, sed credi ex usu vitæ est:* Let me enjoy the temporal advantages of religion, and let others take the eternal; let me use it for a cloak, or a crutch, and let others expect from it a crown. Plin. l. 2. v. 7.

The river in Athenæus is my emblem, whose upper waters were sweet and grateful, but towards the bottom brackish. Let me be a superficial, let others be fundamental Christians: I like the humour of the Samseans in Epiphanius, that were neither Jews nor Gentiles, nor Christians, but preserving a commodious correspondence with all: whatsoever I act in reference to Heaven is meerly theatrical, and done in subordination to some other interest: Lycurgus could never have ingratiated his laws so effectually, if he had not pretended a dialogue with his goddess: 'tis to me indifferent whether the religion I personate be true or false, so it be but popular; and if the people I mean to juggle with err fundamentally, I can by no means court them more than by embracing their delusion; it buckles them very close to me in moral observance to assist them in their spiritual soundness, and mix with their distemper; and therefore I commonly lead the van in the faction, and call it *Jure Divino,* though I never found it but in hell's black canons. How comfortably the pope and cardinal confer'd notes, *Quantum nobis lucri peperit illa fabula de Christo!* O the rich income and glorious result of hypocrisy! This, this must be diligently studied and practised, 42 *Fons in Mileto, cujus profluens aqua dulcissima, quæ verò in imo salsa.*

—Da justum sanctumque videri, noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.

Privacy for a sin, and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes seem as white as innocency itself. The strictness of that thief was very notable, who

always before he went about the work of his calling (for so he call'd stealing) went to prayers that God would bless and prosper him, so I say grace to the design, be it never so wicked, and give thanks for the success, be it never so bloody.

But further in subserviency to a loose interest, there must be no such pulling thing as conscience; hell and heaven and scripture, and what else the Christian esteems most sacred, must all truckle under the plot, but not be observed when they come to oppose it; had Alexander boggled at invading other mens kingdoms, he had never wept for the scarcity of worlds. There is no greater obstacle to generous actions than a coy and squemish conscience; 'tis pretty that some tell us, that it strikes *surdo verbere*, and then how can it be heard in the noise and bustle of a clamorous world? Had your mighty conquerers, and your valiant captains, and your thriving popes listened to this inward charmer, their names had never swell'd and look'd big in the rolls of fame.

Colasterion.

But let all sober Christians know, that this shell of religion, though it may be of external conducement, yet there is nothing that God's pure and undeluded eye looks on with more abhorrency; we may possibly deceive men, but 'tis in vain to put ironies upon God. A counterfeit religion shall find a real hell, and 'tis pity that such a sacred thing should be violenced and made to obstetricate to rebellious irregular designs.

The cynic to a coward in arms. *Cur tu non definis virtutis stragula pudefacere?—Origen.*

As for such who have conspired with the wrath of God in the stupefaction of their consciences, though they may for a time struggle with those inward checks, yet there will be a day (if not in this life) when that witness, that judge, that jury will not be bribed. God hath fixed it in the soul as an eternal register, as an impartial diary, as the censor of the affections, and pædagogue of the passions. It does not only illustrate divine justice in an autocatacrisy, but was meant by God for a bridle and restriction; and he that hath by an inveterate wickedness conquered the opposition which God seated in his heart to sin, may possibly consult well with his present advantage and greatness, but not at all with his future comfort; for, besides the loss of that intimate pleasure which waits upon innocency, he feels sometimes those bosom quarrels that verberate and wound his soul—for

Vinum in pectore.

ἡ Συνείδησις ταὺ ψυχὴν πλήττει.

PRINCIPLE II.

The Politician must by all Means make the most insinuating Applications to the People that he can, and lock up his own Design in Pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Laws, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

The prosperity of innovation depends, in a high measure, upon the right knack of kindling and fomenting jealousies and dislikes in the people; and then wielding those grudges to the favour and advantage of private ends, for the people are to the politician like tools to the mechanick, he can perform nothing without them, they are his wings, his wheels, his implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually, there must be an excellency in these following slights:

First, To assign such a cause of grievances, and such a course for redress, as may open a way to the alteration he aims at: as if he means to alter the government, or to ingross the supremacy, he must artificially convince of a necessity to arm, 1. Defensively, and if that suceeds, 2. Offensively; this he may do by false alarms of danger, inventing horrid news, and plying the people with such fictitious perils as may make

them believe religion and liberty and all is at stake, and that they are the geese that must save the capitol.

Secondly, When he sees opportunity to reveal his own design, he must do it gradually and by piece-meal, for that which at one view would be a mormo to fright them, give it them in small parts and they will digest it well enough. η προσαγωγῆς.

Thirdly, He must compose his very garb and gesture; 'tis a great matter to tell a lye with a grace, as if religion be the mode, he must in his tales knock his breast, attest God, and invoke imprecations upon himself, if he does not do that which he never intends.

Fourthly, He gives them good words and bad actions, like those the historian brands with a *crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem initis*, ravishes them with apprehensions of liberty under the highest strain of oppression, for it is most certain if you please them with the name, they will embrace it for name and thing. Something like this had been imposed upon Rome, when the orator wrote to his friends *Atticus,—Nomina rerum perdidimus, et licentia militaris libertas vocatur*, that they were cheated in names, for military licence was miscal'd liberty. This is well describ'd by Plautus in Truculento: *Ingeniosi muscipulatores.*

In melle sunt linguæ sitæ vestræ, atque orationes,
Lectèque: corda felle sunt sita atque acerbo aceto.
E linguis dicta dulcia datis, at corde amarè facitis.

Fifthly, He observes that they receive probabilities wisely propounded more greedily than naked truths: and therefore he is very studious to glase and polish his impostures, that so they may to a loose eye dissemble truth according to that of Pindar,

——Βροτῶι φρένα—— ὑπερ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις, ἐξαπατῶντι μύθοι,

Or that of Menander, τὸ πιθανὸν, ἴσχυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφει ἐνίοτε μείζω, καὶ πιθανότεραν ὄχλω.

Sixthly, When he hath by the assistance of the people got the sword into his own hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future compliance. He that courted them before with all the adulatory terms that ambition could invent or they receive, as if he had been vow'd their martyr, and ready to sacrifice his dearest enjoyments upon the altar of public liberty and feedom; as if his veins knew no other blood, but such as he would be proud to spend in their service, having now served himself of them he forgets the bosom that warm'd him, they hear from him now in a palinode, he curles up his smooth complements into short laconics, and exchanges his court-ship for command.

Colasterion.

First, We may be assured that there is no greater index of ambition, than an affectation of popularity: which appears in meek addresses to the people, wooing and familiar condescentions, bemoaning their sufferings, commending a more vigorous sense of them; that of the comic is no bad rule.

Non temerarium est, ubi dives blande appellat pauperem,
Altera manu fert lapidem, panem ostentat altera:
Nemini credo qui longe blandu'st dives pauperi.

Or that which Livy notes of a grandee, *Credebant haud gratuitam in tanta superbia*

comitatem fore, the extreme kindness or fawning of great persons is always suspicious, because often fraudulent: remember the Sileni that use to kill with huggs and embraces.

Secondly, Know it's very usual for men to personate goodness till they have accomplish'd their ends; 'tis observed of Appius when he had his wish, *finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ;* 'tis an old note,

> *Maxima pars morem hunc homines habent, quod sibi volunt;*
> *Dum id impetrant boni sunt, sed id ubi jam penes sese habent,*
> *Ex bonis pessimi, et fraudulentissimi sunt.*

Athenæus tells a pretty story of one Athenian, born obscurely, who, as long as he was private and poor, excel'd in a soft and tractable disposition, but when by jugling he had obtain'd the Athenian government, there was none more odious for a cruel, covetous, and barbarick tyranny: as it is reported of Caligula, there was never a better servant and a worse master.

Thirdly, We know that a good aim, much less a good pretence, cannot justify a bad action, and therefore we ought to be as solicitous about the lawfulness of the means as about the goodness of the end: it is a maxim in morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Christianity, that we must not do evil that good may come of it; and we may possibly rescue ourselves from future cousenage if we examine the lawfulness of every circumstance leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the beauty of the pretence.

PRINCIPLE III.

If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapses of the former Magistrate must be inculcated with the greatest Advantage, and what is wanting in Reality must be supplied in Calumny.

It cannot easily be imagined of what singular importance the aspersing and blotting of a prince is, to boyle up popular discontent to that height which is requisite for a rebellion; and here it must diligently be enquired if there have not been indeed such lapses as have gall'd the people, and though they be old sores and skin'd, yet they must be search'd and refreshed, and exasperated with all the urging circumstances that come within the invention of scandal: it must be remember'd if any persons of publick note, have suffer'd under the sword of justice, whose crimes can by art or eloquence be extenuated, whose hard measure must be mention'd with tears, that so old traytors may be propounded for new martyrs. This hath been the ordinary method of ambition, as you may find it noted by a great scholar in these words:—*Fuit hæc omnibus sæculis, et adhuc est ad occupandum tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summo se amore, ac pietate in patriam esse simulant, principum vitas, et populi miseriam, apud suos primùm, deinde palam queribundâ voce lamentantur, non quò plebem, cujus solius commodis inservire videri volunt, ab illo servitutis jugo asserant in libertatem; sed quò populari aurâ subnixi, aditum sibi et januam ad eam ipsam dignitatem, nequiora aliquando ausuri patefaciant.* And therefore, if the prince be severe, he gives him Nero's brand, a man kneaded up of dirt and blood; if he be of parts and contrivance, he calls it pernicious ingenuity: if he be mild and favourable to tender consciences, he declaims against his toleration: if he urge uniformity and decency in divine service, he rails at his superstition. And because there is no such æquilibrious virtue but has some flexure to one of the extremes, he is very careful to publish the extreme alone, and to silence the virtue.

Barclay *contra* Monarch 30.

Candida vita.

But if the prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence vindicated himself from obloquy, (which shall scarce be, if small faults be rightly improved,) then Machia-

vel's advice must be followed, to calumniate stoutly, till the people have entertain'd something to his prejudice: 'Tis a figure in politicks to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime: And if the people be disposed to alteration, these must be first urged against a monarch to depose him, or, if need be, to murder him, which is commendable if you can dress him up like a tyrant, as you may find it justified by an honest Scot, who complains that there are not some glorious rewards appointed for tyrannicides: and by the best orators,——*Græcos Deorum honores tribuisse iis, qui tyrannos necaverunt*, and by the tragedian, *Buchanan. Pro Milone.*

Victima haud ulla amplior potest,
Magisve optima mactari Jovi,
Quam Rex iniquus. *Hercules furen*

And, secondly, these personal faults must be artificially devolved upon monarchy itself.

There remains to disperse the commendations of that government which is intended for a successor. If aristocracy, the long-lived prosperity of Sparta and Venice is a very plausible evidence of its goodness. If democracy, the happiness of the Romans under their tribunes is very memorable. To which may be added this out of Machiavel: That they are the most suitable guardians of any thing who are least desirous to usurp it; and, without doubt, considering the designs of the nobility and the people, we must confess that the first are very ambitious of rule, the last desire only not to be opprest.

Colasterion.

I presume that person is very rare that can boast of such an absolute saintship, whilst he is amongst mortals, but that there will now and then some actions fall from him which confess humanity, and require candour: some leafs in the volume of the fairest life that are *Legenda cum veniâ*. If this be a common frailty, why do we fix such rigid censures upon the miscarriages of princes? Or why do we deny them the same mildness which we use when we commiserate the infirmities of other men? 'Tis yet much more disingenuous to revive and pore upon a few bad actions, which, it may be, have been long ago expiated with many good. Take this from no mean statist——*Iniqua in omni re accusandâ prætermissis bonis malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque selectio; nam ne nullus quidem isto modo magistratus vituperabilis non erit.*

As greatness gives a gloss to the virtues of a prince, so it mitigates his vices; for if we look upon him as circled with honour, and all outward enjoyment, we see with all that variety of temptations he hath to struggle with above others, having no other guard, no other weapon than his meer virtue. Sometimes we are defended from a sin by our very impotency; it may be above our sphere, or out of our reach; we do not, because we cannot. How often are our wills offenders, when our hands are innocent? We are check'd from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to dispute with his immoderate desires but himself. This is that which inhances the goodness of a prince, as that excellent poet Spenser leads his temperate knight through all the delicacies and charms of pleasure, and delivers him a conqueror.

But suppose a magistrate really tyrannical, it is no contemptible question, Whether the evils of the redress may not be equivalent to the mischief? I remember Livy's *Nec morbum ferre possumus nec remedium:* and Plutarch's χειρον ειναι μοναρχιας παρανομυ πόλεμον ἐμφυλιον, and Tacitus, *Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque usui esse crebras mutationes:*

Vitia erint donec homines, sed neque hæc continua, et meliorum interventu pensantur; and Seneca, *Infeliciter ægrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quam à morbo.* Poise the miseries of a civil war with the grievances of an unjust magistrate, and the politician must take many grains of allowance from fallacy to make the scales even; for though the fury of incensed tyranny may fall heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloody consequences of an intestine sword are more epidemical and more permanent.

As to the charging the faults of a governor upon the government itself, I see nothing in it but delusion, nor can there be a more gross abuse than τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ποιότητα, ἢ περὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν.

For king-killing, because I know it a touchy subject, I shall wholly omit all discourse of it; only I find it damn'd by (Jo. Goodwin, in his Anticavalerism) an able divine as jesuitical; and Tacitus commends to subjects rather *Scutum* than *Gladium*, the shield of patience and toleration rather than the sword.

PRINCIPLE IV.

The Politician must nourish some mercenary Jesuits, or other Divines, to cry up his Aims in their Churches, that so the Poison may insinuate more generally into all the Parts.

He that peruses history will find that there hath been no innovation so gross, no rebellion so hideous, but hath had some ecclesiastical fomentors: for such as want worth enough of their own to reach preferment in a regular way, are most apt to envy the just honours of better men; and despairing to obtain their end by learning and piety, they aspire to it by the crooked means of faction and schism. Nor are these despicable instruments to the politician; for the sharpest sword in his army cannot vie services with a subtle quill. You may see his business in the comick, γράψον, βουλεύσαι, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολέμησον.

Concutiunt populos, vexant regna, solicitant bella, diruunt Ecclesias.

1. The jesuit reckons it in the number of his merits, if he may, by any sinister ways, ruffle and disorder hæretical kingdoms, (so he calls them,) encourage weak and unstable minds to slight magistracy, irritate divisions, tumults, rebellions, absolve from oaths, and all sacred ties; so that it is hard to find any tragical scene, or bloody theatre, into which the jesuit hath not intruded, and been as busy as Davus in the comedy, contributing, in a very high measure, to every fanatic insolence, justifying the old lemma of Liola's picture, *Cavete vobis Principes.* These are the firebrands of Europe, the forge and bellows of sedition, infernal emissaries, the pests of the age, men that live as if huge sins would merit heaven by an antiperistasis.

Classica canere.

2. Nor is any nation without some turbulent spirits of its own; the dishonour of the gown and pulpit, the shame, and sometimes the ruin of their country: you would think they had their text from a gazettee, because you hear so much of a curranto in the application. That these may be fit implements for the politician, there are these requisite qualifications:

1. There must be a principal gift of wresting the scripture, vexing and urging the holy text, constraining it to patronize the design. The great apostle expresses this in three very emphatical terms: 1. Cogging the die, making the word speak what they list. 2. Crafty applications and expositions of it. 3. All the methods and arts of cozenage, ἀλεαίζοντες καὶ χρυσιάζοντες λόγους, gilding and varnishing rotten doctrines, and this must be done.

1. In public, vomiting out flames and sulphur from that sacred pegma, where he should deliver none but mild and soft (that is) evangelical embassages.

Evangeliophori.

2. In private, at parlour sermons and meeting houses, where he is listned to as an oracle; and here commonly he is more enthusiast than scripturist, and his auditors be-

lieve his dreams to be as canonical as the revelation; like those Melanchton speakes of, *Quicquid somniant volunt esse spiritum sanctum*, or those that the Father chides, when he tells them that every whimsey is not prophecy, Οὐ πᾶν ἔννυχιον εὐθυς προφησία.

3. He ought to be of some abilities in disputing, and what he wants in logic he must supply in garrulity; for whatsoever he affirms, the interest he hath in his seduced hearers improves into a syllogism. If you ask after his topicks, *Ex officinâ carnificum argumenta petit*. If after his weapons, *Armat se ad latrocinium per Christi nomen*, and the wound he makes is faction: those consciences which will not surrender to his parly, his master takes by storm. And thus he abuses Christ, by pretending his favour to unwarrantable actions; he abuses his prince, by alienating the affection and allegiance of his subjects; he abuses the church, by shattering it into rents and schisms, wounding it with a feather of its own wing; snatching a coal from the altar to fire both church and state; and, lastly, he abuses himself; for when the politician hath made his best use of his sedicious spirit, he leaves him to his own wild distempers, having directed his own thoughts to another goale.

Populi.

St. Hierom. Strada.

Ecclesiæ nomine armamini et contrà Ecclesiam dimicatis. Aug.

Colasterion.

Although we have caution enough against these in sad and frequent experiences, these latter ages groaning under the effects of an exorbitant clergy; yet such is the easiness and credulity of the vulgar, such the subtilty and dissembled sanctity of the impostor, that he meets with as great a proneness in the people to be cozened as he brings willingness to delude; for it is a true observation, that these clancular sermocinators bear as great sway in popular minds, and make as deep impression upon their consciences, as the loyolists do when they impose upon their blind laity.

I dare only subjoin these few advices:

First, I should suspect a clerical statist, I mean such a one as in the dispensation of sacred oracles tampers with secular affairs, unless it be in case of high concernment to his auditors souls.

Secondly, I should believe him a jugler that sprinkles his sermons with murmurs against the lawful magistrate ecclesiastical or civil, unless he hath some better ground for his dislike than a thwarting his humour in things controversial and adiaphorous.

Thirdly, I should more than doubt his knavery, that should suborn scripture to attest or incite to illegal actions, as akin to that which Salvian calls *Religiosum scelus*.

Fourthly, All news in religion, whether in doctrine or discipline, is the common screen of private design; let Mæcenas tell it, τῦς ξενίζοντας τὶ σει τῆς ἐυσέβειας, και μυισει κα κύλαζε, πολλύς γάρ ἀναπέν θυσιν ἀλλοτρονομεῖν, which is noted by the great Causabon in his epistle before his Baronian Exercitations, thus: *Cupiditas novandi hæc secum mala semper trahit, Christi inconsutilem tunicam lacerat, sectas novas parit, et statim multiplicat, ecclesiam et populum concutit, &c.*

'Tis sad to see Urania, divine Urania, inroll'd in blood, the stars and luminaries of the church to shed such black and malignant influences in lieu of pious documents, to hear none but furious incentives, *Ite alacres tantaque precor confidite causa;* the cause they serve is the doctrine and the use, the egg, the apple, the head and foot of all their discourses: if you like to confer notes, you may find a piece of their sermon in Barclay to this effect, *Se Evangelii libertatem prædicare, nullam Christianis animis vim inferre, suam cuique conscientiam liberam relinquere, verbo ducere, non vi quenquam adigere; eam esse Evangelii doctrinam ut omnes conscientiæ fruantur libertate: sibique ut id liceat, votis omnibus postulare.*

Papirius. Cont. Monarc. p. 32.

PRINCIPLE V.

If Success waits upon his Enterprizes, he urges it to authenticate his Cause.

There is no argument more popular than success, because the breast of men is not able to distinguish the permission of God from his approbation: And although it be in itself fallacious and feeble, yet the misery of the conquer'd denies them the opportunity to dispute; for the opposition of the sword will never be confuted by the bare fist of logick, nor doth the victor commonly permit any ventilation of his dictates;

Philo. In Pompeio. for when the body is a slave, why should the reason be free? as the soldiers in Plutarch wondered any would be so importunate to preach laws and moral reasons to men with swords by their sides; as if arms knew not how to descend to rational inquiries, but were enough justified by an odd kind of necessity of their own creating; like those in Livy, *in armis jus ferre, et omnia fortium virorum esse.*

I have often considered with myself, what should move tyrants to print justifications of themselves, and assertions of their proceedings which I suppose never made an understanding man a convert, nor meet with a cordial reception in any, unless the abuse of a few poor, shallow believers be thought a triumph worth their pains; I have sometimes thought they do by these papers, please themselves in their abilities to delude, and so gratify their tyranny over the noblest part of man, by denying the liberty of the thought, and subduing the powers of the soul to an implicit coherence with their own magisterial opinions.

But our politician, by quoting the success of his undertakings, besides the plausibleness, and insinuating nature of the proposition itself, hath the advantage of power to make us believe him.

Nor is this bait contemptible, many of parts and prudence, yea and of religion, have been stagger'd by it; some question whether Diagoras deserved the brand of atheism, considering the wild conceits they then had of their gods, or differ'd from the common creed, crying out, O how the gods favour sacrilege! when he had a merry gale, after a sacrilegious attempt. The best of the Roman historians calls the victory, the just arbitress of the cause, *eventus belli velut æquus Judex, unde jus stat ei victoriam dabit:* So hard it is to persuade meer reason that virtue may be unfortunate and vice happy.

He was no small poet that argued himself out of his gods, by seeing wickedness honoured, and worth slighted; which he expresses thus:

——Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo; quis putet esse Deos?

English,

Licinus does in marble sleep,
A common urne does Cato keep;
Pompey's ashes may catch cold.—
That there are gods, let dotards hold.

Hipp. Herc. Fur. There may be some use made of that in Seneca, *Honesta quædam scelera successus facit*, prosperous mischiefs are cardinal virtues in the world's ethics, and therefore the tragedian repeats it, *Prosperum ac fælix scelus virtus vocatur.* The unwarrantableness is hid and concealed in the glory of the success; we often praise the Macedonian conquest, but seldom mention their boundless and unjust ambition.

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miscarry we censure it; so that, ac-

cording to the vogue of the world, 'tis the event that gives the colour to the action, and denominates it good or bad.

Colasterion.

There is some of this leaven in the judgments of most, notwithstanding these brighter discoveries in the noon of Christianity we live under. A Bible, thoroughly observed, would expound to us much of the riddle and dark passages of Providence: We are so short sighted, that we cannot see beyond time; we value things and men by their temporal prosperities, and transient glories; whereas if we put eternity into the other scale, it would much outpoise that worldly lustre, that so much abuses our eyes and cousens our understandings.

I find not in holy writ, that God hath inseparably annex'd goodness and greatness, justice and victory, he has secured his servants of the felicities of a better life, but not of this. Christ's kingdom was not, our happiness is not, of this world.

Nor doth my Bible shew me any warrant for appeal to Heaven for the decision of this or that intricacy, by bestowing success on this party or that cause, according to its righteousness and due merit. There is a vast difference betwixt ἀτυχημα and ἀδίκημα even in the scripture construction.

The great Turk may justly exult, and prune himself in discourses of this nature, if they be once admitted and own'd by Christians, and I shall forbear to think Mahomet an impostor, and must receive the Alcoran for gospel, if I shall be convinced that temporal happiness and triumph are a true index of divine favour. Our religion hath something more to invite our closure with it; it proposes a conveniency on earth, but the crowns and garlands are reserved for heaven.

The money god in Aristophanes pretends a command from Jupiter to distribute as great a largess to the wicked as to the good; because if virtue should once impropriate riches, that fair goddess would be more wooed for her dowry than for her native beauty; so, if religion were attended with those outward allurements that most take the senses, we should be apt to follow Christ for the loaves, and overlook the spiritual charms and more noble ends of Christianity.

The heathen could say *Fœlix prædo mundo exemplum inutile:* happy pyracy is a thing of unhappy presidency: fortunate sins may prove dangerous temptations, but to say that God doth signally attest the actions of such a person, or the justice of such a cause, by permitting it to prosper and taper up in the world, is such a deceit, as deserves our serious abhorrency—I leave it with Ovids wish,

Careat successibus opto, quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

PRINCIPLE VI.

The Politician must change with the Times.

That alterations and revolutions in kingdoms are the rods with which God scourges miscarrying princes, is resolved by my Lord of Argenton, to which may be added, out of Aristotle in the fifth of his politics—*Per fraudem et dolum regna evertuntur*, that the ruins of a kingdom are often derived from fraud and subtelties: I shall omit inquiry into other causes, as foreign to my present purpose. Comin. 170.

The politician knows best how to improve these popular gusts, because he caused them; such a storm is his seed time. 'Tis the boast of a Dutchman, that he can sail with all winds; the aspiring man observes the quarter whence the fairest gales of pre-

ferment blow, and spreads the sails of his ambition to entertain them, nor can the compass breath more varieties, though this dextrous soul has changes and garbs and suitable compliances.

What the orator calls his top and perfection, to make happy application to the several humours and genius of all sorts of men, qualifying his address with what he knows will charm the person he treats, that the politician does not only with his lip but life, you may find all those figures and tropes digested into his actions, and made practical that are in the other only vocal.

Nanton's Regalia. He remembers that of an English marquis (Pawlet of Winchester) who, having successfully served four princes, and still in the same room of favour, unshaken with the vicissitudes he had run through, being asked by one, by what means he preserved his fortune, he replies, that he was made *ex salice, non ex quercu,* of the pliant willow not stubborn oak, always of the prevailing religion, and a zealous professor. This easiness and bending is of absolute necessity; for if the same temper which insinuated in violent times, were retained in a composed and settled government, it would be altogether distasteful, and so on the contrary.

Therefore, if religion be fashionable, you can scarce distinguish him from a saint; he does not only reverence the holy ministers, but, if need bee, he can preach himself: if cunctation prevails, he acts Fabius: if the buckler must be changed for a sword, he personates Marcellus: if mildness be useful, Soderini of Venice was not more a lamb than he: if severities are requisite, Nero's butcheries are sanctities compared with his: as Alcibiades in Plutarch shifted disposition as he alter'd place (being voluptuous and jovial in Ionia, frugal and retired in Lacedæmon) so he proportions himself to time, place, person, religion, with such a plausibleness as if he had been born only to serve that opinion which he harbour'd but as a guest whilst it continued in sway, having a room in his heart, if occasion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour as he once used to extol the former. And thus like a subtile Proteus, he assumes that shape that is most in grace and of most profitable conducement to his ends; *In eo stant consilia, quod sibi conducere putat.*

He abounds in that which Nero calls, *versatile ingenium,* a voluble wit, like the changling derided by Plautus, as more turning than a potter's wheel.

He hath this advantage of the camelion, that he can assume whiteness, for I find him often wearing the vest of innocency, to conceal the ugliness and blackness of his attempts.

Finally, he is the heliotrope to the sun of honour, and hath long since abjured his God, religion, conscience, and all that shall interpose and screen him from those beams that may ripen his wishes and aims into enjoyments.

Colasterion.

But the true statesman is inviolably constant to his principles of virtue and religious prudence; his ends are noble, and the means he uses innocent: he hath a single eye on the public good, and if the ship of the state miscarry, he had rather perish in the wrack, than preserve himself upon the plank of an inglorious subterfuge. His worth had led him to the helm, the rudder he uses is an honest and vigorous wisdom, the star he looks to for direction is in heaven, and the port he aims at is the joint welfare of prince and people.

This constancy is that solid rock upon which that wise Venetian hath built its long liv'd republic; so that it is not improbable the maiden queen borrowed her motto of *semper eadem* from this maiden common-wealth.

'Tis true, something is to be conceded to the place, and time, and person, and I grant that there are many innocent compliances; Virgils *Obliquare sinus*, is observable; there may be a bending without a crookedness: we may *circumire*, and yet not *aberrare;* Paul became a Jew that he might gain the Jews, but he did not become a sinner that he might gain sinners: he was made all things to all men, but he was not made sin to any; that is, his condecensions were such as did well consist with his Christian integrity.

Greatnesses, and honours, and riches, and scepters, those glorious temptations that so much inamour the doting world, are too poor shrines for such a sacrifice as conscience, which the politician hath so much abused by an inveterate neglect, that it is become menstruous and ephemerall.

PRINCIPLE VII.

If the Politician find Reason to impose Oaths, let them be of such Ambiguity as may furnish with a Scene obliging to the Design, and yet so soft as the People may not feel the Snare.

It appears by sad experience, that in propounding of oaths, requiring promises, and other solemn ties, there have been multitudes induced to bind themselves upon some secret loos and mental reservation, which they have framed to themselves as a salvo in case of breach, so apt we are in affairs of greatest importance, to advise more with corrupt wit than sound conscience.

In the catalogue of self-delusions, you may possibly find these:

1. We are ready to intercept[*] the words too kindly, especially if they be ambiguous; and 'tis hard to find terms so positive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or seem to us to be so, if we be disposed.

2. Some are invited to illicite promises, *quâ illicit*, because they know them to be valid.

3. Some are frighted into these bonds by threats, and losses, and temporal concernments, and then they please themselves that they swear by duress, and so are disingaged.

4. Some are oath-proof; I mean there are such sear-soul'd men as will swear pro and con.

Some have learned from the civilians, that though we swear to a thing not materially unlawful, yet if it impedes a greater moral good, it becomes void.

Some take liberty to swear, because they judge the person to whom they swear incapable of an oath: As Cicero defends the breach of an oath to a thief from perjury; and Brutus to a tyrant.

The first sort of these falls most properly under the notice and practice of our politician, though he may also use the last, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to cast his desire into such soft, glib expression, as will down with most: Yea, with many that would absolutely disavow the same thing in rough language, if he be unskill'd in this black art, I commend him to the pædagogy of the Delphick Devil.

Now it is most certain, there is no other tye of such security and establishment to a person that hath ravished greatness and acquired it by violence. Usurpation hath only these two pillars, its own arms and militia, and public oath and acknowledgment; and it is scarce worth query whether, when the gross of a nation is thus bound, the oath be not as valid, and the conscience as much concerned, as if it had been sworn to a lawful prince. It is reasonable that an usurping power cannot, upon any prudent

[*] Qu. *Interpret?*

persuasion, have the same confidence in the love of the people that a just hath: Nor is the following government inticing as Tacitus notes, *Nec quisquam imperium malis artibus quæsitum bene administravit.* The same with Guazzo, where one objecting the vices of princes, receives this answer, *Perchè non erano Prencipi per natura, ma per violenza, et erano più temuti che amati:* and therefore, if the politician can by the blessed means forementioned gain a superiority, there is no trusting to those ingenious guards, his own goodness and the love of others: His best defence is awe and fear, and scaffold and gibbet, and the like. For he that hath no voluntary room in the hearts of his people, must use all means to gain a coercive.

For his own promises, he puts them into the same bottomless bag which the poets say Jupiter made for lovers asseverations: His word is as good as his oath, for they are both trifles, as it is in Plautus,

———Pactum non pactum est, non pactum pactum est, cum illis lubet.

'Twas he that first invented that useful distinction of a lip-oath and a heart-oath; you may find him in Euripides,

Jurata lingua est, mente juravi nihil.

He makes good use of that in Plutarch,

That children are to be cousen'd with rattles, and men with oaths.

'Tis an huge advantage that man hath in a credulous world, that can easily say and swear to any thing; and yet withall so palliate his falsifications and perjuries, as to hide them from the conusance of most. The politician must be furnished with handsome refuges, that may seemingly heal miscarriages this way. He need not spend much time in inquiry after such helps, these declining ages will abundantly furnish his invention.

Colasterion.

An oath is in itself a religious affirmation, a promise with God's seal, and therefore it concerns Christians to be cautious before swearing, to swear liquidly, and to observe conscionably: 'Tis pity such slender evasions should satisfy us, as have been scorn'd by heathens. We are bound (says one of them) to the sense of the imposer, or else we do ψευδος εν; we are bound to the performance of what we have thus sworn, or else we do επιορκειν: 'Tis much that a moral conscience should more check them than a clearer light can awe us: As if they more honoured the genius of a Cæsar, than we revere the presence of a God, or else we should never engage in new protestations, that do interfere, yea, and sometimes positively quarrel with old. They had their θεοι επιόρκιοι their perjury-revenging gods, to whose vindictive powers they referred their offenders: They punished such as swore falsly by their prince with fustigation; but such as abused their gods were left to the disposal of their injured deities, as if they were at a loss how to find a punishment equal to the sin. Hear how soberly Plato mentions it (out of the noble commentator upon Philostratus) *En tautes manieres sà estè un fort belle ordinance et institution, de n'user point du nom des Dieux Legerement, de peur de Les contaminer; carla majestè des dieux ne se doit imployer, qu' en un saincte et venerable puretè.* See what real honour to their counterfeit gods: Let us have a care that we ascribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Our God hates every false oath: It appears in his severity to Zedekiah, for breaking covenant with the Babylonian monarch, though a tyrant of the first magnitude.

Were all subjects duly solicitous about the weight of this bond, we should be less

prone to take, and more studious to observe it; I remember the scholiast upon Aristophanes, derives ἕρκος παρὰ τὸ εἴργω, τὸ συγκλείω, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἕρκος, ὅτι εἴργει τὸν ἑρκόμενον. It hedges in, and shuts up a man, and ties his hands behind him; I know not how some conquerors may cut this knot with the sword; or how some Sampsons may shake off these cords; or what gaps the licentious may make in this hedge; but such as value God, or heaven, or prince, or peace, can discover it no way better than in a sincere use of so divine an ordinance.

There can be no certain rule given when to believe and when not, what such as are, or would be great, please to inculcate to us: I find more wracks upon the rock of credulity: and 'tis no heresy to affirm, that many have been saved by their infidelity.

PRINCIPLE VIII.

Necessity of State is a very competent Apology for the worst of Actions.

It has been observed, that in all innovations and rebellions (which ordinarily have their rise from pretences of religion, or reformation, or both) the breach and neglect of laws hath been authorised by that great patroness of illegal actions—Necessity.

Now the politician is never without such an advocate as this; for he cares not to distinguish whether the necessity be of his own creating or no, as for the most part it is, being indeed an appendix to the wrong he undertakes; and signifies no more, than that he is compelled to cover wrong with wrong, as if the commission of a second sin were enough to justify the first.

He changes that old charitable advice——*Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegito nè perpluant*, into *vitia vitiis aliis pertegito nè perpluant:* That so heaping one crime upon another, the latter may defend the former from the stroke of justice.

He adores that maxim in Livy, *Justum est bellum quibus necessarium et pia arma quibus in armis spes est:* It were very incongruous to desire that man to leave his crutch that cannot walk without; 'tis no less unnatural to invite him to quit his sword, whose life and fortune leans intirely upon it.

If he can insinuate the scope of the war to be legal, a little dawbing will serve to legallize the circumstances: That of the civilians must be remembred——*Licere in bello quæ ad finem sunt necessaria*, the oracles of the gown are too tender for sword-men; and it may be he had wit in his anger who affirmed that martial-law was as great a solecism as martial peace. Victor. *de Jure belli*, nu. 18, 39.

If the people be once possessed that his aim and intention is fair, they will never expect that the media for the attainment of his end should be retrenched by the strict boundaries of law: He manages that rule very practically, *Rem alienam, ex quâ certum mihi periculum eminet, citrà culpæ alienæ considerationem invadere possum;* now he can very plausibly make this *periculum, certum*, or *incertum*, as shall best suit with his affairs.

'Tis a broad liberty that Grotius concedes, *Quare si vitam aliter servare non possum, licet mihi vi qualicunque arcere eum, qui eam impetit, licet peccato vacet; et hoc ex jure quod mihi pro me naturæ concedit.* When life, and liberty, and safety come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pittiful or cruel, honourable or dishonourable: Now when the people have, according to his desire, got over the great obstacle, and digested the plot for pious, it is easy to set all future proceedings upon the score of liberty, safety, and religion: and if he be constrained to use means grossly unlawful, 'tis but to make them seem holy in the application, and all's well; for it is the humour and genius of the vulgar, when they have once rush'd into a party

implicitly, to prosecute it as desperately as if they were under demonstrative convictions of its justice.

Finally, he must make a virtue of necessity, because there is no other virtue will so easily be induced to serve his proceedings as this; she may well smile upon licentiousness, who hath herself no law.

Colasterion.

Let that great rule be received, that no man can be necessitated to sin: Our divines generally damn an officious lye; and the equity binds from any officious sin.

It would soon cut the nerves of the eighth commandment, if necessities and urgencies, though real, were pronounced a sufficient excuse for stealing. But that which our politician calls necessity is no more than necessity of convenience, nor so much, except we interpret that convenience which may favour his own ends, and so is convenient for his design. He uses necessity as the old philosophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpose; that was their refuge for ignorance, this is his sanctuary for sin.

Those civilians that are most charitable to necessity, make it no plea at all except it be absolute and insuperable; as by the Platonic laws only those persons are allowed to drink at their neighbour's well, that had in vain sought a spring by digging fifty cubits deep in their own ground. We allow the disburdening of a ship in imminent peril of wreck; but this will not excuse those who, upon a fond or feigned provision of a state tempest, shall immediately cast law and conscience over-board; discard and quit rudder and steerage, and so assist the danger they pretend to fear.

Pausanius tells of a chapel in Acrocorinth, dedicated to Necessity and Violence: those twin-goddesses may be fit objects for the worship of heathens, but 'tis pitty they should be so much adored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamental deceit lies in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid propositions are made to us, before they have passed those scrutinies and severe enquiries they deserve; or been examined by the test of God's word and national laws: All the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity we first granted; according to the antient philosophic maxim, Ἐνὸς Ἀξίωτι δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ συμβαίνειν.

PRINCIPLE IX.

The Politician must wave all Relations, both Sacred and Civil, and swim to his Design, though in a Sea of Blood.

Such as study to be great by any means must by all means forget to be good; and they that will usurp dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of tyrants, a lust after greatness.

Upon Livy, l. 2. c. 3. *Thebe maritum Timoleon fratrem Cossius filium hoc jure interfecere.*

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis begins one of the decads; that the walls of Rome were cemented with blood, is known and commended by Machiavel: Although the superstructure was brave, yet if we search the foundation, we shall find it laid in the red ruins of her wasted neighbours: That the first founder became a fratricide upon reason of state, to guard his new conquest by freedom from a competitor is not only vindicated from cruelty, but asserted to be a piece of meritorious policy: Nor did this happen to the city in its structure alone, but after in its reparation, when the sons of Brutus were sacrificed to the design of their father: So that Rome was not only nursed

with blood, but after growth and ripeness, she sustained herself, lived, and thrived upon *Magna et sanguinolenta latrocinia;* so that our politician can scarce want examples in the applauded actions of this city, to patronize the most crimson and skarlet sin that ambition can prompt.

He admires the generosity of Nero's mother, who is reported to have said of her son, Ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω. Let my son be my murderer, so he may be a monarch: According to the advice of an high-spirited fury, *Pro regno velim patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare, imperia pretio quolibet constant bene:* An empire cannot be purchased too dear, though it cost the blood of millions.

He is much taken with the gallantry of the Mammalukes, who abused the easiness of the Egyptian sultan, and wore the supremacy three hundred years upon the length and keenness of an usurping sword.

And rather than want a bongrace, he commends the Ottoman wisdom, for the Great Turk rivets himself to the imperial chair with the bones of his murdered brethren. Aspiring desires are not only insatiate, but admit of any sin that will promote their ends: See Bassianus murdering his brother Geta in his mothers arms; Andronicus strangling his cousin Alexius, lest he should have a part in the empire that had right to all: See Cæsar slighting the oaths by which he had obliged his obedience to the Roman senate.

Finally, Ambition knows no confinement, nothing so sacred but it violates. The gods must bow and yield to it, as *Tertullian, Id negotium sine Deorum injuriâ non est,* In Apologet. *eadem strages mœnium et templorum, tot sacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophæa tot de Diis quot de gentibus triumphi.*

Colasterion.

The Italian politician seems to intimate a scruple, when he says,—*Si jus violandum est, regnandi causâ violandum est,* his (if) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeal to the bar of nature or divinity, though possibly the entire assertion may have something of truth, yet we shall find that wicked (if) absolutely banished.

'Tis true, we may more justly pitty him that swallows a bait fair and glistering, than a person that tempts temptations to deceive him, or catches at flies and trifling allurements, because in the first case a greater reluctance is requisite, and the dart may possibly be so sharp as to pierce through the armour of a sober resolution; but all this will little succour him, who knows it to be a bait, and hath before-hand designed its beauty and fairness, to apologize for the foulness of the sin: for here the greatness of the temptation will not at all extenuate the grossness of the crime, no more than he mitigates his robbery, who shall plead that he stole nothing but gold and jewels.

The world is much mistaken in the value of a scepter or crown; we gaze upon its brightness, and forget its brittleness; we look upon its glory, and forgets its frailty; we respect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But if all those gay things which we fondly fancy to ourselves were really to be found in greatness, yet still he pays too dear that pawns his heaven for it; he that thus buys a short bliss, gives not twenty, or an hundred years purchase, but (if mercy prevents not) eternity.

It will be little advantage here to introduce the example of a Roman, or Turk, or Christian, if unlawful; such presidents may baffle the vulgar, (in whose creed you may insert what you please,) but will be very cold answers when we appear before a severe tribunal: It concerns us rather to observe how ambition claims kindred with every other vice; stoopes, and takes up every sin lies in its way; and, if upon inquiry, we find it to be indeed such a complicated mischief, it will become us studiously to shun it ourselves, and seriously to detest it in others.

PRINCIPLE X.

A general Innovation, contributes much to the Growth and Security of Usurpation.

We may receive this as a tradition, handed to us from the great patriarch of policy, attested by the practice of the subtilest times; I presume it may be grounded upon these or the like persuasions:

1. Because such an innovation raises the dust, and begets a cloud for the main design; for when the waters are troubled 'tis hard to see the bait.

2. Because the parenthesis betwixt an old and new government flatters the hopes of all parties, soothing those desires that are for a relapse into the old, and yet incouraging those that wish for the establishment of a new.

3. Because when all things are reduced into a chaos and rude heap; when all the lines and lineaments of the former government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old sooner forgotten: For, suppose a kingdom made a lump without shape and void, and it is like *materia prima*, prone to imbrace any form: When an instrument is distuned you may set it to what key you please; and he that cannot sometimes loosen the strings, will never make good musick upon Synesius his harp.

4. Because by new moulding of jurisdictions and offices of state, there may be a fair opportunity offered of gratifying those that have served us; and for others its very familiar to see some stubborn and rigid opiniators, who have continued long unshaken, either by threat or argument, at length to surrender their principles, and bow the knee before the Dagon of honour and riches; such is the flexanimous power of golden eloquence, as it is in the adage, *την Αρετην και την σοφίαν νικῶσι χειλῶναι.*

Besides, we can find no better way to breed an absolute dependence, and make others adhere to our fortunes, than by winding the concernments of other men upon the same bottom with our interest; we may observe this from the practice of great favourites, who always delight in those props, and are careful to set their whole tribes in the sunshine of favour.

5. Because such a general de-ordination gives a taste and relish to the succeeding government, though in itself not so delectable; for Aristotle notes, that democracy is better than anarchy.

There are many other advantages to be made by a due improvement of those turbid intervals; as the occasion of subdividing and parcelling out your great end; for by this means they which refused to close with it in gross, will receive it in retail; and having entertained some portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole will be by degrees quieted and appeased.

Besides, when all things are ruffled and confused, it is then the devil's holiday, and therefore our work-day: The noise is so loud that it drowns the voice of the law, and there may be some truth in his waggery, who said, that such as mean to commit a rape upon the body-politic must put out the laws, as others upon a like occasion use to put out the lights.

Finally, if we ever hope to sin with impunity, to usurp prosperously, or to govern arbitrarily, we must take out that lesson in Plautus,

Idem facere, quod plurimi alii, quibus res timida aut turbida est pergunt turbare usque, ut ne quid possit conquiescere.

Colasterion.

'Tis most certain, that sinister ends are promoted by innovations, but it lies in our bosoms to promote or quench the innovations themselves, which we can no way better do, than by a strict adherence to the laws, for as long as we maintain them they will maintain us; if we observe these, it will rescue us from the hands of state novellists, for we are not fit for their turns, till we are cross-byassed with faction.

As a caution against changes in government, give me leave to repeat what was long since told us by an ingenious lord (Faulkland) that all great mutations are dangerous, even where what is introduced by that mutation is such as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation; and it is none of the least dangers of change, that all the perils and inconveniences which it brings cannot be foreseen, and therefore such as make title to wisdom will not undergo great dangers but for great necessities.

But further let me appeal to general experience, yea, let me ask the (reader) if thou hast never before heard or read of a nation that was once the gaze and envy of its neighbours; and yet being insensible of its happiness, or possessed with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has closed with pretended friends and real enemies, and gladly contributed to its own ruin.

So apt men are to catch at the shadow, though they hazard the substance: We may guess at the moral of the frogs in the fable, who could find no satisfaction in a still prince, and were after forced to abide the severities of a tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be such distempers in a state as shall necessarily require amendment, let it be done with the pruning-hook of the law, and not with the sword of violence; for I never read, that illegal, or tumultuous, or rebellious, were fit epithets for reformation: And 'tis fit Christians should forbear the use of such surly physick, till they have levied a fine in the court of heaven, and cut off the intail of the seventh beatitude.

This may suffice to reveal in some measure, *arcanum ambitionis, ὑπερηφανίας μυστήριον.* I could add much more, but that I judge it a fitter task for our nephews, when pens shall be infranchised.

And now (reader) let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever banish this cursed policy out of Europe, and the whole Christian world, and damn it down to hell, from whence originally it came, and let such as delight to abuse others think of that self-cousenage, with which in the intrim they abuse themselves, God permitting the devil to revenge the imposture. And whilst we are busy with politic stratagems, and tortious arms to invade the rights of others, let us also consider that this is not the violence which takes heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily orations, that God would guard our pulpits from such boutefeus as, like Etna and Vesuvius, belched out nothing but flames and fiery discourses, using the scripture as preposterously and impertinently, as some pontificians, who, transported with the vehemence of Hildebrandian zeal, think the temporal monarchy of popes sufficiently scriptural, from the saying of Christ to Peter, *Pasce oves.* Far be it from us to intitle the spirit of God to exorbitant doctrines; it is easy to distinguish the vulture from the dove. The miscarriages of the clergy have a deeper stain from the sacredness of their functions, as probably he that invenomed the Euchrist has the more to answer for his triple crown.

It is manifest that we are fallen into the dregs of time; we live in the rust of the iron age, and must accordingly expect to feel *Ultima senescentis mundi delria,* the dotages of a decrepid world; what is become of truth, sincerity, charity, humility,

those *antiqui mores,* whither are they gone? Did they attend Astrea into heaven? and have left such degenerous successors as cruelty, pride, fraud, envy, oppression, &c. such qualities as abundantly justify the worst of Heathens, and dishonour the name of Christians: I think it may safely be affirmed, that if a new *Europæ speculum* were sincerely written, it might be contracted into this short summary:

Novi ego hoc seculum quibus moribus sit; Malus bonum, malum esse vult, ut sit sui similis; turbant, miscent, mores mali; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, sacrum prophanum, publicum privatum habebit; Hiulca Gens, &c.

That Eternal Majesty, which raised so brave a fabrick out of such indisposed materials, that wields the world with his finger ever since it was made, that controuls the wave, and checks the tumult of the people, that sits above, and laughs at the malignant councils and devices of wicked men, let his mercy be implored for the speedy succour of his distressed church, that the rod of Aaron may blossom, that the tabernacle of David may be raised, that the subtle may be caught in their own snares; and that the result of all afflictions may be the greatning his glory, and exalting of his scepter.

A Character of England, as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Nobleman of France.

London, printed for Jo. Crooke; and are to be sold at the Ship in St Paul's-yard, 1659. 12mo. 66 pages.

This is a lively satire upon the fashionable vices predominant in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, and has been found useful to the commentators on dramatic authors, as throwing much light upon private life at the period. Whether the piece be actually translated from the French, as it bears, the editor is unable to ascertain, but he is inclined to doubt the existence of the pretended original.

To the Reader.

When I first chanced upon this severe piece, and had read it in the language it was sent me, I was so much concerned with the honour of our country, that it was my resolution to suppress the publication of our shame, as conceiving it an act of great humanity; but, upon second and more impartial thoughts, I have been tempted to make it speak English, and give it liberty, not to reproach, but to instruct our nation, remembring what the wise man hath said, "Open rebuke is better than secret love." Prov. 27. 5. The truth is, I cannot say but the particulars are most of them very home; and which we no way evade, without acknowledging, at least, that the gentleman (whoever he were) made notable use of his time; but best of all, by setting upon effectual redresse of what is amiss; and though I doubt not but one might easily retort

in as many instances upon defects as great (if not greater) of that nation: for he that finds fault had need be perfect, yet were it then fittest to do it, and to revenge this charitable office when we shall have first reformed ourselves.

Farewell.

A Character of England, &c.

My Lord,

You command me to give you a minute account of what I have observed, and how I passed that little time which I lately spent in England, a country whose character you so greatly desire to be informed of, in a conjuncture (as you rightly deduce) of so strange a vicissitude and wonderful alterations; and to whom, my lord, should I more readily submit? First, encouraged to make this excursion by your lordship, as who had formerly beheld and so much admired the splendor and magnificence of this court and kingdom in its greatest acme and lustre. But, my lord, I cannot imagine that you should esteeme me either of years or capacity to inform you, whose judgement is so mature, and correspondence so universal, as that there is nothing which can escape your cognizance, not only in that island, but in all the world besides. But since you oblige me not to dip into the transactions of state, the effects of providence, time, notices of a superior orbe, and in which you cannot be instructed by so weak an instrument as your servant; and demand only the little remarks of my hasty and desultory peregrination; though I cannot pretend to improve your lordship's knowledge, yet I may hope to give it diversion, and an essay of my obedience.

It must be avowed, that England is a sweet and fertill country;

Terra potens armis, atque ubere gleba:

that the fields, the hills, and the vallies, are perpetually clad with a glorious and agreeable verdure; that her provisions are plentifull, her staples important, and her interest very considerable; not omitting the most beautifull ladies, I had almost said, of the world, but for a just respect due to the illustrious circles of our court, where the beauties of conversation so far transcend the tinctures of lillies and roses. But these, my lord, are not the memoires which you demand. I will therefore hasten to my post.

After a short passage from Calais, we came ashore at Dover, where the people of the town entertained us with such suspicious and forbidding countenances, whispering, and stiff postures, that I should never have believed so great a difference in the addresses of two nations could have been produced by so short a trajection, and in a port continually accustom'd to the faces of strangers, had not the contrary humors of our contiguous neighbours, the Spaniards, made it possible in so many pleasant instances. But I was amazed, when we had taken post, and scarce out of the village, at the acclamations of the boys, running after and affrighting our horses, hooting and crying out, 'French dogs, French dogs, a mounser, mounser!' by a particular expression of welcome, which other people would interpret derision: But in this triumph, (though somewhat late ere we set out of Dover) we attained as far as Rochester the first night, where, how new a thing it appeared to me, to see my confident host set him down cheek by joul by me, belching and puffing tobacco in my face, you may easily imagine; and that the gentlemen who lodge at their innes entertain themselves in their

company, and are much pleased with their impertinencies.[1] Arrived at the metropolis of civility, London, we put ourselves in coach with some persons of quality, who came to conduct us to our lodging; but neither was this passage without honour done to us, the kennel dirt, squibs, roots, and rams hornes, being favours which were frequently cast at us by the children and apprentices, without reproofe; civilities, that in Paris a gentleman as seldome meets withall as with the contests of car-men, who in this town domineer in the streets, o'rethrow the hell-carts, (for so they term the coaches) cursing and reviling at the nobles:[2] you would imagine yourself amongst a legion of devils, and in the suburbs of hell. I have greatly wondered at the remissness of the magistrate, and the temper of the gentlemen, and that of the citizens, who subsist onely upon them, should permit so great a disorder, rather joyning in the affronts, then at all chastizing the inhumanity. But these are the naturall effects of parity, popular libertinism, and insulary manners.

I find, as you told me, my lord, London to be a town so nobly situated, and upon such a river, as Europe certainly shews not a more usefull and agreeable; but with all this, a city consisting of a wooden, northern, and inartificiall congestion of houses; some of the principall streets so narrow, as there is nothing so deformed and unlike, than the prospect of it at a distance, and its *assymetrie* within the walls. Their fountains, which are the pride and grace of our streets, and plentifully supplied in this city, are here immur'd to secure the waters from, I know not what, impurities; but certainly it does greatly detract from the beauty of the carfours, and intercepts the view.

Amongst the pieces of modern architecture, I have never observed above two which were remarkable in this vast city: the portico of the church of St Pauls, and the banqueting house at Whitehall; of which I remember to have heard your lordship speak: but you would be amaz'd at the genious of this age, that should suffer this goodly and venerable fabrick to be built about, and converted into raskally warehouses, and so sordidly obscur'd and defac'd, that an argument of greater avarice, malice, meanness, and deformity of mind, cannot possibly be expressed. Nothing here of ornament, nothing of magnificence, no publique and honourable works, such as render our Paris, and other cities of France, renowned and visited by all the world, emulating even Italy herself, for her palaces, uniform and conspicuous structures. But, a! how loathsome a Golgotha is this Pauls! I assure your lordship, that England is the sole spot in the world, where, among Christians, their churches are made jakes and stables, markets and tipling houses; and where there were more need of scorpions, than thongs, to drive out the publicans and money-changers: in sum, where these excellent uses are pretended to be the marks of piety and reformation.[3]

[1] It was a part of mine host's accomplishments to be able to entertain his guests with politics, music, or diverting conversation. In one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays we have the following passage:—

> *Darlaus.* I cannot sleep yet—where's the jovial host
> You told me of? It has been my custom ever
> To parley with mine host.
> *Cleander.* He's a good fellow,
> And such a one I know you love to laugh with.
>
> *The Lover's Progress.*

Mine Host of the Garter in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and Blague of the George in the Merry Devil of Edmonton, are both landlords of this social description, who relied as much on entertaining the company with their humour as with their good cheer: Nor was the custom altogether extinct in Scotland till very lately.

[2] It may be presumed the late triumphs of republicanism had increased this barbarous licence.

[3] During the time of the civil war, and until the Restoration, St Paul's cathedral remained in a most desolate condition; part of the interior was converted into saw-pits, and the rest occupied as horse-barracks for Cromwell's guards.

I had sometimes the curiosity to visite the several worships of these equivocal Christians and enthusiasts. But I extreamely wondered to find those whom they call Presbyterians, and that would imitate us of the religion in France and Geneva, to have their discipline so confused and different. In this remarke, my lord, to be somewhat more particular, you will not be displeased, because it was a thing you so much recommended to my especiall notice. Form they observe none; they pray and read without method, and indeed without reverence or devotion: I have beheld a whole congregation sit on their ——, with their hats on, at the reading of the psalms, and yet bareheaded when they sing them. In divers places they read not the scriptures at all, but up into the pulpit, where they make an insipid, tedious, and immethodical prayer, in phrases, and a tone so affected and mysterious, that they give it the name of canting, a tearm by which they do usually express the gibbrish of beggars and vagabonds: after which there follows the sermon (which for the most part they read out of a book) consisting (like their prayers) of speculative and abstracted notions, and things, which nor the people nor themselves well understand: but these they extend to an extraordinary length, and Pharisaical repetitions: and well they may, for their chaires are lined with prodigious velvet cushions, upon which they loll and talk, till almost they sleep; I am sure, till their auditors do.

The minister uses no habit of distinction or gravity; but steps up in *querpo;* and when he laies by his cloak (as I have observed some of them) he has the action rather of a thrasher than a divine. This they call taking pains, and indeed it is so to those that hear them: but this they have now encouraged every pert mechanick to invade, affront, and out-preach them; and, having uncancell'd all manner of decency, prostituted both their persons and function to usurpation, penury, and derision, you may well imagine, by the manners of the people, and their prodigious opinions, that there is no cathechism nor sacraments duly administered: the religion of England is preaching and sitting still on Sundaies. How they baptise I know not, because the congregation is dismissed, and they agree in no form; and for the other sacraments, no man gives or receives alike; and it is so seldome done in remembrance of Christ, that in some parishes, I have heard, they can hardly remember when they received it. Generally I have no where seen goodlier outsides of churches; what they are inside I cannot so well say, for their temples are as fast as was that of Janus after the first Punick war, unless it be upon Sundaies, when they blow the brazen trumpet of sedition, not the silver ones of the tabernacle. I have discoursed with some concerning this sealing their churches in the week-dayes; they are ready to retort upon us in France, not considering that our churches are solitary, and in some places many leagues distant from the towns, that we are under a persecution, and so necessitated to omit the publique morning and evening sacrifice, which I remember to have heard severall of our divines deplore the defect of; as of many other decencies, which, here, they can have no pretence against. But such of their churches as I have frequented, were dammed up with pues, every three or four of the inhabitants sitting in narrow pounds or pulpits by themselves; for they are all turned preachers now. In short, there is nothing more unlike to our reformed churches in France, and, I think, in all Europe beside; the apprehension of popery, or fondness to their own imaginations, having carried them so far to the other extream, that they have now lost all moderation and decorum. And I have been herein, my lord, the more industrious to inform myself of each particular, because it seems yet to be the religion of the state. Some of their own party I have heard deplore this confusion, but certainly they themselves gave the first occasion to these monstrous liberties, by a rigid and uncharitable discipline, primarily (it seems) introduced by the Scots, and so refined upon by these, as there are few or none that will submit to the tyranny; but every one takes his own course, and has protection for it. Some well-

natured, abused men I have met withall amongst them; but, if I mistake not, for the greater ingredient, ambitious, ignorant, over-weening, sower, and uncharitable, *ne quid asperius*, combining with the interest of the times, and who, to render themselves powerfull, have, in compliances with the spirituall pride of the mechanicks and corporations, conniv'd at those many and prodigious schismes and heresies, which are now spawn'd under them in such numbers as give terrour to the state. I omit to tell your lordship, that few take notice of the Lords Prayer; it is esteemed a kind of weakness to use it, but the Creed and the Decalogue are not once heard of in their congregations; this is milke for babes, and these are all giants. They do frequently solemnize their late nationall deliverances, and some daies of Christian blood-shed, with all possible severity: but they think it gross idolatry to joyn with the whole Christian church of all professions under heaven, in the anniversaries of our blessed Saviour's incarnation, passion, resurrection, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, spirituall, eternall, and never-to-be-forgotten mercies. Would your lordship believe that this madnesse should advance so far, as to disturbe the French-church there, which, you know, does in all places observe those signall deliverances and blessings, both by preaching, prayer, sacrament, and exhortations, apposite to the occasion? What think you will be the issue of this goodly reformation? I could tell you of the mysterious classes of the Fryers; their ridiculous, insidiary, and presumptuous questions; their unheard of animosities against their brethren of the church of England, suffering themselves to be rather torn in sunder by the sectaries, Demetrius, and the crafts-men, whilst they contend about trifles and meer shadows.

Concerning the independents, all I can learn is, they are a refined and apostate sort of presbyters, or rather such as renounce all ordinations, or who, having preached promiscuously to the people, and cunningly ensnared a select number of rich and ignorant proselytes, separate themselves into conventicles, which they name congregations. There is nothing does more resemble this sect than our Roman missionaries sent out *in partibus infidelium*, for they take all other Christians to be heathens. These are those great pretenders to the spirit, into whose party does the vilest person living no sooner adscribe himself, but he is *ipso facto*, dub'd a saint, hallow'd and dear to God. These are the confidents who can design the minute, the place, and the means of their conversion, a schism full of spiritual disdain, incharity and high imposture, if any such there be on earth: but every alteration of state destroying the interest of the versatile contrivers, they are as ready to transmigrate into the next more thriving fraternity, as the souls of Pythagoras into beasts, and may then perhaps assume some other title. This is a sad but serious truth, and no little menaces the common Christianity, unless timely prevented. But, sir, I will no longer tire your patience with these monsters (the subject of every contemptuous pamphlet) than with the madness of the anabaptists, quakers, fifth monarchy men, and a cento of unheard of heresies besides; which at present deform the once renowned church of England, and approach so little the pretended reformation, which we in France have been made to believe that there is nothing more heavenly wide. But I have dwelt too long on this remarke. I returne to where I digressed; for I was viewing the buildings, which are as deformed as the minds and confusions of the people; for if a whole street be fired (an accident not unfrequent in this wooden city) the magistrate has either no power, or no care, to make them build with any uniformity, which renders it, though a large, yet a very ugly town, pestred with hackney coaches and insolent carre-men, shops and taverns noyse, and such a cloud of sea-coal, as, if there be a resemblance of hell upon earth, it is in this vulcano in a foggy day. This pestilent smoak, which corrodes the very iron, and spoils all the moveables, leaving a soot upon all things that it lights, and so fatally seizing upon the lungs of the inhabitants, that the cough and the consumption spare no man. I

have been in a spacious church where I could not discern the minister for the smoak, nor hear him for the peoples barking. There is within this city, and in all the towns of England (which I have passed through) so prodigious a number of houses where they sell a certain drink called ale, that I think a good halfe of the inhabitants may be denominated ale-house-keepers: these are a meaner sort of cabarets: but what is most deplorable, where the gentlemen sit and spend much of their time, drinking of a muddy kind of beverage and tobacco, which has universally besotted the nation, and at which (I hear) they have consumed many noble estates. As for other taverns, London is composed of them, where they drink Spanish wines, and other sophisticated liquors, to that fury and intemperance, as has often amazed me to consider it. But thus some mean fellow, the drawer, arrives to an estate, some of them having built fair houses, and purchased those gentlemen out of their possessions, who have ruined themselves by that base and dishonourable vice of ebriety. And, that nothing may be wanting to the height of luxury and impiety of this abomination, they have translated the organs out of the churches to set them up in taverns, chanting their dithyrambics and bestiall bacchanalias to the tune of those instruments which were wont to assist them in the celebration of Gods praises, and regulate the voices of the worst singers in the world, which are the English in their churches at present. I cannot but commend the reformed in Holland, who still retain their organs in their churches, and make use of them at the psalms, without any opinion of superstition; and I once remembred to have heard the famous Diodati wish it might be introduced even at Geneva,—a great errour undoubtedly in those who sit at the helme to permit this scandal, to suffer so many of these taverns and occasions of intemperance, such leaches and vipers, to gratifie so sordid and base a sort of people with the spoils of honest and well natured men. Your lordship will not believe me that the ladies of greatest quality suffer themselves to be treated in one of these taverns, where a curtezan in other cities would scarcely vouchsafe to be entertained: but you will be more astonish't when I shall assure you that they drink their crowned cups roundly, strain healths through their smocks, daunce after the fiddle, kiss freely, and tearm it an honourable treat.[1] But all this my experience, particular address, and habitudes with the greatest of that nation has assured me that it is not the passtime only of the inferiour and meretricious sort, since I find it a suppletory at all their entertainments to drink excessively, and that in their own houses before the ladies and the lacqueies: it is the afternoon diversion, whether for want of a better to employ the time, or affection to the drink, I know not; but I have found some persons of quality whom one could not safely visit after dinner without resolving to undergo this drink ordel,[2] and endure the question: it is esteemed a piece of wit to make a man drunk, for which some willing insipid client or congiarie is a frequent and constant adjutant. Your Lordship may hence well imagine how heavy, dull, and insignificant the conversation is; loud, querulous, and impertinent. I shall relate a story that once happened at a gentleman's house in the countrey, where there was much company and feasting. I fortuned to come at dinner-time, and after the cloth was taken away (as the manner is) they fell to their laudable exercise: but I, unacquainted then with their custome, was led up into a withdrawing roome, where I had the permission (with a noble person who introduced me) to sit and converse with the ladies, who were thither retired; the gentleman of the house leaving us in the mean time, to entertain his friends below. But you may imagine how strangely I was astonished to see, within an hour after, one of the company that had dined there, entring

[1] From this it would seem that the license of the old comedies had its foundation in the manners of the time, even during the reign of fanaticism.

[2] In France they give a certain torture to malefactors, by pouring such a quantity of water into their mouths, which they call giving the question, and by translation drink-ordell.—*Orig. Note.*

into the room all bloody and disordered, to fetch a sword which lay in one of the windowes, and three or four of his companions, whom the fumes of wine had inspirited, pursuing and dragging him by the hair, till, in this confusion, one of their spurs engaging into a carpet, upon which stood a very fair looking-glass, and two noble pieces of porslain, drew all to the ground, break the glass and the vases in pieces; and all this on such an instant, that the gentleman and myself had much to do to rescue the affrighted ladies from suffering in the tumult, but at last we prevailed and brought them to tearms, the quarrell concerning an health onely, which one of them would have shifted. I don't remember, my lord, ever to have known (or very rarely) a health drank in France, no not the kings; and if we say, *Al vostre sante, monsieur*, it neither expects pledge or ceremony. 'Tis here so the custome to drink to every one at the table, that by the time a gentleman has done his duty to the whole company, he is ready to fall asleep, whereas with us we salute the whole table with a single glass onely. But, my lord, was not this, imagine you, an admirable scene and very extraordinary? I confess, the lady being much out of countenance at what had hapned, profered to excuse this disorder, and I was as ready to receive it, till several encounters confirmed me that they were but too frequent, and that there was a sort of perfect debauches, who stile themselves Hectors, that, in their mad and unheard of revels, pierce their veins to quaff their own blood, which some of them have drank to that excesse, that they died of the intemperance. These are a professed atheisticall order of bravoes, composed for the most part of cadets, who, spending beyond their pensions to supply their extravagancies, practise now and then the highway, where they sometimes borrow that which they often repay at the gibbet; an ignominous trade, unheard of amongst our gallant nobless, however fortune reduce them.[1] But I

[1] The disgrace of going upon the highway did not prevent many of the gallants of the time from relieving their necessities in that manner. John Clavell, a highwayman, who, in his Recantation of an ill-led Life, professes to discover all the villanies of his profession, was a man of family, and dedicates his book to his honoured friend and ever dear and well-approved good uncle, Sir William Clavell, knight banneret.

Many of these roaring gallants about London were even ambitious of a reputation of being concerned in robberies which they never committed. The cavaliero Shift, in Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour, is a blade of this description. Clavell makes the following address to these boasters:—

> "There are some certain people (who rore well)
> That in their drunken cups are apt to tell
> Strange stories what they did, and mean to doe,
> (And they intend you should believe them too,)
> And three of them well hors'd assaulted ten,
> And rob'd them all, stout, able, monied men;
> Then will they name a summe (as large) they got,
> Heare, if you passe, that you may doubt it not:
> They will blaspheame amaine, that you were better
> Seeme to beleeve, and let them rest your debtor,
> For what they now would otherwise have sworne;
> Why are you with these idle fancies born?
> What honour is it but a foule disgrace,
> A great disfiguring to a spotless race,
> A wild, a base, a most unworthy fact,
> A poor dishonest, yea a cowardly act:
> What have you here to boast of then, but shame?
> You that are greedy of this guilt and name:
> Would you had mine to share amongst you, tho'
> I doe beleeve you nere durst act it so."—
>
> *A Recantation of an ill-ledde Life, by John Clavell, Gent. Second Edition, Lond.* 1628, 4. p. 24.

After the civil wars, the highway was frequently the refuge of the starving cavaliers, and the infamy of the crime was accounted not such as ought to deprive them of favour and sympathy, as appears from the following entry in Wood's Journal:—

"1654, July 25th.—Hussey and Peck, two gentlemen that were lately officers in the king's army, were

know not whether I might not here match these valiant heroes with an avow'd society of ladies, and some of them not of the meanest for birth (I even blush to recount it of that sex) who boast of making all advantages at play, and are become so dextrous at it, that seldome they make a sitting without design and booty. For there is here, my lord, no courtship after the decent mode of our circles; for either being mingled in a room, the gentlemen separate from the conversation of the ladies, to drink, as I before related; or else to whisper with one another at some corner, or buy-window, abandoning the ladies to goship by themselves, which is a custome so strange to a gallant of our nation, as nothing appears more barbarous and unbecoming; and this in effect must needs be the reason, that those beautiful creatures can so little furnish, that they want assurance, address, and the charming discourse of our damoiseles, which are faculties so shining and so agreeable in their sex with us in France: and, in truth, even the gentlemen themselves are greatly defective as to this particular, ill courtiers, unplyant, morose, and of vulgar address; generally not so polished, free, and serene, as is universally found even amongst the most inferiour of our nation. I am not ignorant that they impute it to a certain levity in us, but it is a mistake in them; and that because they so hardly reform it, without some ridiculous affectation, as is conspicuous in their several modes and dresses, which they vary ten times for our once, every one affecting something particular, as having no standard at court, which should give laws and do countenance to the fashion. The women are much affected with gaudry, there being nothing more frequent than to see an ancient ladie wear colours, a thing which neither young nor old of either sex do with us, save in the country and the camp; but widows at no time. And yet reprove they us for these exorbitances, but I have often disputed the case, either we do ill or well; if ill, why then do they ape us? if well, why do they reproach us? The truth is, they have no moderation, and are neither so lucky nor frugal as our ladies are in these sumptuary expenses; and whereof the magistrate takes so little cognizance, that it is not an easy matter to distinguish the ladie from the chamber-maid, servants being suffered in this brave country to go clad like their mistresses,—a thing neither decent, nor permitted in France, where they may wear neither lace nor silk.

I may not forget to acquaint your lordship that though the ladies and the gentlemen are so shy of one another, yet, when once they grow acquainted, it passes into expressions and compellations, extreamly new to our usages and the stile of our country. Do but imagine how it would become our ladies to call Mons. N. Jack N. What more frequent than this? Tom P. was here to-day. I went yesterday to the Cours[1] with Will R.; and Harry M. treated me at such a tavern. These are the particular idioms and graceful confidences now in use; introduced, I conceive, at first by some comrades one with another; but it is mean and rude, and such as our lacquais would almost disdain in Paris, where I have often observed two chimney-sweepers accost one another in better forms and civiller addresses. But to be confident and civil, not a thing so easily understood, and seems a peculiar talent of our nation.

hang'd in the castle-yard in Oxon. to the great reluctance of the generous royalists then living in Oxon. They were out of commission and employ, had no money to maintain them, which made them rob on the highway. After a tedious imprisonment in the jayle at Oxon. they were condemn'd to dye, by that inveterate enemy to the royal partie, John Glynn, serjeant at law, who this yeare went Oxford circuit.

"Hussey was the eldest, had received some marks of honour in his face, and no doubt in his body also, and died penitent. Peck, who was younger, was proper, robust, and seemed a stout man. He died resolute, and not so penitent as Hussey. As soon as they were cut downe they were carried away by some royalists, and Hussey was on the same night buried by them in the church of St Peter, in the Baylie. This was the first or second execution that A. W. ever saw, and therefore it struck a great terror into him, to the disturbance of his studies and thoughts. They were exceedingly pittied by all men."—*Life of Anthony à Wood. Oxford*, 1772. 8. p. 72.

[1] A place near Paris, like Hide-parke.—*Orig. Note.*

However, the ladies are not more obliging and familiar, than the lords are difficult and inaccessible; for, though, by reason of my birth and quality, my recommendations and addresses, I found some tollerable reception amongst them; yet, I observed that they kept at such a surly distance with the gentlemen, even of family, that methought I never beheld a ruder conversation; especially when, comparing their parts and educations, I found them generally so much inferiour, as if a lord were indeed other than a gentleman, or a gentleman not a fit companion for a king. But this must needs be the result of an ill and haughty institution; and for that most of these great persons are in their minority, and the age wherein they should be furnished with the noblest impressions, taught only to converse with their servants, some sycophants, and under the regiment of a pedant, which imprints that scornfulness and folly, and fits them with no better form, when they should produce themselves, and give testimony to others, as well of their superiority in virtue as in birth and dignity. But this is, my lord, a particular which I have heard you often complain of, and which we do frequently take notice of at their coming abroad into our countrey; where, for want of address, and fit persons to introduce them, they seldom return more refined than they came; else they could not but have observed, that there is nothing which makes the distinction of nobles in France but the title; and that his majesty himself does them the honours, which here they usurpe upon their equalls: But, my lord, they are sufficiently punished for it in England: where, to me, they appear so degenerate, for want of this humility and free conversation, by which, and their other vices, they grow now so much despised, that the gentlemen need seek no revenge; for, though (as I told you) the gentlemen are most of them very intemperate, yet the proverb goes, 'As drunk as a lord.' But, my lord, as there is no rule so generall, but it do's admit of exceptions, so should I give my own experience, as well as your lordship's, the contradiction, to make the censure universal; there being, even amongst these, some few, and, in particular, my L. N. and N. &c., whom I esteem to be very noble and accomplished persons, as who have learned (by the good fortune of a better education) how to value the conversations of worthy men, and who, indeed, do sufficiently verifie all those attributes which are due to their qualities, and, therefore, whom this paragraph doth nowaies concern.

Nor should I be less severe and unjust, totally to exclude even some of the ladies from the advantages of this period, whose perfections and vertues claim an equal right to all that I have here spoken, out of a due resentiment of their merits and excellencies.

It was frequently, during the last winter, that I was carried to their balls, as where indeed I hoped to see what should appear the most gallant and splendid amongst the ladies; nor really did my expectations deceive me, for there was a confluence of very great beauties, to which the glistring of their jewels, (which, upon these occasions, they want not) could adde nothing, saving their weight; the various habits being so particular, as if, by some strange inchantment, they had encountred, and come out of several nations. But I was astonished to see, when they were ready to move, that a dancing master had the boldness to take forth the greatest ladies, and they again the dancing master, who performed the most part of the ball, whilst the gentlemen that were present were least concerned, and stood looking on, so as it appeared to me more like the farce of a comedy at the Hostel de Bourgogne,[1] than a ball of the noblesse; and in truth, their measures, when any of them were taken out, made me somewhat ashamed to lead a lady, who did me the honor, for fear, though my skill be very vulgar in that exercise, they should have taken me for a dancing master, as who had haply imploy'd

[1] The play-house at Paris, as once ours at Black-fryers.—*Orig. Note.*

my youth so ill as to have some advantage of the rest in that faculty. This favour is particular to the dancing masters in this country; and reason good, for they ride in their coaches, and have such ample salaries as maintains both their prodigality and insolence, that were insupportable in France, where these trifling fellows do better know themselves, are worse payed, and less presumptuous. Nay, so remiss are the ladies of their respect in this instance, that they not only entertain all this, but permit themselves likewise to be invited, and often honour these impertinent fantasticks, by receiving the ball at their petty schools.

When this ceremony was ended, some of the gallants fell to other recreations, and, as far as I understood, were offering at that innocent, yet salt and pleasant diversion, which, in France, we call railliary; but so far were they from maintaining it within the decencies and laws, which both in that and our characters we observe, that in a little time they so fell upon personal abusing one another, that there was much ado to preserve the peace, and, as I heard, it was the next day the product of a quarrel and a duell.

I did frequently, in the spring, accompany my Lord N. into a field near the town, which they call Hide-Park; the place not unpleasant, and which they use as our Course; but with nothing that order, equipage, and splendor, being such an assembly of wretched jades and hackney-coaches, as, next to a regiment of carre-men, there is nothing approaches the resemblance. The Park was (it seems) used by the late king and nobility for the freshness of the air and the goodly prospect: but it is that which now (besides all other exercises) they pay for here in England, though it be free in all the world beside; every coach and horse which enters buying his mouthfull, and permission of the publicane who has purchased it, for which the entrance is guarded with porters and long staves.

The manner is, as the company returns to alight at the Spring Garden, so called in order to the Parke, as our Thuilleries is to the Course; the inclosure not disagreeable, for the soleminess of the grove, the warbling of the birds, and as it opens into the spacious walks at St James's: but the company walk in it at such a rate, as you would think all the ladies were so many Atalantas's contending with their wooers; and, my lord, there was no appearance that I should prove the Hippomenes, who could, with very much ado, keep pace with them: But as fast as they run, they stay there so long, as if they wanted not time to finish the race; for it is usuall here to find some of the young company till midnight; and the thickets of the garden seem to be contrived to all advantages of gallantry, after they have been refreshed with the collation, which is here seldome omitted, at a certain cabaret in the middle of this paradise; where the forbidden fruites are certain trifling tartes, neats-tongues, salacious meates, and bad Rhenish;[1] for which the gallants pay sauce, as indeed they do at all such houses throughout England; for they think it a peace of frugality beneath them to bargaine or accompt for what they eat in any place, however unreasonably imposed upon.[2] But thus those mean fellows are (as I told your lordship) inriched; beggar and insult

[1] In the Memoires de Gramont, Spring-garden is repeatedly mentioned as the resort of the gay and fashionable. And, among other gossips, Roger North tells of a certain deformed old gentleman called Sir P. Neal, who, they say, sate for the picture of Sidrophel in Hudibras, and about town was called the Lord Shaftesbury's groom, because he watered his mares (I forbear the vulgar word) in Hyde Park with Rhenish wine and sugar, and not seldom a bait of cheese-cakes.—*Examen. p.* 60. Even so late as the days of Le Sage, the English gallant upon the emblematical garment of the Diable Boiteux is depicted, presenting his mistress, with an air of tenderness, with a pot of ale and a pipe of tobacco. So far were the English even then deemed inferior to their continental neighbours in the rules of breeding and gallantry.

[2] The difference between the English and foreign mode of settling at a tavern is well marked in the following extract from an old play, called the Sparagus Garden, by Richard Broome:—

over the gentlemen. I am assured that this particular host has purchased, within few years, 5000 livres of annual rent; and well he may at the rates these prodigalls pay; whereas in France a gentleman esteems it no diminution to mannage even these expences with reason. But, my lord, it is now late, and time to quit this garden, and to tell you, that I think there is not a more illustrious sight in the world, than to meet the divinities of our court marching up the long walk in the Thuilleries, where the face is so stayed and grave, the encounters so regular and decent, and where those who feed their eyes with their beauties, and their ears with the charming accents of their discourse and voyces, need not those refreshments of the other senses, finding them all to be so taken up with these.

I was curious before my return, and when I had conquered some difficulties of the language and customes, to visite their judicatures; where, besides that few of those gown-men are to be compared to those of the robe in our Palais [1] for elocution, and the talent of wel speaking; so neither do they at all exceed them in the forms and colours of their pleading; but (as before I spoke of their railliary) supply the defects of the cause with flat, insipide, and grossely abusing one another; a thing so trifling and misbecoming the gravity of courts (where the lawyers take liberty to jeast mens estates away, and yet avow their avarice) that I have much admired at the temper of the judges, and their remissness in reforming it. There was a young person, whom, at my being there, was very much cried up for his abilities, and in whom I did not observe that usuall intemperance, which I but now reproved; and certainly it springs either for want of those abilities, which the municipall lawes of this nation (consisting most of them in customes like our Normandy, whose ancient dialect their books yet retain) are so little apt to furnish, or the defect of those advantages, which the more polished sciences afford us, without which it is impossible to be good orators, and to maintaine their discourses without diversion to that vile impertinency.

But what is infinitely agreeable in this country, are the bowling-greens and the races, which are really such pleasures abroad, as we have nothing approaches them in France, and which I was extreamly delighted in; but the verdure of the country and delicious downes it is which renders them this præheminence, and indeed it is to be valued, and doth, in my esteem, very much commute for the less benignity of that glorious planet which ripens our vines in France.

The horses and the doggs, their incomparable parkes of fallow deer, and lawes of chace, I extreamly approve of: but upon other occasion, all Englishmen ride so fast upon the road, that you would swear there were some enemies in the ariere; and all the coaches in London seem to drive for midwives.

But what did much more afflict me is their ceremony at the table, where every man is obliged to sit till all have done eating, however their appetites differ, and to see the

ACT III. SCENE IV.

Enter two Boyes, they cover a table, two bottles of wine, dishes of sugar, and a dish of Sparagus.

"*Gilbert.* And what's the price of this feast, boy?

Boy. *Plaist il, Monsieur?*

Gilb. What, art thou a Frenchman?

Boy. No, I took you for one, sir, to bargain for your meat before you eat it—that is not the generous English fashion—you shall know anon, sir.

Gilb. Go get you gone with your wit, and tell your prodigal fools so."—

In many parts of the continent it is still a matter of necessary precaution to bargain for your bill before you call for what you want.

[1] Where they plead, as at Westminster.

formality of the voider, which our withdrawing roomes in France are made to prevent, and might so here if they knew the use of them, to be, that every man may rise when he has dined without the least indecency, and leave the sewers to their office.

I have now but a word to add, and that is, the tediousness of visits, which they make here so long, that it is a very tyranny to sit to so little purpose. If the persons be of ladies that are strangers, it is to look upon each other, as if they had never seen any of their own kinde before; and here indeed the vertue of their sex is eminent; for they are as silent and fixt as statues; or, if they do talk, it is with censure, and sufficient confidence; so difficult it is to entertain with a grace, or to observe a mediocrity.

In summe, my lord, I found so many particulars worthy of reproof in all those remarks which I have been able to make, that, to render you a veritable account of England, as it is at present, I must pronounce with the poet,

Difficile est satyram non scribere.

FINIS.

The Art of Thriving, or the plaine Path-way to Preferment. Together with the Mystery and Misery of Lending and Borrowing. Consider it seriously, examine it judiciously, remember it punctually; and thrive accordingly. Published for the common Good of all Sorts, &c.

London, printed by T. H., for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Signe of the Talbot, in Aldersgate Street. 1635. 16 and 254 pages.

This curious and rare tract contains some valuable information concerning the private life of our ancestors in the reign of Charles I.; and is printed here, although not properly belonging to the Commonwealth tracts, rather than it should have been entirely omitted. The œconomical advices which the tract contains seem to be given between jest and earnest, but display some humour, mixed with an intimate acquaintance both with the direct and indirect arts of thriving practised in the author's time.

To the Reader.

There is a method in all arts, and a mystery, but in none more then in the art of thriving, being the very center to which all the other arts doe tend, and for which they were invented. *Magister artis venter*, and what is that but thriving? Now, in the study of this great art, you must make the world your library, and learne to read men as well as bookes: and yet, not to discourage you in the whole volume of this science, you

are to turne-over but three leaves, onely somewhat close writ, very hard to reade, and when you are once out, can hardly begin againe: Times, trades, and debts, this is that screw of a threefold twining; for if you screw not your fortunes the right way, you may turne and work your heart out, remember but that first: And let me tell you, time is the hinge of all thriving; trades are the doores on which good hopes may turn, and stand long enough: if debts, those undermining leavers of husbandry, fling not all off the hooks. Thus then thinke with yourselfe, to time a business well, and to begin businesse in time, is the very key to the door of preferment, and thinke the loss of a minute more dear than the losse of a pound; for certainly of all expences, the expence of time is the costliest: which, mindeful reader, that thou may'st reckon how, learn to prize and reckon thy time right: for, as Seneca said to Lucilius, *Quem mihi dabis qui aliquod pretium tempori ponat? qui diem estimet? qui intelligat se quotidie mori:* and therefore that made him say, in the beginning of the same epistle, to Lucilius, *Vindica te tibi*, as if a man were to be revenged upon himselfe for hasting his own death by losse of time. Now, therefore, that thou mayest know how to take and redeeme thy time, I have here set before thee a table of each minute of thy life: this is the first leafe, and now I passe to the next, having not time to speak of time.

2. All men are or would be rich; even the sluggard wisheth, though he hath not: 'Tis easie indeed to covet the top of wit or preferment, but to get up the hill, *hic labor, hoc opus;* there is a businesse indeed. The wayes to thrive are manifold, yet one good is worth all, and in effect is all: onely all the art is finding and catching it: Could Archimedes but have found footing for his mathematicall instrument, he would have done wonders:

> Give me but footing where my selfe may stand,
> From their fixt base I'le hoyst both sea and land.

Boldly spoke, and bravely meant; and questionlesse, if you could have done the one for him, he would have perform'd the other for you: Thinke not, thriftie would be, that I, by his example, enjoyn thee impossibilities, or to build castles in the ayre, but meerly to shew thee how out of nothing to produce something, and thus I apply it. Could a young man once take hold or settling in preferment, where he may but fix the instrument of his hopes, then may he easily drive the world before him, and so mount up to wealth. Now, who is able to levell to a beginner the shortest cut, or score him the very way to thrive, if he either stand in his owne light through wilfulnesse, or cut the throat, as it were, of all his hopes, through despaire of better; the foole thus concluding with himselfe, 'He that's borne under a three-penny planet shall never be worth a groat.' To him, and to him I dedicate not. What would I talke to such of promotion? But to a forward spirit, and a manly heart, prepared for industry, and to stand to his curse in paradice, I commend this my Grammar of Trades. Nor thinke, hopefull reader, I have prefixt a specious title to make the sale more oylie; I would I were dead, if I care whether you buy or burn it, onely I would have thee read and be wise, labour and be rich.

The old paradox is witty and true: *Quisque suæ fortunæ faber.* Every man sits at the very anvil or forge of his own fortune-making: now then, if you can see to strike the iron while it is hot, that is, while time and the hand of Providence hold forth the opportunity, you may make your trade; but if you linger till it be cold, it will cost you another heate. *Experto mihi credite.* Now, therefore, that no man may overslip his fortune, or be pusled for want of light to see when it is offered, or to conduct him forward when it is found, loe, here a torch held out before him, pointing the plaine high-way to preferment in all professions, trades, and arte, found out by an old traveller in

the sea of experience, *longis erroribus actus qui mores hominum, &c.*, who now stands, after all his folly and ruines, a land-marke to the generall good of others.

To the father and his sonnes, to the mother and every mother's childe, to the scholler, the apprentice, the navigator, the husbandman, the courtier, and the souldier whether in hopes or in despaire, standing, rising, or falling, I bequeath this my legacy, my looking-glasse to promotion, my Grammar of Trades.

3. And since in the voyage to promotion, lending is the rocke, and borrowing the gulfe, I have discovered them both in the end, lest your tender endeavours should tare against the one, or be swallowed up in the other. Farewell, and where you see me, if you mean to thrive, looke to yourselfe.

Thine, living and dead,
T. P.

The Art of Thriving.

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The Art of Thriving, or the plaine Path-way to Preferment.

Trinity-terme was now ended; for, by the description of the time, it could be no other parcell of the yeere. In that, the scriveners at Temple-barr had no employment but writing of blanke-bonds, and texting of bills for letting out chambers in Chancery-lane. The vintners of Fleet-street discharged their journeymen; a generall humility, more than usuall, possest the cookery of Ram Alley. The ostlers of Holborne had more than ordinary care to lay up their guests bootes, rather for feare of their slipping out of towne, than for any good observance towards them. And your country attorneys would no longer by any meanes endure the unwholesome air of an eight-penny ordinary. Every one that had wherewith to discharge his horse out of the stable strove who should first be gone. And, amongst the rest, myselfe made shift for so much money as wherewith to abate the fury of Mistrisse Overcount, mine hostesse, and so I departed likewise.

At the top of Highgate-hill I overtook a gentleman of Northamptonshire, riding homeward, whom I well knew; him I saluted cheerfully, and he received me lovingly. But, in travelling together, mee thought he was not master of that mirthful disposition which he was wont to carry along with him to shorten the way betwixt his house and London. I gave him to understand how strange and notable this alteration appeared in him; and, withall, desired to know so much of the occasion thereof as might be impartable to a friend of so small growth. To which he answered thus: Sir, I come from London, (it is true) from the terme (it is certaine true) from London and terme, (true and certaine in nothing but expences in all things) yet I would have you know, that it is neither the thunderclap of dissolving an injunction, nor the doomesday of a decree, nor counsellors fees, nor attorneys bills in a language able to fright a man out of his wits, can proscribe me my wonted mirth. It is something nearer and dearer (my dear friend) that robs me of that cheere which used to lift me up into the very spheare, where Jove himself sits to bid al his guests welcome right heartily.

I remember me of children, sixe sonnes and three daughters, of whom I am the unhappy father. In that, besides the scars which my unthriftinesse hath dinted upon their fortunes, the wounds of unequal times, and a tempestuous age approaching, are like to take away from them all way of out-living the low water ebbe of the evill day, all means of thriving by honest-paynes; study or industry are bereft them. The common upon which industry should depasture is overlaid; numerousnesse spoiles all, and poverty sells all at an under-value.

In this case, sir, what can be advised? Whereunto, I thus replyed:

Sir, I have heedfully attended you in the delivery of your perplexed thoughts, concerning the care which you have of your children, taking the true, and even levell of the declention of arts, the distent of trades and trading, the poverty of all professions,

and the distemper, not of ours onely, but of all Christian clymates at the present, tending rather to more contagion in the generall ayre, than a calmer temperament, for ought that yet appeareth. As for the storminesse of the sea of state, forraigne or domesticke, let us leave the greater and lesser vessels that be exposed to it unto the proper pylates, masters, and marriners, who have the charge to attend the line, or plye at the tackle; we are but poore passengers, and may assure ourselves to partake in their boone voyage, if they succeed well, as they may be certaine to suffer in the same shipwracke with us, if we miscarry. I addresse me to give you the best advise I can touching the preferment of your sixe sonnes and three daughters, in manner following:

It is true, in most gentlemen, and very likely in you as in others, living only upon the revenue of lands, that the height of their husbandry amounts to no more than to cleere the last halfe yeeres booking, and borrowing at the rent day, that their credit may hold up and keepe reputation till the next ensuing that againe.

When you dye, the eldest son claimes the inheritance of what you leave, thanke God and nature for it, your selfe least of all, and your fatherly providence never a whit.

If you take some course in your lifetime to make the rest of your children some small portions or estates out of the whole of your lands, it is tenne to one but you destroy both him and them by that meanes.

For the heire commonly striving to uphold the reputation of his ancestors, he abates nothing of his fathers accustomed expences towards the raising of those portions or estates so deducted. And they, on the other side, presume so much upon the hope thereof, that no profession will fit them. To be a minister with them is to be but a pedant, a lawyer, a mercinarie fellow, a shopkeeper, a man most subject to the most wonderfull cracke, and a creature whose welfare depends much upon his wives well bearing and fair carriage. What is then to be done?

Surely it would be wished, seeing God and nature hath provided for the eldest, your younger sonnes, and your daughters especially, being worst able to shift, should be by you provided for in the first place, while your land is of virgin reputation, while it is chast and undishonested by committing of simple fornication with country creditors that trade without sheets, that is, by pole deed, onely for saving of costs; or at least before it have defiled the bed of its reputation by prostituting to the adulterous imbracings of a citie scrivener: but especially before it grow so impudent as to lye downe in the market place, and to suffer every petty clarke to bring its good name upon record, and charge it that it was taken in the very fact betweene other mens sheets, as in this statute, or in that judgement: take heed of that by any meanes. And be sure to match your eldest sonne when your credit is cryed up to the highest, while your heire is yet in your power to dispose, and will bend to your will, before his bloud begin to feele the heate of any affection kindling about him, or before he can tell what difference is betwixt a black wrought waistcoate with a white apron and a loose bodied gown without an apron. Put him off in his best clothes, I mean in the assurance of your lands, sell him at the highest rate. Then dicotomize the whole portion of his wife into severall shares betwixt your other children; not share and share alike, but to every each one the more according to their defects. Let impotencie, decreptnesse, ill favourdnesse, and incapacitie rob the other of so much money as they have done them of comelinesse, activity, beauty, and wit.

Put them not into any course of living, according to any prescript order or method of your owne election, but according to their inclination and addition, seeing that every one by instinct of nature delighteth in that wherein he is like to be most excellent, and delight and pride in any thing undertaken makes all obstacles in the way of attaining to perfection of no difficulty.

Now, in the next place, take heed that you put off those your sonnes whom you finde fit and addicted to be bred in the ministerie, or made up to the law, or to be apprentized betimes, and before they take the taynt of too much liberty at home.

And when they be put forth, call them not home speedily to revisit their fathers house, no not so much as hospitably by any means.

In the first place take your direction for the scholler:

His education,
His maintenance,
His advancement.

For his education, the free schooles generally afford the best breeding in good letters.

So many of them also afford some reasonable means in ayde of young schollers for their diet, lodging, and teaching, given to them by the founders or benefactors of such schools.

Some of them be of the foundation of some kings and queenes of this land, and they are commonly in the gift of the king, or his provost, or substitute in that behalfe. Others be of the foundation of some bodies or societies incorporate. And they are commonly in the gift of such masters, wardens, presidents, and their senior fellowes, such chiefe officers of any other title, or such master wardens and assistants, or such opposers, visitants, or committees of such bodies respectively as be appointed thereunto. Others be of the foundation of some private persons: and they are for the most part in the gift of the executor, heire, or feofees of such donor, according to the purport of his will or grant, or both.

Of every of which severall kindes respectively are:

Eaton.
Westminster.
Winchester.
The merchant taylors schoole, London.
The skynners at Tunbridge.
Sutton's hospitall,
St Bartholomew's, and very many other the lik

Briefly, few or no counties of this kingdome are unfurnished of such schooles; and some have so many, that it is disputed whether the universities, with the innes of court and chancerie, have where to receive them or no.

Some of such free schooles again have schollerships appendant unto them, in one of the universities or both, to which, upon election yearely, they are removeable, as,

From Eaton to King's colledge, Cambridge.
From Westminster, to Trinity colledge, Cambridge, or Christ-church, Oxon.
From Winchester to New-colledge, Oxon.
From the merchant taylors to St John's, Oxon.
And the like from many the like.

Some other free schooles have pensions for preferment of their schollers, and for their maintenance in the university.

Some companies incorporate, especially of London, having no such pensions in certain, doe usually out of the stock of their hall allow maintenance in this kinde.

Besides that, there be many other private persons, upon my knowledge, who doe voluntarily allow yearely exhibition of this nature.

Now, if you would know how to finde what is given to any such free schools, and in whose disposing they now be, search

In the Tower of London till the end of Rich. 3.
For grants and for license of mortmaine, *inde.*
And in the chappell of the rolles.

From thence till the present,
And for the like,
In the register of the Prerogative Court, for such things devised by will, by king, queene, or subject,
For such grants given by will.
And sometimes you shall finde such things both in the Tower and the Prerogative, and in the Rolls and Prerogative respectively.
For the time since our reformed church of England began here, search
Doctor Willets Synopsis,
For all from the king, or from any other.
Search in divers of our chronicles for the like.[1]

Next adde certaine Helpes for Discovery and attaining thereof.

First, if it may be, procure a sight of the liedger books, of such as in whom the disposition of such things resteth, which they keep for their own use.

Next be acquainted with some of the disposers themselves.

Next take the direction of the master or teacher of such free-schooles.

Especially to be interessed in the clarkes or registers of such societies as have the disposing of any such things;

Also to use meanes by letters of persons powerfull and useful to such disposers.

For, indeed, it is not the sound of a great mans name to a letter in these days, wherein they are grown so common and familiar to our societies (of London especially) can prevaile so soone as the letter subscribed by the Lord Maior, or other eminent officer of the citie, to whose commandement they may be immediately subjugate.

Lastly, if you use the meanes least seene, most used, and best allowed, together with these, for discovery and attaining of any such thing, it will not be besides the purpose as I take it.

Now, suppose your sonne is brought to the universitie by election or as pensioner.

The first thing you must take to your care is, in case he come not by election but as a pensioner, to live for the present upon your owne charge, how to procure him a schollership in the colledge where you bestow him.

Or, in case he come elected into one, how to procure a farther addition of maintenance to him.

To bring him into a schollership, place him with a senior fellow of the house (as tutor) though you allow to some junior fellow somewhat yearely for reading unto him.

This senior fellow, if the number of places voide will beare it, may nominate your sonne for one in his owne right; if it will not beare it, he may call to his ayd some and so many suffrages of the rest as with the speaking merit of your sonne may worke your desire.

Then how to procure a pension for addytament of meanes.

The chiefe skill is to finde it out, being either in the gift of some body incorporate or of some private person. Wherein the discovery is to be made as aforesaid.

If you sue to a company consisting of many persons tradesmen, you must enquire who be the most potent patritions and best reputed vestrie wits amongst them, such as carry their gloves in their hands, not on their hands.

Amongst an assistance of many, onely two or three strike the stroke, and hold the rest in a wonderfull admiration of their extraordinary endowments. And how to

[1] This last is a very vague reference.

speake sensibly to these two or three is no mystery. You know they are faithfull fiduciaries in the election; and, therefore, you must not presume to offer any thing by any meanes, onely you may desire them to accept this poore peece of plate, with your name and armes upon it, and binde you unto their love, in keeping the memory of you hereafter: doe but try them in this kinde, and attend the successe. I tell you this, with a bucke at the renters wardens feast, may come somewhat neer to the matter.

But for the pension to be obtained of a private person, the way is not the same. It proceedeth of the givers meere charity, and must be taken by the hand of a desertfull receiver. Though withall it may sometimes fall out, that merit is made by mediation, especially of some such reverend divine as he doth most respect and frequent: For other letters can little prevaile with such persons.

The best note to discover a man inclinable to allow such a pension, is to examine how wealth and charity are equally and temperately mingled in him. And be sure withall that he be a man of some reasonable understanding in what he doth in this kinde: For a fools pension is like a new fashion, eagerly pursued at the beginning, but as scurvily left off in the proceeding.

Your next care is, in his due time to put on a fellowship, when he shall put off his schollership, seeing the schollership keepes him company no farther than to the degree of master of arts, and a quarter of a yeere after in those colledges where schollerships are longest lived. And in some not so long.

In some colledges the fellowship followes the schollership of course, and as the one leaveth him, the other entertaines him. But in most it is not so, but comes by election, which election passeth by the master and senior fellows, whereof every one doth name one, if the number to be elected will bear it; or if not, then they passe by most voyces.

Where note, that the master hath a double voyce, and in some places he hath the nomination of one, if there be two places voyd, yea if there be but one, at sometimes.

In colledges the letters of some persons, especially of the Lords Grace of Canterbury, and the universitie chancellor, have been of great prevailance. But it is not so now in these dayes.

There be beneficially gradations of preferment likewise, for fellowes in their colledges, as lecturer, deane, bowser, vice-master, and master. But, for my part, I better like and commend those who, when they finde themselves fit to put forth into the world, take the first preferment that is offered unto them, rather than such as live cloystered like votaries: who have sacraments to fill up their places, be it but to keep out others, such as use no exercise but wiping the dust off their bookes, and have an excellent activity in handling the foxe tayle, such as hold no honour like to *supplicat reverentiis vestris*; and to be had bowser of the colledge, as good as to be chiefe butler of England.

These preferments of the colledge, all but that of the master, comes of course by order and antiquity; therefore, no meanes but patient abiding needs for the acquiring of them in their due time.

I hasten to send your sonne out of the cloyster into the commonwealth, and to shew you how many wayes of advancement are open unto him abroad, with the meanes to discover and attaine.

And first for the Ministry.

First, for his ease, let him looke no farther than next to hand, and enquire what benefices belong to their own colledge, and are in the gift of their master and senior fellowes (as most colledges have divers such) and amongst them which are voyd at the present, or whose incumbent is not like to live long. And if he finde out any such, than, if he know not after so long continuance among them to speake in his seniors owne dialect, let him never travaile beyond Trompington for me.

More indigitly, for attaining of such a benefice, let him enquire where the mattens are read with spectacles, or where the good old man is lifted up into the pulpit, or the like, and make way for succession accordingly.

Where note, that many times a fellow of the house may hold such a benefice together with his fellowship, or a pension for increment of livelyhood. And such tyes as these are commonly the bond of matrimony whereby they are so wedded to the colledge.

Next, he must climbe up to the maine top of speculation, and there look about him to discover what benefices are emptie abroad, where the incumbent lives onely upon the almes of *confectio alchermi :* Or where one is ready to take his rise out of sierge into satten, out of parsonadge and a prebendarie into a deanarie and a donative, let him not be slow of footmanship in that case by any meanes.

For Benefices abroad.

Benefices abroad are in the gift of
The king immediately,
Or the lord keeper for the king.
Some lord bishop,
Some deane and chapter,
Some body incorporate,
Some parish,
Some private person.

You shall finde, in the Tower, a collection of the patent rolls gathered of all presentations made by the king in those dayes to any church, prebendarie, or chappell, in right of the crowne, or otherwayes, from 1. of Edward the First, till the midst of Edward the Third.

The king himselfe onely and immediately presented, in his owne right, to such benefices as belong to him, and are above twenty pounds value in the first-fruit bookes.

For attaining of any of which I can advise you of no better course, than to learn the way to the back staires.

The lord keeper presents, for the king, to all such benefices as belong to his majestie, and are under twenty pounds value in the bookes.

Now to know which of these are full, and who are incumbents in any of these, search
The First Fruits office.
The clarke who hath the writing of the presentations.
The lord keeper's secretary being.

Where note, that the king hath used very seldome to grant any such living in reversion.

And the lord keeper now being. His care is so great in this, as in all cases of common good, to provide for man's merit, and cherish industry in the growing plants, that no one can offer unto him a requeste of this kinde without trespasse to his good disposition.

In the next place, concerning benefices in the presentation of any of the lords bishops.

Note, that most bishopricks in England have presentation to divers benefices belonging to their sees.

For the number and present estate of these, search
Their owne leidgers.

Their registers,
Enquire of Their auditors,
Their stewards of their courts.

And sometimes you shall light upon some of their books of this kinde in the hands of the heyres or executors of such as have borne such offices under them.

He that is a chaplaine to such a lord bishop, hath, for the most part, the best meanes, access, and opportunity, to attaine to such a benefice.

The commendations of such a great personage, as to whom this patron oweth greatest respect, especially for his affairing in court, may do some good in the matter.

The like wayes of discovery, and the like meanes of attaining any benefice in the presentation of any deane and chapter, are to be used with them respectively as with the bishops.

With every deane and chapter are likewise divers prebendaries to be obtained of their gift after the same manner.

The other bodies incorporate, besides those of colledges and deanes and chapters, have many of them (especially of London, and some subordinate societies thereof) right of the presentation to divers benefices.

Also some parishes, by prescription, doe present to their own parochiall benefices. And many pattrons are content to present, according to the approbation of the parishioners, upon their hearing and allowing and due exclamation of the integrity of the life of such sutors, and no otherwise. Divers governours, and gradations of the lands of divers hospitals, and *mesons de dieu* have like right of presentation to benefices, as have other bodies incorporate. And the meanes of discovery and attaining are likewise the same.

In parishes and companies of tradesmen incorporate, some very few rule the roast.

Your aldermen of the ward, his deputy, your common councell-man, yea sometime that petty epitome of wardemote enquerst, that little busie morsell of justice the beadle of the ward, will make a strong partie in the election, if he be put to it. The probotory sermon, that must be made upon such tryall, before such an auditory, would be according to the capacity in generall; but more especially according to the humour and addiction of those whose will the rest have in singular reverence; as Mr Francis Fiat, a good understanding fishmonger, I assure you; you may give the stile of right worshipfull to them, though the best man of the company be but a wine cooper, and his judgement better in claret than in *concioclerum* a great deale.

If your sonne upon his tryall can but fit their pallats smoothly, which is hard to doe, in regard they are so hollow mouthed, let him be sure, though he misse the benefice for want of preparation, yet tenne to one but they will straine themselves to bring him in as a lecturer, which is a thing they reverence beyond the parson of the parish by many degrees.

Lastly, to private patrons, and the benefices in their gifts, search
The bishops register for institution and presentation.
The archdeacons register for induction.
The archbishops register if it be a particular.

It was my chance lately to see a booke of all the benefices within the diocesse of Canterbury, with the manner of tything in every each one respectively; in which I finde, that there are or should be with the register of every lord bishop seven bookes kept for entry of the matters and business of their diocesse, of which this of benefice is the chiefe.

The like I saw formerly of the diocesse of St David's, which confirms me in the institution and custome of keeping the said bookes also in other diocesse.

And, seeing that severall private persons are of severall dispositions, some more lucrative and covetuous, others more charitable and religious, I can give you another rule of attaining the benefice than this, viz.

That your sonne bring with him ability of learning, integrity of life, and conformity of behaviour, according to the order of the church establisht amongst us, and these shall make his way with the good and generous patron. But for the other patron it makes no matter at all for learning, and a very little for manners, or whether he be a man conformable or no. Truely he is indifferent, for his part very indifferent.

To such a patron your sonne must present himselfe; thus (if he meane to be presented) according to present necessitie. He must both speake and prove himselfe a man of good gifts; for he shall have to deale with a patron of a quicke capacitie, more dextrous in apprehension than your sonne or you can be in delivery.

Be this patron what he will, your comfort is, the benefice must be filled, and that within a limited time; howsoever, it is dangerous to attend the ending of the day in this case; for seldome doth the clarke of the market get any thing by their standing too long and above their accustomed hour.

Lapse by reason of simony, and lapse for not presenting in due time, both offer advancement to learning. But the first is at hand [a] to discover as a witch, and the second as rare to find out as a faithful fiduciarie or a fast friend.

The degrees of rising in the ministrie are not easier knowne than practised by the industrious man.

Briefly, if all church livings in England were equally distributed, there is no one of the ministry, if he want not learning or good manners, needs want maintenance or good livelyhood.

Here I could wish to God that it might please the right reverend fathers of the church the lord bishops, that they would once in every of their time cause a true catalogue of all the benefices within their severall diocesse, with the names of the patrons thereof, according to the last presentation, to be sent into the office of the first fruits, for the better information of all such as deserve and would gladly attaine to some meanes of maintenance, which they may the better doe by having recourse thither, there to take notice of all things of this nature. For I know that many sit down in their wants, having good means to many private patrons, onely for the lacke of knowledge of the same.

Note, that it is an usual thing in private persons to grant reversion or advowson to such livings.

Myselfe intended heretofore to collect all such benefices, with their patrons, into a certaine callender for such direction (as aforesaid) and made some passage into. But the farther I went the more impossible I found it. And I am now resolved that without the bishops assistance it cannot be done:

And so much for the ministry.

The Lawes Promotions follow by Civill Law and Common Law.

For breeding of your youth in the civill law, there are two colledges of especial note in our universities; the one is Trinity-hall in Cambridge, the other is New Colledge in Oxford. I remember me not of any free schoole in England that have any place appendant in Trinitie-hall in Cambridge; but in New Colledge of Oxford, the free schoole of Winchester hath claime both of schollerships and fellowships; the whole colledge consisting of none other, as I take it.

It is to be confest, the charge of breeding a man to the civill law is more expensive,

[a] Qu. ? *As hard.*

and the way more painfull, and the bookes of greater number and price, than the common law requireth; but after the civill lawyer is once grown to maturity, his way of advance is more beneficiall, more certaine, and more easie to attaine, than is the common lawyers, and all because their number is lesse, their learning more intricate. And they admit few or no sollicitors to trample between them and the clyent, so that the fee comes to them immediately and with the more advantage.

The preferments at which they arrive are these:

Chancellor to the bishop.
Archdeacon.
Commissarie, where they have commissarie, officiall.
Judge, and surrogate.
Advocate for the king.
Master of the chancerie.
The king's proctor.
Advocate, and proctor at large.

In these courts, viz.

The high commission.
The delegates.
The prerogative.
The consisto y.
The arches.
The bishops courts.
The archdeacons courts.
Chancellors, commissaries, and officials courts.
The admiraltie courts.
The court of the king's requests.

In times past.

The countenance of some bishop, especially of the lord archbishop, upon a civilian, will much advance his practice as an advocate, and give him promotion as a judge.

There are under the great officers aforenamed, divers other inferiour officers, as

Register.
Arctuarie.
Examiner.

The number of doctors (though I find them never to have been limited) yet it is certaine that the time was, within memory of man, when the house of their commons did commonly give them all sufficient lodging and diet. And as for the number of proctors, they were of late times limited; how it is now I know not.

For the Common Law.

For breeding of students in the common law, take directions for their method of study out of the tractate which Mr Justice Dodridge did in his time pen for the purpose. Onely, for my part, I do much commend the ancient custome of breeding of the younger students. First, in the innes of chancery, there to be the better prepared for the innes of court; and this must needs be the better way, seeing too much liberty at the first proves very fatall to many of the younger sort. I have observed, and much commended also, the breeding of some common lawyers in this kind, viz.

That when they have beene admitted first into an inne of the chancery, they have beene withall entered as clarkes in the office of some prothonotarie of the common pleas, to add the skill of the practicke to their speculation. And if a student be thus bred by his foundation in the one and his experience in the other, he shall with more

facilitie, then others who step into the inne of court at first, attaine to an ability of practise.

Besides other ordinary requisite arts and parts in a common lawyer, skill in courts of record, and in other antiquities of president, will also much inable him.

The common lawyer is to be bred onely upon the purse; the charge most at the first. For after he hath spent some years effectually, he may attaine to the imployment of some private friends, for advising with and instructing of greater counsaile, whereby he shall adde both to his meanes and knowledge.

It is true, that I have known some attorneys and sollicitors put on a counsailors gown without treading the same usuall path to the barre, as aforesaid. But indeed, I never looke upon them but I thinke of the taylor, who, in one of his customers cast suits, had thrust himselfe in amongst the nobility at a court maske, where, pulling out his handkercher, he let fall his thimble, and was so discovered, and handled and dandled from hand to foot, till the guard delivered him at the great chamber doore, and cryed, Farewell, good Feeble.

If the common lawyer be sufficiently able in his profession, he shall want no practice, if no practice no profit.

The time was, that the younger counsaile had some such helpe, as

To be a favourite.
A kindred.
To marry a neece, cousin, or a chambermaid.

But those dayes be past, and better supply their roomes.

As fellowes of colledges in the universities get pensions and benefices to adde to their livelyhood, so barresters and counsailors of the innes of court advance their meanes by keeping of

Courts of mannors.
Leets, and barrons.
Swannimotes of forrests.
Stannaries.
Cinque ports, &c.

By places of

Judges of inferiour courts. As.
London, and other like corporations.
The Virdg.
The Tower of London.
St Katherines, near the Tower.
Borough of Southwarke.
The Clinke.
Wentwort, and like liberties.

By office of

Recorder of some corporate towne.
Feodarie of some counties.
The kings counsaile in the marches of Wales, or at Yorke, or judge, or counsaile of some countie pallatine.

The greater places of preferment for common lawyers, are

The judges at Westminster, and elsewhere.

The next are all the severall officers of the courts of Westminster, and elsewhere.

All which you shall finde set forth briefly in Smiths Commonwealth of England, and part in mine owne Search of Records. And all these together afford sufficient maintenance for thousands of persons, who may be here well provided for.

Here I should, and here I could, for better direction of younger brothers, shew what meniall clarkships of large exhibition are under the great officers of the land, the judges, the kings counsaile, and other officers, which are not elsewhere publisht. And I know it would open a doore to many a proper mans preferment; especially, under the lord keeper, as secretaries for chancery businesse, and spiritual promotions, the commission of the peace, injunctions, the dockquets; and other the like under the lord treasurer, as secretaries for the businesse of the realme, and the custome-house, besides the inlets to so many preferments about the customes and escheators: places under the lord treasurer, under the chancellour of the exchequer, dutchie and principality of Wales, and duchie of Cornwall, a seale-keeper, secretary, &c.

Under the master of the court of wards, as secretary; under the judges, as marshall, clarke of the bailes, &c. Under the barons of the exchequer, as examiner; clarke of the bailes, and other clarkes.

Under the kings attorney generall, as clarke of the pattens, clarke of the confessions and entries, clarke of the references, booke bearer. Under the sollicitor generall, clarkes of the patents, booke bearer. Besides many other clarkes under the white staves of the court, and in the counting house, and many several offices. Al which, with hundreds more that I could name, with a plainer and more large deduction, were it not for fear that what I intend for generall good would be taken in offence for private prejudice. But for the clarkeship of the kings household, examine farther the blacke booke in the exchequer.

The Physitian followes.

And here I remember me of an old tale following, viz.

At the beginning of the happy raigne of our late good Queene Elizabeth, divers commissioners of great place, being authorized to enquire of, and to displace all such of the clergie as would not conforme to the reformed church, one amongst others was convented before them, who, being asked whether he would subscribe or no, denied it, and so consequently was adjudged to lose his benefice, and to be deprived his function, whereupon, in his impatience he said:

That if they (meaning the commissioners) held the course, it would cost many a mans life. For which, the commissioners called him backe againe, and charged him that he had spoke treasonable and seditious words, tending to the raysing of a rebellion or some tumult in the land, for which he should receive the reward of a traitor. And, being asked whether he spake those words or no, he acknowledged it, and took upon him the justification thereof; for, said he, Ye have taken from me my living and profession of the ministrie. Schollership is all my portion, and I have no other meanes now left for my maintenance but to turn physitian, and before I shal be absolute master of that mystery, God he knowes how many mens lives it will cost. For few physitians use to try experiments upon their own bodies.

With us it is a profession can maintaine but a few; and divers of those more indebted to opinion than learning, and (for the most part) better qualified in discoursing of their travailes than in discerning their patients maladies. For it is growne to be a very huswives trade, where fortune prevailes more than skill. Their best benefactor, the Neapolitan, their grand signieur; the Sorpego, their gonfollinire; the Sciatica, their great marshall, that calles the muster rolle of them all together at every spring and fall, are all as familiar to her as the cuckow at Cankwood in May. And the cure of them is the skill of every good old ladies cast gentlewoman; when she gives over painting she falls to plastering, and shall have as good practice as the best of them for those kinde of diseases.

Marry for womens griefes among physicians, the masculine is more worthy than the feminine.

Secrecie is the chief skill, and verility the best learning that is required in a womans physitian. But I never read of many of those to be long lived, or honestly wived, hitherto in all my reading.

Hitherto I speake nothing in disrepute of the more reverend and learned sort of physitians, who are to be had in singular reverence, and to be usefull to mankind next to the divine. Indeed I rather pitty them, and pittying, smile to see how prettily these young gamesters, male and female, lay about them, and engrosse the greater part of patientrie in all places wheresoever.

And here I may more fitly say (God knowes) how many mens lives this abused opinion had of such gamesters costs, because they be not masters of that mystery and that science which requires the Greeke tongue exactly, all the learning and skill of philosophie, history of all sorts (especially naturall,) knowledge of all vegetatives and minerals, and whatsoever dwells within the four elements. Also skill in astronomy, astrology, and so much skill of the judicials upon all manner of calculations as may be well warranted, with much other kind of learning, art, and skill, whereof my young travailing physitian and trading wayting woman never heard.

Their means of advancement are in these wayes, viz.

To be physitian of some colledge in one of the universities (and divers colledges have such places.)

Physitian to the king or queens person.

Physitian to either of their housholds,

Or to some hospitall, (as most have such).

Or to some great persons, who may prefer them hereafter, and be somewhat helpfull in the mean time.

To a good old usurer, or one that hath got his great estate together unconscionably: For they fear nothing but death, and wil buy life at any rate: There is no coward to an ill conscience.

It is not amisse to make way of acquaintance with gallants given to deep drinking and surfetting: for they are patients at all times of the yeere.

Or a gentlewoman that would faine use the meanes to be pregnant.

Or your lascivious lady, and your man in the perriwig, will helpe to furnish with a foot-cloth.

A citizens wife of a weake stomacke will supply the fringe to it.

And if all faile, and the bathe will affoord no roome, let them finde out some strange water, some unheard-of spring. It is an easie matter to discover or alter the taste of it in some measure, (it makes no matter how little.) Report strange cures that it hath done. Beget a superstitious opinion in it. Good fellowship shall uphold it, and the neighbouring townes shall all sweare for it.

The Apprentice followes.

The first question is, to what trade you will put your sonne, and which is most worthy of choice.

For the merchant it requireth great stocke, great experience in forraine estates, and great hazard and adventure at the best.

And this not all. For it depends upon the peace of our state with forraine princes, especially those with whom we hold mutuall traffique, or who lye in our way to intercept or impediment our trade abroad. Besides that, in time of warre they can hold no certainty of dealing or supplying their factory in parts beyond the seas. Shipping is subject ever, at the let goe, to be stayed, marriners to be prest, and many other inconveniences attend them in such times. Besides the burthen of custome and imposition which all states impose more or lesse. So that, unlesse we have peace with such neighbours, there is little hope in that profession in the ordinary and lawfull way of trading.

Happily you will alledge that some merchants thrive well enough when the warres most rage, and when the streame of state is most troubled. Some then hold it to be the best fishing: they that gain then, sir, if they gaine justifiably, gaine not as merchants, but as men of warre, which occupation a man may learn without serving seven years apprenticeship unto it.

And if they gaine justifiably as merchants, it must be in some generall stocke of a society incorporated, who have purse to passe to and fro with sufficient power, in the most dangerous times. And if such societies are tollerable at any time, it is at such times. How they be otherwise allowable I leave to consideration.

For the shopkeeper, his welfare for the most part depends upon the prosperity of the merchant. For, if the merchant sit still, the most of them may shut up their shop windowes. Little skill, art, or mystery, shall a man learne in shop-keeping. A man shall never in forraigne parts, being put to his shifts out of his own meridian, live by the skill of weighing and measuring. The most use of advantage he can make of it, is to benefit between the mart and the market, than which nothing is more uncertaine, seeing there is no true judiciall of *the falling* and rising of commodities, and the casualties that they are subject unto, especially in time of warre.

Take this for a generall rule, that those trades which aske most with an apprentice are incertainest of thriving, and require greatest stocks of setting up. Amongst trades, give me those that have in them some art, craft, or science, by which a man may live, and be a welcome guest to all countries abroad, and have imployment in the most stormy times at home, when merchants and shopkeepers are out of use, viz.

An apothecarie
A druggist
A chirurgion
A lapidarie
A jeweller
A printer
An ingraver in stones and metal
One that hath skill in seasoning of shipwood
A carpenter of all sorts, especially of shipping
A smith of all sorts, especially of clockes, watches, guns, &c.
A planter and gardner of all sorts
An engineere for making of patars, and the like engines of warre, and
Hot-presses for cloth, &c., and
Engines to weigh any ship, or guns that are drowned, &c.
Skrues
A maker of all sorts of instruments for navigation, compasses, globes, astrolabes
A drainer of grounds surmounded
A sale-maker, and
A maker of cordage, tackle, &c.
A lymner,
A clothier, a clothworker, and a dyer
A tailor, shooemaker, glover, perfumer, and trimmer of gloves
An imbroyderer,
A feltmaker, a glasier, and one that can paint in glasse
Briefly, any manufacture or trade wherein is any science or craft.

Onely those trades are of least use and benefit which are called huswives trades, as brewer, baker, cooke, and the like, because they be the skill of women as well as of men, and common to both.

I would have you know, that the maker was before the retaylor, and most shopkeepers are but of a sublimated trade and retayle, but as attorneys to the maker.

But if the maker, without dispute of freedome in any corporation, might set up his shop and sell his commodity immediately, it would be a great deale better for the commonwealth than now it is.

Besides, it is no matter of difficulty, burthen, or disgrace for a shopkeeper, yea a merchant or a gentleman, to have the skill of some one of these manufactures, besides his revenue or profession, to accompany him, what fortune soever may carry him into countries unknown.

To my knowledge, a great earle, lately of this land, did think it no scorne to indeavour the attaining of the craft and trade of a farrier, wherein he grew excellent.

And when our acquaintance tooke first life with those of the Low Countries, upon a treatie, wherein our ambassador strove to set forth the worthinesse of our king and kingdome with the native commodities thereof, the Dutch (ignorantly conceiving that no man could attaine to wealth without some good occupation or manufacture) askt him what handicraft our king was brought up unto, or what trade he had used to get so much wealth withall.

I admit the merchant royall[1] that comes to his profession by travaile and factory, full fraught and free adventure, to be a profession worthy the seeking; but not the hedge-keeper that goes to seeke custome from shop to shop, with a cryll under his arme, that leaps from his shopboard to the exchange, and after he is fame-fallen and credit-crackt in two or three other professions, shall wriggle into this and that; when he comes upon the exchange, instead of enquiring after such a good ship, spends the whole houre in disputing whether is the more profitable housekeeping either with powder beefe and brewes, or with fresh beefe and porridge, though (God wot) the black pot at home be guilty of neither. And so he departs when the bell rings, and his guts grumble, both to one tune and the same purpose.

The merchant royall might grow prosperous, were it not for such poor patching interloping lapwings, that have an adventure of two chaldron of coals at Newcastle, as much oyle in the Greeneland fishing as will serve two coblers for the whole year ensuing, and another at Rowsie[2] for as many fox skins as will fur his Long-lane gowne when he is called to the livory.

The shopkeeper is a cleanly trade, especially your linnendraper, which company hath the greatest commonalty and the largest priviledges of all other, and yet they maintaine nothing by charter, for indeed they have none.

But a manufacture for my money, especially if he sell to the wearer immediately.

Now, for the better encouragement of men of trade, know that in most companies of tradesmen incorporate (especially in London) there is provision made by divers benefactors of their societies deceased, for the enabling and setting up of young beginners, by stocks of money remaining in the hands of some few of the cheefe of their company (how faithfully disposed I leave to their consideration). But surely the poorer sort complain much of the misimployment of it generally.

There is but one little crevis to peep in at their dealings, and that is betweene their masters conscience and the clarks connivence, which is so narrow that you may sooner discerne the south pole through the maine center than discover their mystery.

Indeed, in times past, the clarkship of the company hath been bestowed upon some ancient decayed member of the company for his liveliehood. But the attorney and scrivener, and some petty clarkes of the city, by the letters of, &c. preoccupy those places.

[1] A royal merchant is an epithet applied by the Duke in the Merchant of Venice to Anthonio, and the commentators have strained hard to derive it from those Italian traders who, in the middle ages, erected principalities in the Archipelago. But, from the passage in the text, it plainly appears to have meant a merchant of eminence in general traffick, compared with the poorer adventurers of small stock and capital.

[2] Russia.

And here I could wish, for righting of the dead and releaving of the poorer members of such companies, who are keept in ignorance, that some paines were taken in the prerogative office for the collating of all gifts of this nature, to be publisht in print, that the meanest might thereby be able to call their grand masters to account if they abuse the trust in them reposited in this behalfe. I acknowledge the youth of mine age to be determined. And (God knowes) how poore a remain of life is left in my glasse; yet if it may please those in whom the power resteth to give me leave to search gratis for all the grants and gifts of pious use in all kindes whatsoever, I could willingly bestow that little of my lampe in collection of these things, and publish them to posterity; provided alwayes that I and mine may have the priviledge of imprinting the same for some fitting number of yeares to come.

The Navigator.

Next to the man of trade, or rather equally with him, I must give the navigator his due, for that his profession is as full of science as useful to the commonwealth, and as profitable to himself as any trade whatsoever. If he attaine the skill of knowing and handling the tackle, the certaine art of his compasse, the knowledge of languages and dispositions of forraigne nations where he travels and trades, he may rise from a squabler to a master, from a master to be a generall, honestly, and with good reputation, in a short time.

The navigator his way of advancement and imployment is, by

The lords of his majesties privy councell,
The high admirall,
Commissioners for the king's navy,
Chiefe officers of the naveyes, of societies incorporate,
Private merchants, and the like,
With the Trinity House.

But if he get to be an owner, he may trade as free as a bird in ayre, as a man of warre, or a man of trade and commerce. If he take heed that he intrench not upon the incorporated companies, especially the *Minotaur*, he cannot doe amisse (with God's assistance.) He may live merrily and contentedly, be it but in trading as a meere carryer of home commodities imported from one port to another within the kingdome.

The Husbandman.

The husbandman may likewise, for the happy content of the life and the honest gaine which it brings with it, be worthy to invite a right good man's son to undergoe the profession.

Your sonne, whom you intend for a husbandman, must be of a disposition part gentile and rusticke, equally mixt together; or if the gentleman be predominant, his running nagge will outrun the constable. His extraordinary strong beer will be too headstrong in office of church warden, and his well-mouthed dogge will make him out-mouth all the vestry; but if the clowne be predominant, he will smell all brown bread and garlicke. Besides, he must be of a hardier temper than the rest of his brethren, because the unhealthfullest corners of the kingdome are the most profitable for farmers. He must especially ayme at a tenancy under the crowne, or some bishops sea, deane and chapter, some colledge, some company, some hospitall, or some other body incorporate, wherein the auditor or receiver must be his best intel-

ligencer and director. Young unthrifts acquaintance, when they first arrive at the age of one and twenty; and good old conscionable landlords that hold it a deadly sinne to raise the rents of their grandfathers, or hope to be delivered out of purgatory by their tenants prayers, will do well.

The professions before mentioned, be (as it were) the orbs to receive all fixed stars and such dispositions as may be put into any certaine frame.

But for a more libertine disposition, fit it with the profession of a courtier.

For an overflowing and ranker disposition, make him a souldier.

But beyond this he is a lost man, not worthy a fathers remembrance or providence.

The Courtiers Wayes of Advancement be these.

By the generall and most ancient rule of court, if you would have him to be preferred into the kings service in the end, and in the meane time to have sufficient meanes of maintenance, place him with one of the white staves of the houshold.

By the more particular rule (if you can) put him into the lord high steward his service, who amongst the white staves hath the chiefest hand in preferring to any office beneath stayrs.

If the high steward be full seek to the lord chamberlain, who hath the chiefe power to prefer to the places above stayrs and to the wardrobe.

And if there be no entrance there, then seeke to the treasurer of the houshold, and next to the controller, the master of the household, the coferer, and the rest of the Greene Cloth.

The master of the horse prefers the avenanarie and other clarkeships offices, and places about the stable.

The principal secretary hath heretofore had a great hand in preferring to the clarkships in the office of the signet, and the lord privie seale into the privie seale office.

The master of the great wardrobe into the clarkships and offices there. The master of the robes, the master of the jewell house, the keeper of the privie purse, the master of the toyles and tents, with some other the like, have whilome bin the meanes of preferring divers their followers into the service of the king, in divers beneficial places and clarkeships, in their severall offices respectively.

The lord treasurer, without the house, prefers to his majesties service, in the most places in or about the custome house in all parts of England.

And, besides these, I finde no meanes used of old for preferment into the kings service for these kinde of places.

The yeomen of the guard were wont to come in for their personage and activity by their captaines allowance.

And the bed-chamber mens servants ever were in way to be preferred for pages of the privie chamber, or groomes, or placed at the backe staires, not of right but of custome.

For the clarkes of the houshold, they were wont anciently to rise by certaine degrees, according to the prescription of the blacke booke, but how it is now I know not.

For your better satisfaction of court offices, their order and fee, search the Blacke Booke in the exchequer, and in the court. And for all offices whatsoever under the king throughout the whole kingdome, either in castle, parke, chase, court, or house of the kings royalty or place whatsoever, with the then fees of the same, I referre you to a booke, whereof many hundred copies are extant, which was collected by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and by him delivered to the late Queen Elizabeth of famous memory. And so much for the courtier.

The Souldier followes.

And the question is first, whether the better way of thriving is to be a sea souldier or a land souldier.

Questionlesse the better way of thriving is to be a sea souldier, in this kingdome of England, being an island, for that he is more usefull to his country. More learning is required to be a sea souldier than to be a land souldier. A sea souldier is certaine of victuals and wages, where the land souldiers pay will hardly finde him sustenance. A sea souldier may now and then chance to have a snap of a booty or a prize, which may in an instant make him a fortune for ever; where the land souldier may in an age come to the ransacking of a poore fisher towne at the most.

More valour is required in a sea souldier than in a land soldier, because the extremity of the place requires it. The sea captaine is exposed to as much danger during the whole fight as the poorest man in the ship; where the land captain useth but to offer his men to the face of the enemy, and then retreateth.

The way to rise to preferment at sea, is by the admirals countenance, and the vice-admirals in the king's service; or in other service by the favour of great traded merchants, and especially of your bodies incorporate and their chiefe officers, and more especially their president and treasurer for the time being.

His breeding is a matter of more moment than his age regardeth.

If he be true bred, he should be first made a perfect navigator, or able to direct the sterage of their course, able to know the tackle, and appoint every saylor to his charge. He should know what number of saylors, what ordnance, and what munitions should be requisite for a ship of such a burden.

He should be a skilfull caneere, and able to direct the gunner to say what quantity of powder a peece of such bore and depth requireth, and of what weight the bullet should be where such a quantity of powder is used, whether the peece be sound or hony-combed. He should be able to know and direct what quantity of victuall should be required for so many men for such a voyage, and what quantity of powder and shot.

Also to oversee and direct the purser and steward in the expence of their victuall without profusenesse or too much parsimony.

Likewise skillfull in all manner of fireworkes and fitting engines for sea fight.

Briefly, he should be so compleat as that none should be able to teach him in his place, and be skillfull to controle every other in their places. He should be courteous and loving to his men. Above all things, he should be zealous of the honour of God; see that divine service be duly read on board evening and morning, and that swearing be severely punished. A sea captaine is not a place for a young man to leap into instantly and immediately out of a ladies ushership, a great man's bedchamber, or a Littleton's discipleship.

It is not your feathered gallants of the court, nor your taverne roarer of the citie, becomes this place, I assure you.

I finde not any *meson de dieu* for relieving of maymed marriners only, but that erected at Chattam by Sir John Hawkins, knight, treasurer of the navy of the late Queene Elizabeth; wherein it was provided, that there should be a deduction of sixpence by the moneth out of every man and boy their wages in every voyage towards the same; which I could wish were as well employed as collected.

The Land Souldier followes.

If the land souldier thinke to thrive and rise, by degrees of service, from a common souldier to a captaine in this age, alas, he is much deceived.

That custome is obsolete and grown out of use. Doe what he can in land service, he shall hardly rise by his single merit.

His happinesse shall be but to fill his hungry belly, and satiate himself upon a pay-day.

But if he be of kin or a favorite to some great officer, he may carry the colours the first day, be a lieutenant the second, and a captain before he knows how many days goe to the week in the regiment.

The land-service where a man may learn most experience of war discipline, is in the Low-Countries, by reason of the long exercise of wars and variety of stratagems there.

Beyond that, northward, the service is both more unprofitable and more dangerous, and lesse experience is to be there learned.

The more your sonne turnes his face to the south, the more profitable the land-service is.

Lastly, if he have no friend or kindred to raise him in the land-service, I assure you that there is no law against buying and selling of officers in the Low-Countries, for ought that I have read. Neither is it markable amongst them.

After the soldier returnes home, it makes no matter what number of wounds he can reckon about him.

All the wayes of reliefe for him that I can number are these:

A poore knights place of Windsor, if the herald report him a gentleman, and the knights of the honourable order of the Garter will accept him. A brother of Suttons hospitall, if the feoffes have not servants of their owne to prefer before him.

A pensioner of the county, if the justices find him worthy, and that he was prest forth of the same county. S. Thomas in Southwarke, and S. Bartholomews, Smithfield, only till their wounds and diseases be cured, and no longer; and that if the masters of the said hospitals please to receive them.

For the Savoy, where souldiers had a foundation, I know none now.

And other houses appropriated for reliefe of souldiers now in use, I remember none.

For the chiefe are long since demolished. The *Templarii* are gone. The knights of S. John of Jerusalem forgotten. That famous house upon Lincolns green is rac'd to the ground. And many the like, now better known by the records, than the remaines of their ruins, with their revenue, are all diverted from the uses of their first foundation to private and peculiar inheritances, which I pitty more than the dissolution of all the monasteries that ever were.

Here you see is preferment enough for your six sons, though you bestow every one upon a severall profession. Onely take this generall rule for all, viz.

To what course soever your sons shall betake them, be sure they al have grammar learning at the least; so shall they be able to receive and retaine the impression of any the said professions; and otherwise shall scarce possibly become masters in the same, or if they doe, it will be with more than ordinary paines and difficulty.

Your three Daughters challenge the next Place.

For their portions I shewed you before how and when to raise them: That is, by the marriage of your eldest sonne, or out of that part of your owne estate which you may spare without prejudice to yourselfe.

For their Breeding.

I would have their breeding like to the Dutch womans cloathing, tending to profit only and comelinesse.

And though she never have a dancing-school-master, a French tutor, nor a Scotch

taylor, to make her shoulders of the full breath[1] of Bristow cow-say, it makes no matter. For working in curious Italian purles, or French borders, it is not worth the while. Let them learne plaine workes of all kind, so they take heed of too open seeming. Instead of song and musick, let them learne cookery and laundry, and insteade of reading Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, let them read the grounds of good huswifery. I like not a female poëtresse at any hand: let greater personages glory their skill in musicke, the posture of their bodies, their knowledge in languages, the greatnesse and freedome of their spirits, and their arts in arraigning of mens affections, at their flattering faces: this is not the way to breede a private gentlemans daughter.

If the mother of them be a good huswife, and religiously disposed, let her have the bringing up of one of them. Place the other two foorth betimes, and before they can judge of a good manly leg.

The one in the house of some good merchant or citizen of civil and religious government; the other in the house of some lawyer, some judge, or well reported justice, or gentleman of the country, where the serving-man is not too predominant. In any of these she may learne what belongs to her improvement; for sempstry, confectionary, and all requisits of huswifery. She shall be sure to be restrained of all ranke company, and unfitting liberty, which are the overthrow of too many of their sexe. There is a pretty way of breeding young maidens in an exchange shop, or S. Martins *le* Grand. But many of them get such a crick with carrying the band-boxe under their apron unto gentlemens chambers, that in the ende it is hard to distinguish whether it be their belly or their band-boxe makes such a goodly show: and in a trade, where a woman is sole chapman, she claims such a preheminence over her husband, that she will not be held to give him an account of her dealings, either in retaile or wholesale. A merchants factor, or a citizens servant of the better sort, cannot disparage your daughters with their society. And the judges, lawyers, and justices followers, are not ordinary serving men, but of good breed, and their educations for the most part clarkely, whose service promiseth farther and future profit.

Your daughter at home will make a good wife for some yeomans eldest sonne, whose father will be glad to crown his sweating frugality with alliance to such a house of gentry.

Likewise the young mans fingers will itch to be handling of taffata, and to be placed at the table and to be carved unto by Mistress Dorothy; it wil make him and the good plaine old Jone his mother to passe over al respect of portion or patrimony.

For your daughter at the merchants and her sister, if they can carry it wittily, the city affords them variety.

The young factor being fancy caught in his dayes of innocence, and before hee travaile so farre into experience as into forraigne countries, may lay such a foundation of first love in her bosome as no alteration of climate can alter.

So likewise may Thomas, the foreman of the shop, when beard comes to him as apprentiship goes from him, bee entangled and belymed with the like springs. For the better is as easily surprized as the worse.

Some of our clarkly men complaine the moysture of their palmes, others the sorpego in their wrists, both moving meanes.

With a little patience your daughter may light upon some counsailor at law, who may bee willing to take the young wench, in hope of favor with the old judge. An attorney wil be glad to give all his profit of a Michaelmas terme but to wooe her through a crevice. And the parson of the parish, being her ladies chaplaine, will forswear eating of the pig for a whole year for such a parcell of gleb land at all times. And so much for your sons and daughters.

I now espye mine host of the Bull here in S. Albons, standing at his doore upon his

[1] *Sic.*

left leg, like to the old drummer of Parish-garden, ready to entertaine us: therefore I wil here conclude with that of the poët,

———*Navibus atque*
Quadragis petimus bene vivere, quod petis hic est,
Est Anglis, animus si te, non deficit equus.

FINIS.

The Mistery and Misery of Lending and Borrowing. By Tho. Powel, Gent.

London: Printed by Thomas Harper for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his Shop in Aldersgate streete, at the Signe of the Talbot. 1636.

Setting aside the contemplation of such lending and borrowing as wherby the soule of traffique is breathed into the body of a commonwealth, I descend lower to that practice of mutuation, whereby we accommodate one another for our present necessity in money and other requisites.

First, for the Borrower.

I will first shew who bee the most notable sort of borrowers and book-men.
Next, what method every one holds in his severall way of borrowing and lending.
Then their severall cause of failing and insolvency.
Next, their sundry waies and weapons, with which they fence with their creditors.
Next, their noted places of refuge and retirement.
Then their jubiles and daies of priviledge.
Lastly, the certaine markes of a conscious cautious debtor, with the marshall discipline of the mace according to the modern practise of these daies.

Next, for the Creditor.

I will first shew the charitable extent of the creditors curtesie.
Then his mystery of multiplication.
Next, how the oyster caught the crow. The hand in the booke bred the wind-collick in the ware-house.
And then, how that winde, being not able to force a passage through the cavernes of his credit, shakt the very foundation of his shop-boord, threatning a most sudden, strange, and stormy eruption.
Next, the signes fore-running the wonderfull cracke.
Then the reparation of the decaied man.
And lastly, the singular comfort which the commonwealth received by him when he was sent forth current from the creditors mint, with a new impression and a second edition.

And of these in order.

The chief and most notable borrowers are,
The courtier, that neither cares for the call of the counting-house nor the checke of the chamber.

The innes of court-man, that never was studient.
The country gentleman, no hospitall house-keeper.
The city gallant, that never arrived at his freedome by service.

The Courtiers Method followes.

First, he invites his creditor to a dish of court-ling, with masculine mustard plenty.
Then hee shews him the privie lodgings and the new banqueting house.
Perhaps the robes next.

Then the great magolls tent in the wardrobe: and so much serves for the first meeting, and to procure him an appetite to a second.

To the second meeting our creditor is summoned, and brings behind him his wife, like to a broken wicker glasse bottle hanging at his taile, and enters into the masking-roome.

Whereat, the courtiers skill in delivering of the maskers names under their severall disguises, did purchase an everlasting and indissoluble city-consanguinity with his female charge, over whom the more sleepy her spouse, the more vigilant was my cousen courtier.

And now hee hath made his party strong enough to visit my citizen, and to borrow and take up of him at his own home, in the most familiar phrase that can bee devised for such like use and purpose.

Then for the quickning, continuing, and enlarging of his credit, our courtier pretends how hee has received news that his faign'd kindred is very sicke; and thereupon a takes occasion (instead of venison) to send her bottle of that famous and farre fetcht Frontiniack. He bids himselfe to dinner the same day, and there, in a cursory way of commending the excellent art of man, in manner of manufacture, hee fals by chance upon the remembrance of an extraordinary stuffe which he saw a great personage weare lately at court, not doubting but that his couzens shop did afford the like: His purpose was to have a suit of the same very shortly, if they would but lay it by till his moneys come in: Yet, with a very little intreaty, so cleanly exprompted, hee was persuaded to take it along with him, but onely for feare lest the whole peece might be sold by the foolish fore-man unawares before his returne.

Give us old ale and booke it,
O give us old ale and booke it:
And when you would have your money for al
My couzen may chance to looke it.

The Innes of Court-man, and his Method.

First, hee makes himself acquainted with his creditor, by going to him in company with one who is a knowne customer there, and an approved good pay-master.

Then hee procures this knowne customer to take the man of credence, as it were, modestly apart, and at his backe, while hee is walking downe the shop and aversed, to whisper, That this gentleman whom you see heere is son and heire to that worthy knight so potent in the Peake, or that most markable malster of Much Marlborne; or the great grasier of Grimsborrow, or the like. Then hee returnes to the upper end of the shop, and the master takes an occasion to call to Thomas to give the gentleman a stoole, and tels him that hee knowes his friends very well; the ancient mannor house, and the mill, and goodly meadowes a little beneath in the bottome: adding further, that no doubt but if hee please the good old gentleman, hee may in time bee owner of them all himselfe.

'Bee owner?' saies my Innes Court-man, 'Why I tell you that water-mill came by my mother, with all the meddowes of that levell; and my father would hang himselfe hee cannot give them away from mee.

'And whereas you say I may be owner in time, I thinke the old man has held them long enough; unlesse you would make his time end lesse, and him a very wandring Jew. I wis my grand father served not him so; hee knew what he did when he dyed. Hee did it out of true judgment, in fulnesse of understanding, able to penne the will himselfe; when he was no longer serviceable to his countrey, he would not live onely to mend the fire, or preserve it, by applying every circumstant cinder within his reach: but though I pinch for it, a time, I hope, may come.'

Wherat my creditor interrupting him, saies, 'Alas, you pinch for it! That shall not need. God be thanked, your creditor is worthy to be rankt in a shop-booke, cheeke by joule, with any debitory disposed gentleman of this towne whatsoever. Besides, if you would bee loth to have your name extant in so publicke a repertory, you are able by such estate as is inseparably annexed to your person to give farther assurance (I doe but speak it if neede were) by other waies, and otherwise, at your pleasure.'

'Further assurance?' replies my gallant. 'A pox on't! for assurance they shall have what they will: and for price of any thing it is my desire they should gaine by mee, yea they shall gaine by mee, for otherwise how should you be able to live by it?'

'Now, sir, you speake like an honest gentleman,' saies he again, 'I would all our customers were of your minde; there be too few such as you are. If you have neede of any thing heere, either for your wearing or else for conversion, wherein I hope you conceive me, sir, it is at your command.'

Hereupon the man of the sword sweares that he shall not outdoe him in noblenesse. Had he robbed the statuaes of the new standard of all their royal resolutions, hee vowes to returne hither againe, and that speedily, to bring his tailor with him advisedly, to take up for divers uses with much facility, and to give assurance according to the directions of his owne scrivener, a Bow-lane most legally.

And so leave we him like a horse put up to dyet, whereby to be prepared to runne his traine sents on the deepest ground of assurance that city counsell can find out or devise.

Puppy runnes well, but who shall winne the day,
Puppy or Noddy? 'Tis an even lay.

The Countrey Gentleman his Method.

The countrey gentleman, he is by this time come up to London; and has brought his attorney with him, one that professes the taking up of money by writ of right. His attorney brings him to the Ship behind the Exchange, and leaves him there while he goes to fetch the onely noverint in those parts, whom hee prepares at his shop with the purpose, advising him withall in his eare, so to handle the matter in hall that beards may wag all, which hee delivered with a most familiar wringing of him by the hand, to insinuate his meaning as unto his share: He then brings the scrivener into the taverne, good compliance is in all parties, and the scrivener, according to the true practice of most of them, at the first meeting, especially while they are with the borrower in the taverne, was more easee in promising then they in proposing.

The attorney then softly tells the gentleman apart, that hee should doe well to bespeake supper instantly, assuring him, that if he could but fasten that courtesie upon the scrivener for the present, he were their owne for ever after, neither the summe nor the security could be matter of any difficulty.

The counsell was held wholesome as unto supper, the attorney was forthwith preferred to the bar, where he spake so learnedly in the cause, that upon the same hear-

ing they recovered three full dishes on their side, the boyes drew the proceeding very clarke like, the ketchin maid supplied with the tales. The mistresse call'd earnestly for the postea, and the master he rated and allowed the bill of costs.

At the execution whereof, my scrivener fearing lest the shot should disperse and scatter itself amongst them, while the gentleman was feeling for money to discharge it, hee, to facilitate that hand, askes him softly in his eare, What is the summe that hee would have? Then, suspecting the long dwelling of his hand in his pocket, hee tells him, hee shall have what summe hee will. 'Let me see,' saies the scrivener, 'there comes in this night, of Sir Sam van Skynker's money, five hundred, and tomorrow as much more. I can supply you from one hundred to ten out of that, as occasion require: how say you?'

'We will have no dry reckoning,' replies the gentleman: 'Heer's the full summe of the reckoning and a pottle over; though we be Leicestershire fed, yet we be not Brackley bred, I assure you.

'And for the summe which I should, or at least would have, for especiall occasion, let me see: there is a horse-race at Northampton on Munday come seven night, I must needs have new furniture for Crop-eare, which I will send downe by Leicester waggon.

'I will have that hawke which I saw in Southwark this afternoon, clothes would doe well: but that's my least care of a thousand. A pox a pride, I say!

'Howsoever, I must see the party I told you of by the way by any meanes, if she keepe the same lodging and the same name that she was wont to doe: that's all now. Let's see, a matter of three hundred will doe't, so far forth as my present and most urgent occasions do presse me at this instant:

As for payment,
And for rayment,
For hedges and mounds,
And stocking of grounds,
For corne, for seed,
Or cattle to breed,
Or the wolfe at the doore
And a thousand things more;

They are nothing so important and concerning as the least of these: I would not misse Munday come seven night for three such summes as these, I tell you, sir: Munday come seven night! that were a jest indeed.'

'For that, and what you please besides,' saies the scrivener, 'you shall find no default on my partie; This honest gentleman that is with you knowes the course of these kind of businesses: He and I shall take my leave at this time.'

The scrivener departs, and the gentleman staies behinde, onely to hugge and endeare the endowments of him that procured this meeting: He praises the prosperity of their journey, commends the comely carriage of the scrivener, and vowes everlasting acknowledgement of his attornies activity. And so they betake themselves to their lodging likewise for that night.

The next morning my gentleman sends his attorney to see that the money which he spake for be told out and made ready for him against his comming, which should be when and where it shall please the honest scrivener; for by this time he had attained so much of reputation among them.

The same day and the next were both spent in continuall quest of the scrivener. But the boyes in the shop, according to their master's direction, made answer, one while that he was gone to Sir Sam for monies: another while that hee was at the sealing of writings at such a place: then that he was at the speeding of a commission of bankeruptisme at Guild-hall, God blesse the place, and every good man of the grand

jurie: and then shortly after that he was but even now gone forth, and that it was impossible but that he should meete him, unlesse the dust of the Popes-head Alley had put out his eyes by the way.

The time weares out, and the horse-race comes onward, the apprehension whereof puts our gentleman into such a perpassion, that on the next day, early in the morning, he goes to the scriveners-shop, where suddenly and unawares he findes him saying his prayers, while hee was withall crosse-gartering of himselfe: and had he not known him better by his crosse-garters then by his prayers, questionlesse he had lost his labour.

'Good-morrow,' saies the gentleman, 'perhaps I doe disturbe your devotion?'

'You rascall, how chance you doe not hang out the labells?' (saies the scrivener to his boy.) Then he proceeds with his prayers, and suddenly he bespeaks the gentleman, asking, 'What is your will with me, sir? Have you any businesse with me, I pray now?'

'O lord, sir,' saies he, 'I hope you remember what past betweene us at the Ship on Wednesday night last touching the three hundred which I was to have the next morning, parcell of the thousand which was to come in then.'

'Hum (saies the scrivener) I think there was some such a matter. I remember we talked of it. But what were the names of your security which you did then give mee?'

'For names (replies hee) why I gave you none, for I conceived it should not need: or if it doe, you shall have lands, and that for seat and site, value and virgine title, shall bear and ballance your mortgage downe to the center.'

'Now you come to mee (saies the scrivener) goe you to the Antwarp, but only to prepare mee a particular of this land, and I will be with you presently.'

They goe before the particular is made ready. The wine is burnt. The scrivener with much paine has past through his prayers, and recovers the taverne doore by that time he was come to amen. He returns to his old complement, pockets the particular which they deliver him, and puts all unkindnesse into this cup; he drinks freely and promises nobly, so that there was no doubt made but we might bee at Northampton most opportunely. And so much for that meeting.

After dinner they came both againe to the shop, where they found my scrivener wrapt warme in his gowne about him, fast asleepe, good man. For if ever he were good, he was then good; or at least I am sure he was then and there at the very best of scriveners goodnesse, the height of their holiness and the perfection of their punctuality.

They must by no means trouble him before he bee fully recovered and enabled for a second meeting at the Mermaid in exchange time. They attend the while, the clouds of claret shortly spend themselves; he wakens, they salute him.

At length with much adoe he calls them to remembrance, and asks them for their particular; they shew the errour in his pocket, and so hee promises their dispatch the next morning without faile; and they are gone to bespeake furniture for Crop-eare in the meantime. At the appointed houre my attorney comes to know if the writings were ready to seale, and the money proportioned into severall hundreds, in so many severall bagges or no.

The scrivenere replies, that it should be forthwith prepared accordingly, so as they should bring good city security with them, but onely to undertake for the property and transparency of the title of the lands so tendred, and that was all should neede for the matter, procuration being ever provided for, and writing taken to estimation according to the estimation of the place where it was to be written, and that was all that was now remaining to be considered of on the gentlemans behalfe. This new taske requires more time in possessing and perswading some citizens, his countreymen, who knew him and his lands so well, that it was disputable whether was more deare and desired unto them.

They joyne with him in the security, and become immediately bound with him by bond for the payment of the money at a certaine day to come; and, to the great amazement of the scrivener, thanke him for this counsaile in advising and directing them to the cautionary causeway of security, both latterally and collaterally, by direct and oblique lines which he most mathematically had imagined and contrived in his head, as well for his own commodity and for their indempnity, without demand in of any other assurance as yet; and so my gentleman is dispatcht without any further tie upon lands or person hitherto, saving what is mentally reserved upon the growth of this summe, by these his loving friends and countrymen.

Friendship for countries sake I doe commend,
But not to sell my countrie for a friend.

The Citizen, a Redemptionary Freeman, his Method.

The last, but not the least of these, is our city borrower, a hopeful yong man, though I say it:

A man of wisedome, for hee is the best
That ere was of our ward-moot inquest:
Of sweete behaviour, for this very yeere
He hath discharg'd the place of scavenger.
At an arbitrement he is a cutter
As ere concluded in a tavern supper.
If females for their linnen doe contend,
He takes up all, and makes a friendly end.
And if our vestry brethren do dissent,
He makes the elder head most eminent.
Grow up, thou man of justice and of hope,
My pen gives thee thy due, give thou it scope.

Now this youth, not altogether free by patrimony, but particularly by matrization, is wonderful cautious of borrowing upon record or in the eye of the world. He will not have his name tendred unto a scrivener by any meanes, while hee is yet but easily declining upon the streame of ready money and not in stocke, like the water, which though it fall and sinke by the sides, yet runnes up in the middest with a manifest current long after.

Hee now studies how to take up without expression, to be a principall for himselfe, or to be too promptly drawn into security for others. Hee finds out, for property for this purpose, a young heire, who, for a third share of the summe, was content to beare the only name and blam of borrower, and to yield to the ensafine of my citizen, by such counter-bonds, sales, and assignments, as by the scrivener and himselfe could be devised to uphold the reputation of a wonderfull wary man.

Can you now call this man a borrower for doing his friend a courtesie? Or is this man in a declension, when it appears by the booke that he is in the way of purchasing? No such matter; this cries up his credit: and howsoever these monies be repayd, yet hee is sure of the land, which, before any insolvency shall appeare on his party, hee does intend to convey over in trust secretly, to the uses of his livelyhood for the time of restraint to come; and, like one that prepares his tomb while he is yet living, hee resolves what lodging to take upon the masters side, when his credit shall depart this mortall life.

Besides hee had another way of borrowing: He findes out an old usurer of the same

parish, father to divers daughters, who catcht at espousall preferment, onely by their fathers countenance and their concise carriage.

The one of these hee singles out from the heard, and pretends most pure and unfaigned love unto her; he visits her in his gown at Midsummer, whereat the old man conceives great joy and comfort, glories in his gravity and delights in his decency. Hee, on the other side, perceives the powle-cat in the purse net, makes present use of it. Hee shews him the conveyance which they have made unto him of all the houses in Conny-hoope-lane a one side, and desires to be furnisht by him with so much as might bring the other side into his property likewise; for that it was now offered unto him upon reasonable conditions, so should he reduce all (as it were) into a circle, and his daughter should hold that for her joynter, and have the evidence in her own custody.

The old man lik't this passing well; and, for fear least the bargaine should be snatcht out of his hand, hee takes him into his closet, tells out the monie, and sends him away presently.

The old man turnes him about, and (poynting at her sweetheart) bespeakes his daughter thus:

'There hee goes that labours for you most industerously, studious your good right carefully; I pray God make you thankfull for him accordingly; for you shall have an husband (be it not vainely spoken) that for thrift and husbandry may be the very browch of all the city.'

Instead of going forthwith unto his chapman for the housing and candle-rents, he is housed presently at a widowes in the way, where hee spends his time till candle-light.

Here hee likewise protests and professes love by wholesale; he shewes her the monies, and tells her what a bargaine hee could now have, if she would joyne stake with him in such a commodity come lately into the Downes with the last East Indian ships. It might please God that this might bee a happy occasion of uniting their persons as well as their parcels together.

The widow was hereupon taken with such a sorpego in her wrists, that her fingers ends itcht to be telling out of her part, and to take issue upon his promise of the union, which she performed with much dexterity.

Then he puts altogether, and assures her that hee will bee gone the next tide to Gravesend.

When hee comes home hee dispatches letters to the old usurer, certifying him of his good progression in Cony-hoope-lane, and desiring his patience for certaine dayes, which the contriving of his assurance by good and sufficient counsell would take up.

The time pretended for the downes, and to draw downe a good estate for his young mistresse is, upon better consideratian, bestowed at Rumford, where, whosoever had seene him in the lift of his liberality, would little thinke him to be so little a thing as might be contained within the compass of a counting house, or be confined within the prospection of a false light.

Expectan on the sequell of his story,
Let Rumford now be famous for John Dory.

Their several Causes of Insolvency followeth.

The courtiers cause is in his conscience: for he neither can nor cares to pay.

The innes of court mans cause is in his coercence, for he would if he could pay.

The countrie gentlemans cause is in his confidence, for he trusts to his countrymen in the city, and had rather they then he should pay.

But the citizens cause is in his complaiance.

It pleaseth him so to pay, and he sees no reason why he should goe beyond the rule of deformity.

He finds good grand jury presidents of five shillings in the pound, and it is faire too and sufficient soder for the first flaw, by my faith.

Some would and if they could;
Some can and yet they care not,
The least pay what they should,
The most spend all and spare not.

The sundry Wayes and Weapons with which they fence their Creditors challenge the next Place.

The longest weapons with which my courtier keeps his creditor farthest of are the winters journeys and the summers progresse.

And when he is nearer hand hee doth keepe them at staves length by challenging of a privacy for indisposition of body, conference with great and honourable personages, or imployment in the states wonderfull weighty affaires, when (God wot) the indisposition is for want of cleane linnen.

The conference is with his boy how to pay the laundresse which detaines it.

And his imployment is in and about the taking of a pipe of tobacco.

The privy watergate and the garden out let doe well.

And when he findes no remedy but that his creditor wil close and come into him within his weapons length, then hee sweares that hee was even now about to send for him, had hee not prevented him.

He tels him in great secresie how he is in possibility to passe a suit of great worth, onely hee wants some money to scatter in fees by the way: For it is to be understood, that with great officers the chamber-men weare good clothes, and the door keeper has a pretious faculty: hee shall onely supply with so much as will even the old summe, and pay himselfe, *tot, talia,* and *tanta* at his owne pleausure, yea he shall be a patentee himselfe for argument of honest purpose and honourable dealing.

What shift soere we make, hee needs must do it;
For profit and preferment pricke him to it.

The Innes of Court's Mans Weapons.

His first weapon is a wel-pen'd letter, excusing his delay by incompetency of exhibition.

Or by the necessity of attending the revolution of their tenants six monthes day of paiment, according to the custome of the country.

But especially by occasion of his fathers great and dangerous seeknesse (though there were no such matter) for that he knew was the only viscouse matter to belim his creditor that could bee devised or applyed.

The next weapon, when the former way is stale of assiduity is his good sword, a watchful eye, and a ready hand.

The last is the deviation and avoyding of the most frequented passages and streets, and to hold compasse at the halfe point, through the let-goes, tavernes, with backdoores, or by water, as stands with most accommodation.

His fencing in the night most commend,
When hee may safely drab and drinke and spend.

The Country Gentleman his Weapons.

This youth (alas) hath neither occasion at the first to practise his defence, or knowes the use of the weapon, nor will he be brought to it of a long time; when payment is prefixt to be made to him the said Solomon set in Silver-street London, hee in his better wisdome is betting of all his white money at the cock-pit in Coventry.

And when all comes to all, when farther occasion hath drawn him into a farther respectuality with his undertakers in London, so that he must either stand upon his guard, or lose the bleane, with all meadowes, pastures, feedings, woods, underwoods, and other the appertenances worth tenne times the money borrowed.

Then, O then, he lookes out his manly munction.
The ancient sleeping entaile.
The old mother joyncture.
The endowment of his wife, *ad ostium ecclesiæ.*

All these he brings to his cutler of Chancery-lane, and bestowes so much upon the oyle of equity, and will scoure them up cleanly, and make them fit weapons of defence against all the cossaques of the city.

Petitions be the postures of thy guard,
And may thy motions bee like canons heard;
Set field, or skirmish, chamber or the barres,
'Tis like to prove a very lingring warre.

The City Borrower his Fence.

He handles his weapon with the best grace of them all; his creditor dare scarce come within his reach, but onely aske how hee does as hee goes by. And if he does presume to leave word with the apprentice boy to tell his master that he was here to speak with him about the other business, it is a very bold adventure, and sawcy presumption taken very censoriously by my young master at his comming home, especially if he have bin at the renterwardens feast, the cities occasion, the companies convention, and the parochial provision: these be the things that challenge propriety and priority in a comely citizen, before all other respects whatsoever. He wil not discontent the first, nor disapoynt the second, nor disfurnish the last, for observance of whomsoever.

For the mony taken up of the scrivener, the interest only needes to be paid in as yet: and the scrivener (to stop his mouth) hee shall have the imployment and benefit to eject the tenants of Cony-hoop-lane, and withall hee will have the scrivener sue the bond both against the heire and himselfe, upon which he will appeare to suffer judgements against both right willingly. Marry, he shall take execution against the heir onely.

For the old usurers money, he found that the assurance could not be perfected til the next Michalmas terme, for it required the ceremony of the barre, and before hee could debarre his wife of any ceremony belonging to her, hee would be reputed the unperfectest member that ever ministred in the cities mysteries.

And for the widowes money bestowed in the Downes, hee found the commodity not so vendible here as beyond the seas, therefore he thought it best to send it into Holland, where it attends the next market, and would not so much as suffer it to touch at our coast.

This cannot cure but lengthen the disease,
It may deferre the paine, but not release.

Their noted Places of Refuge and Retirement followes.

Ram-Alley.

I will not so much as looke into the court, or any of the standing houses; the housekeepers lodging, nor the gardiners receit, nor the mewes, nor pry into the meniall precincts of the innes of court, farther then they stand for refuge and reliefe of the neighbouring priviledges about them.

The first and chiefest of all which for advantage of the ground, for fortifications, for water workes, posternes and passages, supplies and provision by land or otherwise, is that farre fam'd and so fitly named Ram-alley, or the Ramy-kins, according to the Dutch translation.

In it is a garrison of olde souldiers, every one of the which is able to lead a whole army of younger debtors.

They call their muster-role in the round church; they drill them in the garden; and they make their set battailes under the trees in the new walkes, which piece of ground was listed in and levell'd for the same purpose.

For the workes within there be two most notable: the one is raised and contrived in the forme of a ram, which rams were used in the old Jewish discipline, as appears by the history itselfe more at large.

This worke is of a reasonable strength, having a watch tower in the similitude of a coblers shop adjoyning, from whence all the forces are called together, upon the least approach of the enemy.

But the other is a fort most impregnable, where the enemy dares not so much as come within shot, to take the least view of it.

There is none but this onely one so invincible far and neere: and therefore our latter writers have stiled it the Phœnix. There be other pretty contrived platformes in the fashion of the cookes shops two or three, where if a setter or spy do but peepe in at them they will make him pay for the roast before hee depart (Ile warrant him.)

To the Rammy-kins doe belong a very great fleete, consisting many saile well man'd, and these are only for the service by water.

This place, according to the geographicall map, and the report of modern authors, cannot possible be so besieged, but that they within may goe in and out at their pleasure.

At the Middle-temple gate they issue in spite of the divell.

At the Inner-temple gate they feare no colours in the rainebow.

And at Ram-Alley postern, in case they cannot fetch Fetterlane, but discover ambushment, they need only draw their bodies within guard of pike, and retreat through the Miter.

Or, admit they stand for Fleet-street, and be so intercepted, that they can neither recover the Miter nor Ram-alley, it is no more but onely to mend their march, fall downward as if they gave way, suddenly discharge their right hand file, and fall easily into Serjeants-inne, where, by ancient treaty had betweene these two houses, it was agreed that the parties in such distresse might, paying the Welch gentleman's fee, have convoy and conveyance thorough the garden into the Temple without re-hazard of his person.

Likewise, when they would forrage, they are no sooner out of the Middle-temple gate but there are several places of defence to friend them: viz. The Bell-Inne, the Bargate, and Shire-lane. And the passage through the King's Bench office is a most excellent safe way for close contriving and retriving.

The Gardiners Warfage, as that tide may serve, wil serve the turne too.

But the new doore by the Bochards, though it be none of the sweetest way, yet it is the safest of al the rest, for at the sight of the pompe the setter starts backe, and will by no meanes pursue him any farther

Fulwood's Rents.

The next place of refuge is commonly called Fulwood's Rents, which lies so in the maine and plaine continent that it requires the stricter watch and stronger court of guard to be kept about it.

Besides, the generall of the enemy hath planted very neere it, and lately cast up a mount in the fashion of a shriefes office just in the face of them. In Fulwood's Fort, otherwise yckleeped Skink Skonce, besides Robin Hood and his out-lawes, like a regiment of tailors, the one halfe with red beards and the other having no beards at all.

Captain Swanne was a very tall man,
So was not Francis Drake-a;
Whence Snype does sweare in single beere,
The bailiffes used to quake-a.

At the upper end of these Rents, and at the very portall of Purpoole Palace westward, was lately begun a most excellent peece of worke, which, had it not beene interrupted by those that playd upon them from above, questionlesse it had been the very strongest and surest hold that ever was rais'd within the continent for this purpose.

The backe gate into Graies inne-lane, with the benefit of the little-alley, *ex opposito*, is of a good use, but not at all times.

The passages through certain innes on the field-side are attempted with some hazzard, by reason of the straggling troopes of the enemy who lye pardue in every alehouse thereabouts.

The only safe way of sally is that through the walkes from whence the Red Lyon in Graies inn-lane receives them with good quartering, and passes them through the back way into the maine land: and so much for Skinke-Skonce.

Milford-lane.

The next is Milford-lane, to which certain captaines and their companies being long since cashiered, betooke themselves, and, liking the situation of it, did there erect divers works, both to the land-side and the water, for their ensaving.

As they came in by conquest, so they hold it by the sword; and howsoever their title hath bin much disputed heretofore, yet they have now commuted the matter, proud plantation, pretended the first discovery; and withal have reduced it to a most absolute hance and free towne of itselfe without dependency.

The chiefe benefit they have for securing of their persons is that of the water, for to the land there is little safety when you are once without their workes, and therefore I will abide heere no longer, but hold my course onward to the Savoy.

The Savoy.

If the Savoy should not be sufficiently defended every way and in every respect, it were a great shame to the discipline of the place and the troups that are there billeted, the rather for they consist for the most part of engyners and projectors, and in memory of them have builded there certaine tenements which shall beare the name of Projector-alley for ever.

Duke Humphrey.

From hence you must give me leave to passe by boat to Duke Humphries, which was a very strong fortresse in former times, when the magazine of tobacco pipes was there established.

But the magazine is removed, and the place being much weakened, their commanders dispersed about Budge-row, and scattered in Warwick-lane, where they are the only upholders of the three-penny ordinary (a strange alteration.)

The poore remainder of this garrison, unlesse they be speedily relieved by them of the colledge, to re-enforce the daily assaults of the enemy, must of necessity yeeld up all with much dishonour.

I can stay no longer here with good name and fame, and therefore I returne to my watermen attending all this while, who is to set me over to Southwark, land me at an excellent hold indeed, commonly called Montague-close, sometimes the scite of the monastery of Saint Saviours neere the bridge.

Montague-close.

And though the garrison here consist not of so many old souldiers, yet their number is no way inferior to that of Ram-ally, and some of them serve on both sides, and are in both rolls, ever attending where the service most requisite, and the most of them are men of much activity.

The eldest company within it are and have been directly diers in graine, descended from the race of the old blew Brittaines.

In Lent, when other garrisons are most thinne and worst victualled, these doe most exceed in both, for then whole troops of butchers from the cantons adjoyning offer themselves like so many Switzers unto them; and convey by land and water to that place such aboundance of cattle, fetcht from the Kentish kernes and the Sorry yonkry about them, as makes themselves plump and palliable for any enterprise all the yeere after, and also draws very great store of wascoterians and handsome basketerians unto them from all parts of the city and suburbs, and al for meer carnality.

Ely-Rents.

The last is that everlasting liberty of Ely-Rents in Holborne, which is so advantageously mounted, that it commands all the levell beneath it. It is a worke of good receipt, for it may be made good with — good, with three brokers, two coblers, a baker, and a tapster, against all invasions and invaders whatsoever.

I cite not the priviledge of S. Martins le Grand, with many other adjoyning, which have proper officers for returne of writs within themselves; because though they be not under command of the city, yet they admit no sanctuary or refuge to the borrower, unto whom the fire and the frying-pan are both alike.

These fore-mentioned garrisons, foins, and fortresses, stand still in such a state as is before expressed.

But I cannot forget the present state of others upon which the enemy hath entred either by conquest or composition:

Namely,

Cold Harbour.

That of Cold Harbour, where was an excellent block-house to correspond with that of the close on the other side; both which together cleered the passage of the river betweene them, so that no water bayliffe durst come within their reach at point-blanke.

And this (as they write) was taken by the sword in time of their security.

The Fryers.

The Fryers, Augustine and Cruciate, Blacke, White, and Gray, great and lesse, and those of the Trinity, the Spitse and Saint Graces, had all their cooles pull'd o're their heads, and so were all for the most part led into the city captive, where they remaine to this day.

'Tis said that they were most lost by this meanes, that they suffered those of the freedome not only to dwell among them, but likewise to encrease and multiply, to plant and supplant the nobility and gentry which upheld their liberties; and in the end, when they got and engrossed all the power of office, trust, and authority, into their hands, they set open the gates, and suffered the military men of the mace to enter and surprise all.

The commanders of the city were onely content upon treaty to article and agree with those of the Black Friers, that notwithstanding they so entred by conquest, yet the old companions, especially the English feather makers, the Dutch jewellers, the Scotch tailors, and the French shoomakers, with some forreign forces, should have and enjoy their ancient priviledges without molestation or interruption of any kind.

Great Saint Bartholomewes.

But the greatest blow that ever was given to the borrower, was the taking of Great S. Bartholomewes, upon whose platforme a whole army of borrowers and booke-men might have been mustred and drawne out in length, or into what forme or figure it had pleased them to cast themselves.

What workes, yea what variety of art and workmanship, was within it!

What an excellent halfe moone was there cast up without it for defence, towards Aldersgate-street!

What sconces in the fashion of tobacco-shops and tap-houses in all parts of it! What art was in the silke weavers there, who, in twisting of their silke, made it serve, like so many opticke lines, to convey and receive intelligence too and fro in an instant, and laugh to scorn *asinissimum illum nuntium inanimatum!*

But, alas! these are demolisht, the old souldiers discharg'd, and all delivered and yeelded up, upon composition and consent of the commander.

But, [1] the last packet we receive newes, that there are daily assaults made upon S. John of Jerusalem. It is said likewise that they are in a sore mutiny themselves, which, if it bee so, the band of borrowers there billeted will be shortly disbanded and dismissed utterly.

The Jubilees and Dayes of Priviledge follow.

The unparaleld parliament is the first, and of al others the best; the very *tunc temporis*, when Jupiter hath the ful effects of his influence, when he is in his masculine house, and in a full aspect (*hora optima.*)

The next is a time of a raging pestilence: for if the sergeants do not then feare the plague of God hanging over their heads, I know not what the divel will fear them.

The next is the time wherein my lord maior takes his oath, for then the sergeants and their yeomen are all at Westminster, (*hora bona.*)

The next is that wherein the sheriffes are sworne: for in the forenoone the mace-men attend their masters: At noone they have enough to do to wait upon M. Maior of Oxfords cups: and in the afternoon it is as much as they can doe to get home.

Other daies of priviledge are all such wherein they are al generally tyed for to attend their sheriffes to Pauls, as that of Christmas-day, All Saints-day, Candlemas-day, the Coronation-day, the Powder-plot, and the 5th of August (*horæ mediocres.*) Only take heed how you touch at any taverne neere unto Pauls after the sherifes are once set, and untill they bee ready to depart, for feare of free-booters.

I cannot say what hope there is in the priviledge of the Sabboth, but there is great presumption uppon the benefit of those times, wherein the sergeants weare their best apparell, for I have observed that they will make bold with their zeale, when they place much matter of conscience in their clothes.

The daies of their Spittle-sermons are speciall good ones: for their masters and mistresses being then in conjunction, it requires that they should be double diligent the while.

The dayes wherein the great lords come down to ociate, or negociate, eate or treate with their masters are very good.

Whitsunday, at the New-church-yard, does well; but I am afraid that they will not be altogether so mad as to be all comprised within the perambulation of Bedlam, where I will leave them at this time, and proceede unto

The Markes of a conscious cautious Debtor, with the Discipline of the Mace.

These be the Markes.

1. Uncertainty of meeting.
2. Obscurity of walking.
3. Variety of lodging.
4. Inconstancy of abiding.

[1] *Sic.*

The particular Markes follow.

At the lanes end he ever lookes behinde him; and after hee is once turned out of sight hee mends his pace in an extraordinary degree of foot-manship, till he have gained some ground of the followers: And then he makes another stand to take notice whether any of them have arrived thither with more then ordinary speed, or precipitate himselfe at the comming about the lanes end, which is the certaine signe of a setter or a sergeant. He never keepes the proponticke passage. Hee hath a catalogue of al tavernes with backe doores, especially to the water side. Difference of attire (if he have it) stands him in great stead. He envies the encrease of the moone more than he pitties the decrease of his owne fortunes. Hee knowes there's little got by running and lesse by rising at the serjeants hands. Therefore, when he hath businesse to doe on the next day, he commonly removes himself o're night, to the end hee may have a safe mornings flight. His meetings (when hee does say and hold) are in places where hee may stand as much upon his reputation as his taylor upon his credit. With the Italian, he does much mislike the over-hasty manner of peace used by our nation in the city, (a place of civility,) and that in the following of their ordinary affaires. He is better at retriving than at contriving. He is a great enemy to idlenesse, for he loves not to see one leaning at a stall, or looking about him, where hee claimes no property, nor owes any service. Hee learned of his grandmother to hate whistling after candle-light above all things. He praies not in common forme, but that the commons may meet in forme (as aforesaid.) And no sinne sticks so impassively in his conscience, or disperses itselfe through his whole heart, as that he ever paid any thing to his creditors in part.

The Discipline now offers itselfe, and the Mace is now lifted up in terrorem populi.

Within London there are two regiments of mace-men; the one is incamped in the Poultry, the other in Wood-street. The great number of them attend their colours, where they are ever ready to sally upon the alarum or signal given. Other of them guard their collonels person by turnes.

And the rest are appoynted and exposed as followeth: So many of the best able, and most trusty in their cavallerie, as their service requires, especially in terme time, are planted at Chancery-lane end, to make good that place, and to cut off such as issue out of the works on the other side, or come downe from other parts to put themselves under the protection of them.

Of these Chancery-lane end men, if the designe doe deserve it, some one or two are drawne out of them, to defeate the passage betweene the Middle-temple and the Bell, or the Bar-gate, but this is upon especiall occasion, and therefore seldome attempted, but when they have intelligence of some extraordinary booty, or good pillage, comming that way.

Others of them are quartered in Smithfield, where, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, they stand charged with cocke up, ready to give fire at every poor butcher in the grasiers quarrel, and these are of their infantry.

Others are on every market day commanded for Leadenhal, where they serve one day under the tanner against the shoemaker, another day under the butcher against the tanner, and sometimes the scrivener against both. Others are appoynted to other several markets, where, rather then they will want entertainment, they will beare armes against the very butter-wives (enough to make their hearts to melt with the very thought on't.) The eldest sort of them, such as hold charge, rather for their advice then their

ability are laid at the Exchange, where though the service be daily and the nation against whom they serve are all people of great stomack, meeting ever at dinner and supper times only, yet the danger is but smal, in regard they have the countrie round about to friend.

The onely despervieos among them are severally appointed to the severall gates, where they scoure and keepe cleere the passage to the barres, being the utmost extent of their workes. They are all right perfect at their postures: as,

Beare your musket under your left arme, *id est*, Be sure to touch the prisoner on the sword side. Pull out your scourer, *id est*, Draw your warrant. Advance your pike, *id est*, Exalt your mace. Cocke your match, *id est*, Enter your action.

And so for every posture, punctually and particularly in his order. Then for stratagems of war they ride the ancient discipline, quite dagger out of sheath.

The best that Roman histories affoord us, is of that one noble resolution, who, to gaine beliefe and credit of the enemy, mangled himselfe, running out of the gates into their campe to complain of his own misery and his countries tyranny, with offer of giving them up into the enemies hand, onely for actuation of his own revenge. But give me the plot that conquers at farre lesse price.

A porters frocke (a project of excellent carriage.)

A lawyers gowne, (*latet quod non patet.*)

A scriveners pen and inke-horne (a designe of deeper reach than you are aware on.)

These shall make his passage, *sine sanguine et sudore.*

This is your onely projector indeed, whose ancestor was begot between the man i' th' moon and Tom Lancasters laundresse, upon a faire fagot pile, from whom are descended the onely choristers of our country-quire.

It would doe you good to heare the whole packe of these together, they are so excellent for sent and cry.

But the best mouth'd among them in truth, and for my money, the only mouth is without Bishopsgate.

And the best sented of the upper end of Red-crosse street, just at the entrance into Golding-lane, into whose sweet bosom I commit them all, and there leave them.

It may be expected that I should say somewhat of the discipline of the bailiffes, but especially of those of the Vierge and the Clinkonians.

But some of them have no discipline or order at all, and the rest very little.

The poore pichard cannot out pilter them in the plaine path-way of their practise; they hold no good quartering with any man, but are more desirous of prey then of lawfull conquest.

The better sort of them goe in bootes without spurres, and they for the most part are bought in Turning-stile Lane in Holborne: the author holds them not worthy his penne, or to be rank't with the men of the mace before mentioned, and therefore by his good will he will have nothing to doe with them at any hand.

The Creditors Part.

For the debtors part, I am perswaded that our author hath performed it reasonable well; but for the other of the creditor (to say the truth) he hath practised that part very little hitherto, and therefore is very diffident of his ability therein.

Yet howsoere, hee'le stand upon his credit,
And justifie his word because he sed it.

For the charitable Extent of the Creditors Curtesie.

Verily this man of credence doth observe these principles in all his proceeding of this nature.

First, that he may lend or trust upon such conditions as may tend to the benefit of the borrower or debtor chiefly.

Then, that his owne againe may be moderate.

Then, that there may be record thereof kept for testimony of his sincere intention, in two or three severall bookes at the least.

And lastly, he doth not onely lend or trust, but farther giveth it a blessing, that it may yeeld much increase to the borrower and debtor.

The Reasons hereof are all as pregnant as pious.

1. For it is better for him to build than to pull downe.
2. He will not grinde the forehead of his poore brother.
3. His booke cannot erre, for it admits no tradition, but the pure and uncorrupted text itselfe, as it was delivered in the primitive register, while Thomas his foreman was yet living, and did beare record as a faithfull witnesse of these proceedings.

And though the blessing be bestowed upon a dead commodity, yet I hope it argues no superstition in him that giveth it.

And all this is apparently good till we come to

The Mystery of Multiplication.

Tradition it is not tollerable, but an abhomination, and yet our creditor holds that addition in the secret of shop-booke may be very well allowable.

For so long as he doth onely make up in credits what he hath lost in stocke, or what is decaid in necessary expences, and not riotously or vainly, seeing the wicked are but usurpers of the riches of this world, it is lawfull for him with an equall hand to be carried among his debtors, by way of apportionment, to rate and assesse them at his discretion.

He will take no interest, nor wrong his conscience for any good; his shop-booke hath hitherto held good name and fame. Heresies may creepe into the church daily, but never into his shop-booke in any wise: there is nothing there but what hath beene delivered, and his servants (especially one amongst the rest) will, as boldly as any brewers desperate clarke, maintaine and justifie: Shall he not maintaine his masters mystery when they are both to be saved by the same faith? Why, he shall put the debtor in minde of the delivery of every parcell, with all the circumstances to it; for he remembers it as perfectly as if it had beene done but yesterday. Now the debtor beginnes to quarrell the shop-booke, my creditor is most justly incensed; and therefore now, in the next place,

The crow lookes to eat the oyster alive, but is caught in the attempt; and the hand in the shop-booke breedes the winde-collique in the warehouse, which shak't the fabrique of all his factory, as followeth:

Suppose the tide is now comming in, and the poor oyster gapes for some refection in the moisture of it. The birds of prey, *scilicet*, the shopkeeper, the crow, and the usurer, the cormorant; these hover about it, each of them hoping to pull it out of the

little tenement where it dwells, and to devour it alive. Hereupon the cormorant and the crow contend for the prize; the crow claims it as a stray lost, and left without the bounds of any watry coverture on the dry land at low ebbe. The cormorant challenges it, neverthelesse, as being still within the high water marke. Then the crowe alledges that it is so wasted (wanting water) that it is become no better than carrion, and therefore it does properly belong to him. The cormorant denies that, and assures him that the oyster is yet alive, and therefore no carrion. But the crow had given so much credit formerly, that he would now scarce beleeve his own eyes (especially in his wifes case) he would by no meanes beleeve this to be true, and therefore, in hope to cousen the cormorant, he desires that he may onely feele with his bill whether it were so or no: leave is given by the cormorant, who thought it was enough for the crow to smell upon the prey, intending that never any more should come to his share. Then the crow, who knew how to ticle a trout at his pleasure, did, without assistance of constable or advice of counsell, make a most violent entry upon the oyster, which presently claps to his doore, shuts the crow within, and caught him so fast by his bill of entry, that all Colchester and the custome-house can testifie to this day with what unaccustomed and uncourteous entertainment he was there received.

Well might the crow cry and call for his companion the cormorant to redeeme him from captivity, but all was in vaine. The doores were shut up, he could not so much as belch at the key-hole, or let out the winde which troubled the warehouse by any meanes, forward or backward; the very foundation of the shop and shopbord were shaken with the violence thereof.

Being in this extremity, and so taken with the winde that nothing applied inwardly could possibly help him, he calls for the shop-booke, and begins to conjure the collicke with such terrible charmes and incantations as the like were never devised nor put into any pentacle. Then he raised the great prince, *in primis*, out of his eastern emperie, with a legion of *items* attending him.

These two he sets to taske, and enjoynes them to distinguish his debtors in *spero* from those in *despero*, and to deale more plainly with him herein than widdowes use to doe by their husbands estates in the court of orphans and elsewhere. They performe his designe instantly, and the greater number appeared to be perdues directly desperate and debilitate, amongst the which my cousin courtier and my innes of court man were of the number.

The courtiers suit did long languish, and was palliated and upheld with letter commendatory; it complained much of the disease called the reference; it was a little lightened by a cordiall certificate latterly, yet in the end no meanes or medicine could serve the turne, but of a stopping and obstruction at the great seale it died.

The innes of court man was neither heire nor aged sufficiently for the enabling of any such act as he had undertaken publikely by deed, or privately in the shop-booke. The scrivener, the city-counsaile, himselfe, and all were fatally infatuated, betraid with a beard, and foold with formality.

The winde rises more and more, the storme increaseth, strange stitches on every side of the shop, wonderfull weakness in the warehouse, and convulsions in the counter, board and boxes complaine and cry out upon the collicke, at whose mercy we leave him, expecting the eruption thereof very speedily.

The Signes forerunning the wonderfull Cracke.

The certaine signes in a citizen are these:

He strives to be called into such office, especially as whereby he may have the stocke of the parish, or company, in his custody.

He gives ground in matter of payment; the longer he deales, the more he leaves in the remainder upon every payment.

He leaves the plain path of his profession, and places more faith in a project then in all the probabilities of his owne trading; and when a citizen turns projector he has the very tokens of the wonderfull cracke about him.

His country-house is too little for him, and it wants a gate-house for his wife and coach to come in at; and, therefore, there must be laid out thrice as much as the fee-simple of all when it is finished will affoord.

He takes up at interest to make good the building; all his good debts he sets over to the immediate accountant in trust, and with an intention to prevent his creditors.

All his purchases are either in the name of his sonne, or some trusty kinsman of his wifes.

The nearer the cracke the faster he laies about him to take up in any kinde and upon any conditions; then he conveyes all things of value out of his house.

And at last he gives fire with a report of his great losses at or beyond the seas, where he (God wot) had never any factory or dealing in all his lifetime.

Then he sends his wife to her mothers, where she must live awhile, that she may not be troubled with the noyse and clamour of the creditor.

He betakes himself to his chamber, keepes the shop windowes shut, and provides a catalogue of all his desperate credits, onely to deliver to his creditors when they shall come to treat upon the subject of satisfaction.

The newes reaches to the Exchange by noone, where they that have given credit to him looke so prettily and pittifully one upon another, as you might know and challenge them by their faces.

Then they gather together, and conferre their notes, and cast up the whole summe what all their credits may come unto; onely some of the more pragmaticall sort, who feare to publish their losses least their own estates should come likewise in question, doe dissemble the matter, and speake with the least. Others that suspect it may be their owne case very shortly, pitty the mans misfortune, blame the hardnesse of the times, deadness of trade, and scarcity of coyne, recounting what he is out for forraign plantations abroad, and other contributions at home, and with what charge he hath gone through so many offices in so short a time; whereat every man relents, and lets slacke his more strict purposes, agreeing all to goe to his house to confer with him after dinner.

And so dismisse we them till then.

It may be you looke I should have spoken of the cracke of my city gallant, but it is improper to place him among creditors that has been bred a borrower from his cradle, and that according to the custome of the citie; let it onely suffice, that though he had not his country house, yet he had his country hostesse, and though he dealt not in court projection, yet he kept a vile coile for court protection.

His hostesse she paid the old widdowes and his young mistresse their debts in the same coyne that he tendred to them.

And at last, when his insolvency appeared upon every post, she preferr'd any justice of peace his clarke thereabouts to her respectuality before him, so that there was neither abiding at Rumford nor returne to London, but he must of necessity make a voyage, be it but to Britlesey, where he lies close under a borrowed name, which was the last commodity that he ever tooke up, till his friends shall have rectified his credit, and restored him to the estate from which he was so lately collapsed and fallen.

The Recovery of the old Man, with the common Comfort which it did beget, hold the next Place.

After dinner all the creditors met againe on the Exchange, where they hold full three houres conference, during which time not any one of them did beleeve one word which another spake unto him; for they were too wise and learned in the use and exercise of conformity to speake the simple truth, because they were to deale in a matter mixt and compounded of many ingredient credits commedled and put together.

From hence they goe to the house of their debtor, in number as many as a whole college of physicians, to enquire for their patient: they are forthwith brought up unto him in his chamber, where they found him in an old suit, onely fit for garbling or eating of green fish, with as many night-caps upon his head as there be caps in a nest of court-dishes, and the old gowne which was alwaise wont to lye at the hall for ordinary dayes: instead of plate, there were onely two full urinals standing upon the court-cubbord, by which they might discerne the great disability and weaknesse which the winde-collick had wrought within him.

And instead of accounts, bonds, and bills, and other evidences, there lay onely open before him the foresaid catalogue, consisting of desperate debts and debtors (as aforesaid.)

They salute him as if they did in a manner partly remember him, and then altogether, as well the man of ten as he of two-and-twenty hundred in credits, without difference, put forward for the first delivery of his minde unto him.

This disorder was much blamed by the graver sort, and upon better advice, select men were drawne out of them to compound for so many of them as would voluntarily conforme themselves, which was to be done according to the catalogue, and as the ability would beare it.

In the meane time a letter of licence is sealed for his liberty to call in and recover what was due unto himselfe.

This letter of licence begat a commission of conformity, and then to work they goe full roundly. Some of the chiefe, who had taken other and better conditions of satisfaction of him in private than the rest, shewed much forwardnesse in the publicke way of composition, and in the end did so strengthen their party, that they prevailed against the other.

The whole debt was cryed down to sixe and eight pence in the pound, the windowes were opened, the servants in the shop flung up their caps, the curse was removed from their house, their master was a recovered man, and none but a banquerupt would say to the contrary.

Their mistresse was sent for home with all the speed that might be; and this night all her kindred and their masters friends were to solemnize this happy recovery of the decayed man, where they meant to drink to the health of six and eight pence, from six in the evening till eight next morning.

The common Comfort onely remains.

Now the recovered man makes a most strickt scrutiny and review into his shop-bookes, as well for debtors solvent as insolvent; he confers his registers altogether, and where he findes a debt uncrost in any one of them, though it be discharged in the other two, it makes no matter; this is it by which he must stand charged, and un-

lesse he can discharge himselfe by this also, he is like to perish and receive condemnation by the very letter without tradition.

He will spare no man whom the law puts in his hands, lest he become a partaker in his iniquity. He calls home all things which he had formerly conveighed out of doores, and sets forward his building in the country.

He flourishes as he never did before, and will give 1000 pound more with his lame daughter now, more than he offered with her at the last swan-hopping.

He'll out-bid all the towne for the great and lesser formes.

Briefly, he vowes

To redeem the time past.

To prevent the evil day to come.

To runne the course and tread in the footsteps of some of the right worshipfull; and, in reverence of conformity, to convert his old composition gowne into a faire and comfortable foot-cloth.

> But three rich wives, and such another cracke,
> Will make thee scorn to cry, What doe you lacke?

By the Counsale of Ram-Alley.

Non nobis nati sumus.

Whereas, in these latter times, it concernes us in civill policy to be so much the more industrious, as we are become numerous above former ages; and no endeavour can be so beneficiall and honourable as the enlarging of our territory by discovery and plantation in parts habitable and agreeable with our debitory disposition, where we may disperse our colonies with more conveniency and advantage than at this present; for which purpose we have lately imployed and set forth the good ship called the Least in Sight, accompanied with that approved and well appointed pinace the Pay Nought; the charge and command of both of which we conferred upon Sir Oliver Owe-much, who man'd the same with persons best qualified in the art of insolvency, the greater part whereof himselfe had knowne and tryed to be men of much trust, being his owne creditors, and creatures of his owne discretion, whose loving kindnesses he requited in manner of imployment following, viz.

The mercer he made master of the Least in Sight, and his baker boatswaine.

And because his vintner had bestowed many a shot upon him in prosperity, he made him master-gunner in his adversity.

His tobacco-man desired to be the gunners mate, because he would make all smoake againe.

A purser they needed not; for besides that they had all bad memories in calling of things past to remembrance, they held it a foolish thing to keep accounts where there was no purpose of payment.

His haberdasher came somewhat with the latest; but his laundresse, by the power of her letters recommendatory, preferred her husband to be controller of the coile, remembrancer of the bilbowes, and yeoman swabber of the Pay Nought.

And his taylor, last of all, because he had the best stomacke to the action, he was made steward, and had charge of the victuall for the voyage.

Being thus provided, on Munday the first of March, the wind blew faire from the east, when they left the Temple-staires: and the same day, being St David's day, the ayre grew thicke and very foggy, insomuch that the pinace had lost the admirall, had

it not, instead of a light in her lanthorne, hung up a leeke in the maine-top, by the sent whereof it recovered sight of her againe the next morning by break of day.

On the second, third, and fourth day, the weather was very variable and stormy, howsoever they still spoon'd onward for most advantage.

About eight of the clocke on Friday the fifth of May their pylot, who had been a spectacle-maker and a prospectuary without Temple-barre, descried a saile making towards them, which they suspected by his flag to be the water-bailiffe of London.

Hereupon a counsell was called aboord the captaine, to consider what was to be done in this imminent extremity.

Some advised that it were fit to make to the land, if they knew where to touch without hazard.

Others of higher resolution advised to stand the fortune of a sea-fight, and to draw their number out of sight into the hold, whereby to encourage the enemy to a neerer approach, which opinion was generally received and allowed.

Presently, as the occasion required, it was agreed, that for the sublimation of every sparke spirit amongst them, there should be an extraordinary allowance made instantly; that was, the full proportion of one pipe of tobacco and a Temple pot of six to every two of them, which, when they had cheerfully past about, the taylor, whose conscience was more tender than his stomacke, would needs be resolved in two points concerning his souls health before the fight should begin. The first was, whether the cause and quarrell which they were to undertake were justifiable or no? for that he ever held Ludgate more worthy than Newgate in divers respects: and the next was, in case he should miscarry in the action, whether *limbus patrum et infantum*, were not under his owne shopboord or no?

Before my taylor could have opinion herein of my captaines chaplaine, who had been a vinegar-man formerly, and a fellow of excellent sharpe apprehension, the supposed enemy came within shot, whereupon every one of them began to apply him to his charge.

But just as master-gunner was ready to let flye (not for feare, I hope) they perceived no other assailants but the church-wardens of New Brainford, who were bound for London to buy bels, not for the church, but their morrice-dance against the ensuing Whitson ale. Hereupon, for their better recovery, the allowance was againe doubled to every one of them. And on they passe bravely, till, on Saturday the sixth, they discerned firme land lying upon the Savoyans eastward. Here the captaine drew out the one half of his forces, and with his long boat put them to land, where they found a most spacious continent, fit for plantation, at four degrees beyond the Temple, the climate exceeding temperate so long as you pay the tennis-court keeper for your lodging, the accommodations most excellent, either thorow the White Hart into the Covent Garden, and so into the country round about, or from the great house thorow the Swanne into Drury-lane, and so forth, free as a bird in the ayre. The Lacedemonian women supply them with fish and fruit of all sorts, which they bring downe in abundance from the upland countries, insomuch as there is neither feare of want of victuals, so long as they have money, nor of security while they doe put themselves under the protection of Denmarke-house. Here they left the haberdasher and certaine other to winter it; and the rest returning aboord the ninth day of May, bearing their course still west by north. On the twelfth day, Cape Virde, or Green's Wharfe, did shew itselfe unto them, where they likewise put in and forraged cleane thorow it on both sides. This place (besides other goodly beasts of all sorts) is most famous for harts, whose hornes are of the comeliest branch and spreading, as also of dimension and extension that can be; so that, in memory of them, the captaine named the place Hartshorne-alley: then the which no place hitherto discovered is of a more capable

continent, or more rich in minerals, vegetatives, or victuals, or more agreeable with the constitution of our countrymen, especially if they be married. The severall commodities and merchandizes whereof, you shall receive more at large upon returne of the Least in Sight from thence.

In the meantime we exhort you that both with cheerefull contribution, and otherwise with your advice, you doe not onely uphold the old ones, but also further and advance the said two new plantations so happily discovered, and so prosperously pursued hitherto, by you the councell and adventurers of the said company, and at your onely charge and expence.

So ye that see't may wish, but never shall ye
Performe the like adventures as Ram-ally.

FINIS.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES II.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

KING CHARLES II.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

A perfect Catalogue of all the Archbishops and Bishops in England and Wales, established by his Majesty King Charles the Second, ranked in their Order, whereof the Five first take Place by Act of Parliament, the Rest according to their Consecration.

A. *Notes the Ancient Bishops; Y. the Diocesses in the Province of York; all the Rest are in the Province of Canterbury.*

Anno 1660.

The re-establishment of the hierarchy was the natural consequence of the restoration of the crown to the son of a prince, who had fallen a martyr for and with the church of England.

Time of their Consecration.		Bishopricks.	Counties under their several Jurisd.	Parishes.
Anno 1633.	A. Dr William Juxon, Lord Archbishop Primate, and Metropolitan of all England.	Canterbury, hath	Canterbury hath part of Kent.	257
1634.	A. Dr Accepted Frewen, Lord Archbishop and Metropolitan of England.	York, Y. hath	Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire	581
Oct. 28, 1660.	Dr Gilbert Sheldon, Lord Bishop of	London, hath	Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hartfordshire	623
Dec. 2, 1660.	Dr John Cossens, Lord Bishop of	Durham, Y. hath	Durham, Northumberland, and Isle of Mann	135

Time of their Consecration.		Bishopricks.	Counties under their several Jurisd.	Parishes.
1638.	A. Dr Brian Duppa, Lord Bishop of Prelate of the Garter.	Winchester, hath	Hantshire, Surrey, Isles of Wight, Guernsey, and Jersey	362
1632.	A. Dr William Piers, Lord Bishop of	Bath and Wells, hath	Somersetshire	388
1636.	A. Dr Robert Skinner, Lord Bishop of	Oxford, hath	Oxfordshire	195
1637.	A. Dr William Roberts, Lord Bishop of	Bangor, hath	Carnarvonshire, Isle of Anglesey, Merionetshire, and part of Denbighshire	107
1637.	A. Dr John Warner, Lord Bishop of	Rochester hath	Kent, part of	98
1638.	A. Dr Matthew Wren, Lord Bishop of	Ely, hath	Cambridgeshire, and Isle of Ely	141
1641.	A. Dr Henry King, Lord Bishop of	Chichester, hath	Sussex, and part of Hartfordshire	557
Oct. 28, 1660.	Dr Humphry Henchman, Lord Bishop of	Salisbury, hath	Wiltshire and Berkshire	248
Oct. 28, 1660.	Dr George Morley, Lord Bishop of	Worcester, hath	Worcestershire, and part of Warwickshire	241
Oct. 28, 1660.	Dr Robert Sanderson, Lord Bishop of	Lincoln, hath	Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and part of Hartfordshire	1255
Oct. 28, 1660.	Dr George Griffith, Lord Bishop of	St Asaph, hath	Denbyshire, part, and part of Flintshire	121
Dec. 2, 1660.	Dr William Lucey, Lord Bishop of	St Davids, hath	Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire	308
Dec. 2, 1660.	Dr Benjamin Laney, Lord Bishop of	Peterborough, hath	Northamptonshire, and Rutlandshire	293
Dec. 2, 1660.	Dr Hugh Loid, Lord Bishop of	Landaff, hath	Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, Brecknockshire, and part of Radnorshire	177
Dec. 2, 1660.	Dr Richard Stern, Lord Bishop of	Carlisle, Y. hath	Cumberland, and part of Westmorland	93

Time of their Consecration.		Bishopricks.	Counties under their several Jurisd.	Parishes.
Dec. 2, 1660.	Dr Brian Walton, Lord Bishop of	Chester, Y. hath	Cheshire, Richmondshire, part of Flintshire, part of Cumberland, and all Lancashire	256
Dec. 2, 1660.	Dr John Gauden, Lord Bishop of	Exeter, hath	Devonshire, city of Exeter, and Cornwall	623
Jan. 13, 1660.	Dr Gilbert Ironside, Lord Bishop of	Bristol, hath	Bristol city, and Dorsetshire	236
Jan. 13, 1660.	Dr Edward Reynolds, Lord Bishop of	Norwich, hath	Norfolk and Suffolk	1121
Jan. 13, 1660.	Dr William Nicholson, Lord Bishop of	Gloucester, hath	Gloucestershire	267
Jan. 13, 1660.	Dr Nicholas Monck, Lord Bishop of	Hereford, hath	Herefordshire, part of Shropshire, part of Worcestershire, and part of Radnorshire	313
	Lord Bishop of	Coventry & Lichfield hath	Warwickshire, part, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and part of Shropshire	241

An Apology in the Behalf of the Sequestred Clergy, presented to the High Court of Parliament. By R. Mossom, Preacher of God's Word at S. Pet. P. Wh. London.

Lex Justitiæ, Justitia Reipub. basis, J. C. ax.

Printed in the Year 1660.

The case of these loyal clergy, who had been sequestered during the civil war, was peculiarly hard at the Restoration. Their pulpits and livings had been so generally occupied by the presbyterian divines, that a general restoration to their cures was judged impolitic, and indeed impracticable. Their cause is pleaded with considerable energy in the following tract. It may be observed, that the subsequent expulsion of the non-conforming ministers must have made room for the restoration of many of these petitioners.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

Most Noble Lords, and Worthy Patriots,

Glorious is the day of our Sion's deliverance, in which the sun hath broken through the clouds. Sovereignty dispelled the mists and storms too of disloyalty. Now, after our hallelujahs to the King of Glory for the wonders of his providence, fit it is that we make oblations of gratitude for your prudent counsels and exemplary allegiance.

Whereby, whatever have been our turnings and rollings, all as excentric to righteousness as to peace, we are now fixed upon our right centre, a loyal subjection to our lawful sovereign. And O! what joy is it to see in the high court of parliament Aristides and Themistocles forget all injuries and animosities, changing their private contention into the public emulation. *Uter melius de patria mereri possit,*[1] whether may deserve best of his country.

This is that, worthy heroes, which gives confidence to this address, by way of apology, so to represent the sequestred clergy's cause and condition, that, in the common joy and public exultation, they may not be the only mourners at home[2] in their deep distress of private affliction, which yet must needs be, if, when their persecution is ceased, their sufferings continue; if, when their oppressors are removed, they remain still under their oppressions. They have had their part in the fastings and prayers and tears for obtaining the blessing of restauration; O let them have their portion in the comfort and peace and joy of the church and state restored! They have, though sequestred, threatened, and imprisoned,—they have, very many of them, (if not most of them) from press and pulpit, prayed and preached, and earnestly contended for that liberty wherein these nations now stand; and O let them have at least this reward of their services, a release from their sufferings!

Many of us have been sequestred before the late king, of blessed memory, was murdered, and many of us since that black and dismal treason, and for no other crime but acting in our callings according to the dictate of our consciences, discharging our ministry according to the rule of our established laws. (If ignorance or scandal be truly and legally objected against any man's ministry or person, let them that will plead for Baal.) Not being conscious then of violating either the law of God or man, if our accusers and their accusations be produced in judgment, we are ready either clearly to justify our innocence, or humbly to submit unto our sentence. Besides, impossible it is that all notes of discord and parties (as his majesty in his declaration graciously desires and positively ordains) should be utterly abolished, while our sequestrations continue, and, which is worse, if the unlawful possession of intruders be confirmed.

We humbly conceive that the occasion of our sequestration is now removed, and this not by any pretence of power or party-pleading conquest, (a thing to be for ever silenced) but by a wonderful work of God upon the very hearts of men; he, and he alone, hath overcome us all, in his kindness and love, to teach us to overcome one another by all loving-kindness.

Now, the occasion, I say, of our sequestrations being thus, even thus removed, shall a worse evil come upon us, (not only all loving-kindness, but all common justice being forgotten) the unjust possession of our livings confirmed? What could our greatest enemies do more? Nay, they would have done much less, had we submitted to their usurpation and tyranny. We doubt not but the honourable court of parliament, taking this one particular into their judicious and christian consideration, it will persuade a speedy removing, whatsoever may obstruct our so just, so reasonable, so necessary re-admission.

[1] *Herod. Hist.* [2] If yet they have any home since they were thrust out of their houses.

[3] *Possessio jure consistens est civilis possessio.* Cod. l. 7. tit. 32. *Orig. Notes.*

Sure we are the civil law[1] does not (nor any other) justify possession without right; so that[2] unjust possession, though long, cannot give title, and without title there is no plea for prescription, but the law obliges to restitution. We are right in the state of captives[3] returned, to whom, by all rules of equity, plenary restitution is to be made; which yet we remit of in our desires as to the *summum jus* of a plenary restitution, referring ourselves (honoured patriots) to your candour and moderation.

This precedent we can produce, (we will not take the confidence to propose) that when the thirty tyrants under Gallienus and Valerianus had brought the Roman empire into much disorder and confusions; and that by Basiliscus[4] tyrannizing in the east, that venerable council of Chalcedon was condemned, and the holy fathers of the church, the bishops, and other pastors were displaced and expulsed; Zeno the emperor subduing this usurpation and tyranny, with the advice of the senate, makes a decree for a restitution to the church, with a [5]*Decernimus, in integrum restituantur universa, et ad suum ordinem revocentur*, We decree that all things be restored wholly, and reduced into their own order.

And not only the civil law asserts our cause, but also the common law hath done its utmost to secure our estates; for, besides the *Articuli Cleri*, so full and particularly express, we have our interest in Magna Charta as to privilege and propriety, as clear and as full as any whatsoever. It is ordained in that royal charter, so often confirmed in parliaments, that [6]if any thing be procured by any person, contrary to our privilege and propriety, (the premises intended) it shall be holden of no force or effect: So that, without an open breach made to the violation of all men's property, we cannot be denied the asserting ours.

Many objections are strongly made, which here (I humbly conceive) are fully answered.

1. *Object.* Many learned and godly men will be unprovided, if the sequestred clergy be restored.

Ans. We give their learning its just esteem; but let me say, (and 'tis beyond any man's gainsaying) the learnedst clergy that ever England had was that sequestred; their works do witness it to the whole world: And as for their godliness, if [7]"the tree may be known by its fruits," these here pleaded for have given testimony beyond exception; yet these so eminently learned and godly ministers have been (without all tenderness and compassion towards them) unprovided for almost twenty years, which (if the objection have any weight) may justly require and urge their speedy re-admission, having been out too long to be kept out any longer, when God himself hath opened the way for their return; and, indeed, it is God's providence which miraculously hath opened the way, and shall any human power adventure to obstruct it? We desire no more but the benefit of the known law, and should not have need of any plea, petition, or apology, to recover our own, did not some endeavour to prevail with this honourable court to interpose their authority to intercept our claim.

How then are they godly who will knowingly (and so their learning does encrease their guilt) add sin unto sin, by usurping another's right after so many years unlawful possession, and taking upon them the guiding of those flocks the chief shepherd never committed to them, as not [8]"entering by the right door;" besides, if this parliament should enact (which God forbid) that such intruders should be confirmed in other men's livings as to estate, and other men's charges as to the ministry; how great a snare would it be to men's consciences, (if at all godly) which certainly would not hereby be quieted, if truly awakened.

* For our right being indubitable by the law of god and man, a law *post fact*, such as

[1] *Injusta possessio non est titulus, et sine titulo non est locus prescriptioni.* Ibid.
[2] *Reversus de captivitate, &c.* [3] Cod. l. 7. *tit.* 35. [4] Evagr. Hist. l. 2.
[5] Cod. l. 1. tit. 35. [6] Mag. Chart. cap. 37. [7] Matth. xii. 33. [8] John x. 1, 2. *Orig. Notes.*

this, desired from the parliament, can no ways acquit those pretended godly ministers of palpable injustice; but, in *foro conscientiæ*, they lie under the known and wilful guilt of injury and wrong, which cannot, without restitution, admit of repentance to receive pardon; that maxim among the casuists, from St Augustine, being clear and certain, [1] *non dimittitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum*, there can be no remission (because no true repentance) without restitution in repair of injuries. I beseech those godly ministers to consider, if they cannot answer this now, how they will answer it t the dreadful day of judgment.

2 *Object.* This of restoring sequestred ministers to their livings will disturb the calm of state.

Answ. Sure I am the contrary will cloud the face of heaven, and turn the calm into a storm, and leave the nation under a curse. The greatest [2]" troubler of Israel" is certainly oppression and injustice; and if the unjust possession should be confirmed by the parliament, (as some men would have it) what were this but [3]" to establish iniquity by law?" For if we have right to possess, it is unjust to keep us out of our possession; unjust in them that usurp our right, but more unjust in those who confirm that usurpation, especially when they have the power in their hands, and law on their sides, and are appealed to as a court, and the highest court of justice, to have our right asserted and our injury redressed.

Under favour, we may and must plead the parliament will not, (for it is a court of justice) and it is an audacious boldness to think they will, or petition they would, against our [4]wills, give away our rights. If the law take our livings from us, we stand to our trial, and submit; if the law does not, the parliament sure will not; I had almost said cannot. This I am sure, though they may confirm men's present possession, yet they cannot make our right to have been no right; it implies a contradiction: Be it so then, that the parliament should think fit to make their possession firm, can they make it just? just in *foro Poli*, whatsoever it is in *foro Soli*; and what conveniency should prompt the parliament to confirm an unjust possession I cannot imagine, nor dare to enquire. Reason of state is a secret which duty forbids my curiosity to pry into. I doubt not but this good service I shall do the parliament by this apology, to clear their justice and honour against those men's insolence and clamour who would engage them to violate Magna Charta, the chiefest of laws, and subject's property, the chiefest of rights.

3 *Object.* If the ministers must restore their livings, then the purchasers their lands; and, if so, the consequences will be a new disturbance and distraction.

Ans. As the ministers invading other men's livings became too much a precedent for the purchasers to possess other men's lands, so it were to be wished that a just resignation in the ministers might become (as in godly men and ministers it should become) exemplary for a just restitution in the purchasers: But, to say truth, the purchasers are generally far more the ingenuous, who have very many of them been satisfied with this proposal, that upon their disbursements being repaid, with consideration of improvement for the time, the lands should be restored.

Now, if the ministers had purchased our livings, as others did the church lands, there might be [5] some appearance of equity for satisfaction of charge, but yet still no plea for property.

4 *Object.* All must be content to be losers.

Ans. We think, after almost twenty years exclusion from our livings, to the utter

[1] August. Epist. 54. [2] 1 Kings xviii. 17. [3] Psalm xciv. 20.

[4] Who yet are willing to sacrifice what is most dear to the peace of the church, upon a brotherly accord for making up all breaches.

[5] Notwithstanding the sure rule in civil law, that *iniquis comparatoribus pretium reposcere non liceat.* Cod. l. 7. Tit. 38.

Orig. Notes.

undoing of so many numerous familie [1] forced too, too many to beg their bread, and very often want bread when they have been begging of it; we think, after this, to tell us of being further losers, when for so many years we have lost all, is but the part of miserable comforters.

Alas! many of us are so aged, that, if not speedily restored, they shall not probably live to enjoy any part of what is their own, which, in this so miraculous a deliverance, is given unto them again of God; and, indeed, this adds a further difference from the case of the purchasers, that, as the possessors of our rights never were at charge for our livings, so nor are their heirs or executors cut off from any after-benefit by their restoring of them. Our tenure is but for life; that the purchasers have paid for is perpetuity; so that all the advantage we have by restitution, is only to ourselves for that pittance of life which remains; whereas, in the restitution from the purchasers there is a profit to posterity.

5 *Object.* You of the sequestred clergy shall not be left without provision: The fanatic, and not ordained preachers, being removed, and livings, as they fall vacant, reserved, there will be found livings enough, equal in number and value, to admit you all to your ministerial employment, and a plentiful subsistence.

Ans. A good way, if rightly ordered, to preserve the parliament's honour in administring us justice; and this without the least of clamour in not providing for learned and godly ministers. And 'tis thus: The sequestred clergy, according to law and reason, equity and conscience, being restored, those vacated livings mentioned will be a present supply for the godly ministers removed, and this honourable to the parliament and just to us; but that we should be debarred our right against law, and thus disposed of to other livings, however it might seem a way of relief to us, yet can it not (as we conceive) be an act of justice in the parliament; and so, though it does sustain our lives, yet it will not support their honours.

For, if we are judged capable of other livings, why not of our own? If we are not criminous, how comes it to pass that, having property, we are kept out of our old? And, if we are criminous, how come we to have the capacity of being admitted into new? Besides, we know many put into our livings have deserted their first principles, and have taken the late engagement, and done (according to that) what was dangerous and destructive to king and parliament. Now we suppose such persons, without dispute, shall not be sheltered by any parliamentary authority from the laws of the land, by which they (and all others too) are required to make restitution.

These then being removed, (whether pretended heads of houses in the universities, or ministers of several churches, or the like) there will not be found (considering how very many since their sequestration have died in their loyalty) there will not be found so considerable a number of the sequestred clergy to return to their respective charges, as to make any apparent disturbance in the state, and so not so considerable a number of the aforesaid godly ministers, for whose sakes the parliament should be put upon so great an act of dishonour as that of injustice.

6 *Object.* The ministers are now so well acquainted with their people, and the people with their ministers, that it will be a distraction to the several parishes to receive new preachers.

Ans. How the several parishes are affected towards their ancient pastors is very evident; many of them (I am sure) much desiring, and earnestly longing, yea inviting their return: Indeed, I believe, if the colleges were to petition for their governors,

[1] I speak not this as to myself, though I have some time tasted the bitterest of sufferings; for I acknowledge with thankfulness, through a blessing of Providence upon my unwearied labours, I have maintained myself and family in some plentiful subsistence.—*Orig. Note.*

and the parishes for their ministers, it would soon appear whether is most dissatisfactory and distracting to the colleges and parishes, the absence or return of their lawful heads and ministers.

Wherefore it may be confidently averred, that it would be not only a great contentment and comfort to the aged heads and religious hearts of many, truly reverend for learning and godliness, to be re-admitted to the exercise of their ministry in their respective cures, but it would be also an abundant satisfaction to their several charges, who earnestly pray and long for their returns, being conscientiously sensible how they have, like sheep, erred and strayed since they lost their lawful shepherds.

Now, if notwithstanding this apology and plea, fortified with arguments of law and equity, reason and religion; if notwithstanding all this, the judgment of this so honourable parliament thinks fit (for causes best known unto themselves) to wave our right, and determine against our re-admission, we have discharged our consciences as to that [1] natural obligation of providing for our families; that political, of asserting our just titles; and that religious, of attending our ministerial charges; all which will acquit us in our account at the last day: And having done this, we will not impatiently repine, nor uncharitably censure, much less undutifully resist, but in our accustomed silence sit down in submission to this high court's prudential decree and final determination.

At present then, in the face of the world, we plead for that which so honourable a parliament will not deny us; to our cause, justice; to our condition, mercy; mercy, for we may not doubt but at Westminster, as well as Athens, amidst so many noble hearts we shall find an [2] altar dedicated to Mercy; whose sacrifices are sighs and tears, of which we can give a plentifull offering, from parents and children oppressed with necessities and wants.

We know, indeed, compassion is pleaded, as to the families of the present possessors; but what! may it not be more equally pleaded as to those the so long dispossessed? The sequestred clergy have, generally, from plentifull estates, been reduced to the deepest of necessities; but they who entred upon the sequestrations were advanced from necessitous estates to a plentiful maintenance; and so are provided even with our incomes to bear the want of profits (if it must be) better than those of the suffering brethren, quite exhausted and fainting under their afflictions.

Whether, indeed, is more equal? that they be exposed to want who have right, but no possession; or they who have possession, but no right.

Supposing that many, very many, possest of our livings, not being ordained ministers, (or but lately ordained, in design to hold their livings) should not continue, but must give place to the lawful incumbents; supposing this, consider, I beseech you, (noble worthies) how it clearly evinceth right of possession to be on our side; but a respect of party (a thing his majesty would have buried, and this parliament hath disclaimed) is made the grand stop to our free return; for that all others do not recede to give us possession cannot be justified by law, therefore do they seek to be countenanced by favour.

If in this Apology any error of judgment, any heat of zeal, any unfitness of expression, impudence of address, or the like, be liable to just censure, I humbly crave that it may be wholly laid upon myself, acquitting the reverend fathers, and the ministerial brethren, as not in the least culpable. The haste of this address (lest it should

[1] 1 Tim. v. 8.

[2] *Parca superstitio non thurea flamma nec Altus. Accipitur sanguis, lachrymis altaria sudant,* &c. Stat. lib. 12.—*Orig. Notes.*

be prevented by the parliaments proceeding to the bill) not permitting a deliberate consultation with them, or a particular approbation from them.

Now, the God of all wisdom direct your consultations (most noble lords and honoured heroes) to the glory of his name, and the honour of the king, and the peace of our Sion, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Amen.

Thus prays your honours suppliant,

R. Mossom, a minister of the Gospel, and one of the sequestred clergy.

For the King and both Houses of Parliament; being a brief, plain, and true Relation of some of the late sad Sufferings of the People of God called Quakers, for worshipping God and exercising a good Conscience towards God and Man; by Reason whereof Eighty-nine have suffered till Death, Thirty-two of which died before the King came into England, and Fifty-seven since; of which Fifty-seven, by hard Imprisonment and cruel Usage, Forty-three have died in this City of London and Southwark since the Act made against Meetings.

The Quakers of the present day are better known to society by their simple and peaceable deportment, the justice and fairness of their dealings, the charity and benevolence of their dispositions, than by the peculiar nature of their religious tenets. These excellent qualities may dispense with any unnecessary or insulting reference to the enthusiastic doctrines and absurd fanaticism of their predecessors. Even Baxter, who gives a sufficiently severe character of the Quakers of his time, seems to have commiserated the situation of these sufferers, equally undaunted and patient as unresisting. They had, indeed, such a plentiful share of the persecution which succeeded the act of uniformity, that they seemed to be the "forlorn hope" of the sectaries, and to shroud the others by drawing on themselves the whole heat of legal prosecution.

"And here the fanatics called Quakers did greatly relieve the sober people for a time: for they were so resolute, and gloried in their constancy and sufferings, that they assembled openly (at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate) and were dragged away daily to the common jail; and yet desisted not, but the rest came the next day neverthelesse, so that the jail at Newgate was filled with them. Abundance of them died in prison, and yet they continued their assemblies still! And the poor deluded souls would sometimes meet only to sit still in silence (when, as they said, the spirit did not speak:) And it was a great question, whether this silence was a religious exercise not allowed by the liturgy, &c. And once, upon some such reasons as these, when they were tried upon a sessions, in order to a banishment, the jury acquitted them; but were grievously threatned for it. After that another jury did acquit them, and some of them were fined and imprisoned for it. But thus the Quakers so employed Sir R. B.[1] and the other searchers and prosecutors, that they had the less leisure to look after the meetings of soberer men; which was much to their present ease."—Baxter's *Life, Lond.* 1696, fol. p. 436.

The following papers appear to have been written by some of this sect during the prosecutions carried on against them, and in all probability their sufferings are not greatly exaggerated.

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[1] Richard Brown.

It is not unknown that we have been persecuted and suffering people for many years, even by all the powers that have ruled in these kingdoms; and many hard imprisonments, scourgings, and false judgments, we have undergone; and much evil dealing hath been exercised towards us, and all this for, and because only of, our religion and good conscience to God-wards, and not for any rebellion, sedition, or wrong-doing towards them or our neighbour: For it hath been our only care how to walk justly and innocently in the sight of God, towards rulers and people, and have been peaceable towards all; and herein we have desired to approve our hearts in much integrity and sincerity, that we might be found blameless before the Lord, as himself doth bear us witness.

Yorkshire.

Robert Barwick, for refusing to swear, was sent to York Castle the 24th day of the 11th month, 1660, and on the 28th day of the first month he died a prisoner.

Peter Caiph of Wayton, was taken out of a peaceable meeting by constables, without any warrant; and he and several others, for refusing to swear, were sent to York Castle the 13th of the 12th month, 1660, and the second day of the second month, 1661, Peter died a prisoner.

Robert Storr of Hilston, for the same cause, was imprisoned in York Castle, and on the 25th of the first month, 1661, he died a prisoner.

Benjamin Nicholson of Tickell, and Abraham Decow of Fishlock, being committed upon the same account to York Castle, died in prison.

And there hath died nine more in York lately, whose names are not as yet sent up.

Surrey.

Thomas Patchen, being sick of a fever, was taken out of his bed, and drove twenty-five miles on foot; and in their cruelty they over-drove him, insomuch that it was beyond his natural strength, so that in a few days after he was in the White Lyon prison he died.

Hampshire.

William Rutter, on the 17th day of the 12th month, 1661, was taken out of a meeting, and had to the main guard in Portsmouth, and from thence to the mayor, who tendred him the oath of allegiance, and for refusing to swear, he was committed to the common gaol, and falling sick on the 14th day of the first month, he died a prisoner.

Bedfordshire.

John Rush of Kempston Hardwick was kept a prisoner about a year for not paying tithes to priest Wells of Wilkhanistead, who kept him in prison until he died, which was the first of the 11th month, 1661.

Huntingdonshire.

Simon Sandford and Francis Lamstead, being both committed to the gaol in Huntingdon for refusing to swear, died in prison, Francis the 7th day of the first month, and Simon the 18th of the 12th month, 1661.

Worcestershire.

Richard Walker, a sickly weakly man, and hath been so long, was (with many more) on the first day of the 11th month, 1662, taken out of a meeting in Evisham, by one Major Wild, who, with the rest of his party on horseback, forced the poor sick man with haste and rigor, to travel on foot part of the way to Worcester, and his sick body being wearied, not being able to travel so fast as their horses, one of the hard-hearted soldiers took him by the arm, and drew him violently along; the mayor also rode with his horse against him, and struck him down with his horse brisket, and plucked out his pistol, and threatned to pistol him; and when they saw he could not travel so fast as they in haste rode their horses, then they set him on a horse, and one of them whipped the horse forward up hill and down hill, without pity to his weak condition; and the said Wild committed him to the county gaol in Worcester, where, being far from his tender friends who nourished him in his weak condition, his sickness increased, and he soon died.

London and Southwark.

Daniel Abraham being imprisoned in Newgate, with about three hundred more friends, for refusing to swear, in the 12th month, 1660, fell sick and died.

Walter Belamy being at the same time imprisoned in Newgate, and there being one hundred, or thereabouts, imprisoned in that room where he was, it is judged that so many being together, for want of convenient air and lodging, he fell sick, and in the third month, 1661, he died a prisoner.

John Stanton, having a wife and several children, was taken out of a meeting by rude soldiers, and committed to Newgate, and falling sick, died a prisoner the 21st day of the 4th month, 1662.

Thomas Kirby, a young man, a haberdasher by trade, being newly out of his time, was taken out of a meeting of the people of God, and committed to prison to Newgate, where he fell sick, and on the first day of the fifth month, 1662, he finished his testimony by death.

Richard Hubberthorne, a faithful minister of the Lord, being declaring the truth at the Bull and Mouth meeting, was taken by soldiers, and carried before Richard Brown, who took hold of the brim of his hat, and lugged it upon his face, and committed him to Newgate, where he and two more lay in a dark hole; and falling sick on the 17th of the sixth month, 1662, he laid down his life for the testimony of truth.

Anthony Skillington, being at a meeting of the Lord's people on the 13th of the fifth month, 1662, was by the rude soldiers taken out of the meeting, and brought before Richard Brown, who sent him to prison, with many more, and being innocent, they demanded a free prison; and so the gaoler put them in the hole, which is the place they put felons in after they are condemned to die, and there eleven of them remained two nights, and then were had out and put in a stinking hole amongst the common felons; and Anthony often complained of the bad smell before he fell sick; and by reason of want of air, and such a stinking smell, he and several more fell sick and died; and the jury that viewed his body concluded that they did believe his close imprisonment, and the stinking smell, surfeited his body, which was the cause of his death, it being in the heat of summer.

John Giles, a faithful minister of the truth, was taken out of a meeting where he

was ministering the truth, and committed to Newgate by Richard Brown, where, falling sick the 29th of the sixth month, 1662, he laid down his life for the truth's sake.

William Watson of the parish of White-chapel was taken from a meeting, and committed to the common gaol in Newgate, where he fell sick, and on the 25th of the sixth month, 1662, died a prisoner.

William Eldridge and John Shoot were both committed to Newgate by Richard Brown, for meeting to worship God; and they fell sick, and the latter end of the sixth month, 1662, both died, and were carried from Newgate together to be buried.

Richard Bradley, for the cause aforesaid, was committed to New-Prison, where he fell sick, and on the first day of the seventh month, 1662, he laid down his life for the truth's sake.

Henry Boreman, being committed to Newgate for selling friends books, fell sick, and died in Newgate the 17th of the eighth month, 1662, and left a wife great with child, and three small children besides.

Thomas Birkley, Benjamin Bromly, John Whitlock, and William Snowk, being committed to the White Lyon prison, for meeting to worship God (with several others) they fell sick for want of air and conveniences to lodge, and in the ninth month, 1662, all died in the prison, and gave up their lives for the truth's sake.

John Dison, John Wostenholm, and Richard Page, being committed to the White Lyon prison, for the cause aforesaid, with about eighty more, were kept in three little rooms, where, by reason of the closeness of the place, they fell sick, and in a short time, being about the 6th of the 10th month, they there finished their testimony by death.

Thomas Anstee and William Hawkes, being committed to Newgate by Richard Brown, for the cause aforesaid, fell sick, and both laid down their bodies in the prison for the truth's sake.

Thomas Rogers, a young man, was taken also out of a meeting of the people aforesaid, and committed to the common gaol, where he fell sick about the tenth month, 1662, and died in a short time a prisoner for the truth of God.

Mark Close and Gabriel Shaller, being committed by Richard Brown, for the cause aforesaid, where they fell sick, and about the latter end of the tenth month, 1662, died in the common gaol in Newgate for the truth's sake.

John Cooper was by Richard Brown committed to the common gaol in Newgate, for the same cause, where he suffered the loss of his life for the truth's sake, the 30th of the tenth month, 1662.

Thomas Hancler, William Pryor, and Samuel Petchet, being committed by Richard Brown, for meeting together, about the 6th and 7th of the 11th month, died in the common gaol in Newgate; William Pryor leaving a wife and children behind him, whose maintenance did consist on his labour; and Samuel Petchet was a young man newly come up out of the country about business.

John Trowell, being at a meeting at the Bull and Mouth, the latter end of the sixth month, was dragged out of the meeting by rude soldiers, and one of them knocked him down for dead in the street, and then trampled upon him in the street, and he lay sick ten days, and then died; and his dead body was carried to the Bull, where he received his bruises and blows; and the coroner and jury viewed his dead body, and many others, who judged him to be murdered, his body being black with bruises, and even rotten and like a jelly; it cannot well be expressed what grievous blows had fallen on his body: one of the officers having a club in one hand about a yard long, which seemed to be as much as he could well handle, for bigness and weight, with which he laid on about him without mercy, as did the most of his party, regarding neither age nor sex. One friend was knocked down five times; and the blood lay in the streets,

and run down men's faces and shoulders; and one hanger and one other weapon were both broken by force of blows over men's heads.

Humphrey Bache and Humphrey Brewster were both committed to Newgate for meeting; and by the closeness of the prison their bodies were corrupted, so that in a short time after they were released they died.

Humphrey Leaver, Richard Davis, Robert Cross, Thomas Wingreen, John Ratcliff, were all imprisoned in the common gaol in Newgate, by Richard Brown, for meeting to worship God, where it is judged, through the smoke and noisome smells, their bodies were corrupted; so that soon after they were released they died, who we may reckon, with the rest, to have sealed their testimony with the loss of their lives.

Edward Burroughs, a faithful labourer and minister of the Lord, being imprisoned in Newgate for ministring the truth to the people at the Bull and Mouth, he remained a prisoner near three quarters of a year, and notwithstanding the king sent an order under his hand and seal to release him, yet Richard Brown would not release him: The beginning of the twelfth month the said Edward Burroughs fell sick, and the 14th day of the said month he finished his testimony by death.

And there hath suffered imprisonments, stockings, whippings, loss of goods, and other abuses, for keeping a good conscience towards God and man, before the king came into England, 3170 persons.

And there hath suffered imprisonments for refusing to swear, and for meeting together, and refusing to go to public worship, and for keeping a good conscience towards God and man, since the king came into England, 5400 persons, notwithstanding the king's personal endeavours, at sundry times, by letters, warrants, and proclamations for their delivery, and for the mitigation of the harshness of his inferior officers towards them in the cases above mentioned.

And there died by imprisonment, and other hard usage, before the king came in, thirty-two persons.

And there have died, by reason of imprisonment, and hard and cruel usage since the king came in, fifty-six persons.

And there remains at this present in prison in England, who suffer for good conscience sake, five hundred persons.

From the people of God called QUAKERS.

For the King and both Houses of Parliament sitting at Westminster, and for every Member thereof to read.

This also is a tract published by the Quakers, when apparently the violence of their original enthusiasm had subsided into the quiescent, non-resisting, and all-suffering principles which are now professed by that simple and primitive sect of Christians. It needs hardly be remarked, that these doctrines, however respectable, (speaking with a view only to morality) in their small fraternity, would be equally inconsistent with the peace and safety of a community.

FRIENDS! Oh friends, in the power of God dwell, that lasteth for ever, which doth

remain and abide, and mind the higher power, which God hath ordained, which goes over all transgressors, sinners, and evil-doers; which law and higher power was not made for the righteous, but sinners and transgressors, to be a terror to them, and for the punishment of them, and for the praise of them that do well: now, them that do well, the righteous, this law and higher power was not made for, and doth not take hold upon them; to which higher power every soul must be subject: the higher power, I say, that is higher than all transgressors, evil-doers, and the devil, who went out of the truth that led into sin and transgression; therefore to sin and evil people are not to yield themselves; but their souls unto the higher power, as I said before, that goes over sin and the devil, the author of it, to this power must the soul be subject: therefore you rulers and magistrates are to put a difference between the precious and the vile, the righteous and the wicked, such as the law was made for, sinners and transgressors (for which cause it was added) and the righteous which it was not made for; for this higher power that goes over all sinners and transgressors was not made for the righteous, which the immortal soul must be subject to. This immortal higher power, that higher power answereth, and is one with the spirit and witness of God, that witnesseth for him against sin and transgression of the law and power of God in every one.

Secondly, Keep all in the fear of God, departing from sin and evil, that ye may receive God's wisdom from above, that is pure and gentle, and easy to be entreated, and is full of mercy and goodness, which is not earthly, sensual, nor devilish, but keeps from hard-heartedness; and that with that wisdom you may be ruled, and order and govern with, and by all things under your hands to God's glory, by which wisdom all things were made and created, that to the Lord you may be a blessing, and a sweet savour in your generation, and in the hearts of all people, answering the witness of God in them all, that you may be eyes to the blind, legs to the lame, taking away every weight and heavy burthen, and breaking the jaws of the wicked, that would rend and tear the innocent to pieces, that in that you may be a mouth to the dumb, and a strength to them who cannot help themselves, in that you will get the honour of God, and bow the hearts of the people.

Again, let wickedness and violence be stopt; swearing, oaths, drunkenness and prophaneness, of which much abounds in the land, that truth and righteousness may be set up and established, and run down the streets, for that is it which establisheth the kingdom; for the higher power is that goes over all, the devil, and all the powers of darkness, and over sinners and transgressors, which answereth that which all men do transgress.

And let no one be persecuted and imprisoned for worshipping of God in spirit and truth, which the devil is out of: seeing Christ and the apostles did not give any command or example that they should be imprisoned, persecuted, and banished, though there hath been much persecution about the church ministry and worship, and ceremonies, since the days of the apostles and Christ, in the flesh; though, as I said before, from them they have had no example nor command from the apostles and the church in the primitive times to do so; such as will grieve the spirit, quench the spirit, despise the prophecy, were forbidden by the apostles.

And let there be no persecution nor imprisonment of them that be in differences in their opinions in religion, which all professing the name of Christ, whose command is to all them who follow him and own him, that they should love enemies: let this command be obeyed and minded, and not trodden under foot; for that is it which overcomes enemies.

And again, do to all men as you would have them do unto you, for this is the law and the prophets: and if this had been minded in the whole Christendom, that is to say, the law and the prophets, and practised and obeyed, and not trodden under foot the life of it, by them who have professed the words, there would have been better order in the whole Christendom and creation; for this we say, and know, "He that is

born of the flesh will persecute him that is born of the spirit. Let not this birth be found amongst them that profess themselves Christians, and profess Christ Jesus, and own the church in the primitive time, which was among the apostles. Now, the fruit of the birth born of the flesh is persecution, &c. the fruit of the birth born of the spirit is love, peace, gentleness, righteousness, goodness, and temperance, &c.

Let there be no compelling about worship, about days, meats, and religion, nor forcing of a maintenance for a ministry; for so doing there is no example among the apostles, nor command neither from Christ nor them; but, on the contrary, all things must be done in love and bounty, as amongst the apostles, and in the church in the primitive times, for freely they had received, and freely they were to give. This was the command of Christ Jesus, who is the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever. Christ Jesus, who is the head of the church, and chief bishop, who did not give forth any law or command, or example to his ambassadors, apostles, and friends, for them to force or compel any about worship, or religion, or maintenance, or about days, or meats, or drinks; from the chief shepherd, the great bishop, there was no command nor example for so doing, nor from his disciples, nor apostles, nor the church in the primitive times; but they brought people off the figures, types, and shadows, and from their affections on things below to Christ Jesus the substance; and moreover said, that the body, which is the church, was to edify itself in love, of which church Christ Jesus is the head, who is the bishop, prophet, priest, and king, to rule, to teach, and to offer; and Christ Jesus is the end of the first covenant; the first priesthood which had the tithes and the offerings; for there was the tithe which was the heave-offering, which Christ ended, and the priest-hood and the law, and the commandment that gave them, Heb. vii.

So the church of Christ stands in the end of the law, first covenant and priest-hood, as is said, Christ is the end of the law for righteousness sake, to them that believe; and his church is made up of believers, which passeth from death to life: so all the ministers and teachers in the whole Christendom, that will not preach without a bag, and without a magistrate's staff to punish, and a bag to relieve them, and will fill their bag of such they do not work for, and of such you have experience; and do, and may know, that they are not like unto the disciples which Christ sent forth without bag or staff, and such as was amongst the apostles, whom they said must not be strikers, nor persecutors, nor covetous nor greedy of filthy lucre, and they must be proved before they must teach: so read the scriptures of Christ and the apostles, and there you may see the life, doctrine, and commands, by which you may measure the ministers and teachers of Christendom; and though in the law among the Jews, by the law they were to put to death the blasphemers, false prophets, and the like; which law Christ ended, and came to save men's lives, and to destroy the devil and his works; for this purpose was he made manifest; for the devil was the author of blasphemy, and false prophets, whom Christ destroys. Blasphemy and false prophets are the devil's works, yet Christ saved men's lives, and rebuked the zeal of his disciples, that would have men's lives destroyed; and the apostles, which were the ministers and teachers, and ambassadors of the Lord Jesus Christ, their weapons were spiritual, and not carnal, and they did not wrestle with flesh and blood, but with spiritual wickedness, and the powers of darkness; so the men being spiritual, and their weapons spiritual, wrestling not with flesh and blood, their hands were kept clean, and fists not wicked, who could pray to God, lifting up holy hands: there were no complainers about church maintenance, worship and religion, neither were they strikers; but all in the whole Christendom, since the apostle's days, and the church in the primitive times, that have killed, persecuted, forced, imprisoned, about church worship and religion, maintenance, and have wrestled with flesh and blood, and destroyed creatures, which have been the workmanship of God, instead of wrestling with the powers of darkness and spiritual wickedness: these have not been spiritual men, neither have they had spiritual

weapons: neither have their hands nor fists been holy and clean; and so they have not been agreeable, nor according to the apostles, nor Christ Jesus, and his church in the primitive times, but contrary to his mind, doctrine, and commands, and his church, of whom he is head.

The law that was among the Jews commanded them to worship at Jerusalem, and come up to the temple, or at the mountain of Samaria; but Christ Jesus, who ends that law which brought people up to worship, then he saith, "That the hour is come, and then was, that they that worship the Father must worship him in the spirit and in the truth;" for such were they the Father seeks to worship him. Now every one that worships the Father in spirit and truth, must come to the spirit in their own particulars, that mortifies sin and evil, and into the truth in their own inward parts; and this differs them from the will-worshipers, and from the worship of the devil, that is out of truth, where all the compelling worship is.

And concerning our meetings, Christ and his disciples they met in houses; yea, the wise men ministered to Christ and his mother in the stable; and Christ and his disciples met in the wildernesses and in the mountains, and he bids them go into the high ways and the hedges, and preach on the house-tops and in the markets; and the apostle in the midst of Mars hill, and sometimes in the temple, and in the synagogues, and amongst the heathens, to bring them off types, figures, and shadows, and their own inventions, to Christ the substance: therefore, now that Christians should hinder one another that profess and own the name of Christ, for meeting together, and edifying and building upon another (though they all profess the name of Christ) this is to quench the spirit and limit the holy one, and is against the edifying of the body itself in love, and the building up one another in the holy faith, in love, who are not to forsake the assembling together, nor the edifying of one another, by how much more the day doth appear: now, they that be against this be not in the day, but in the night, and are contrary to the apostles doctrine, and the practice of the church in the primitive times; therefore, though there be diversities of gifts, and divers operations, and several gifts, and several opinions and judgments, who with spiritual weapons with spiritual men, are these to be ordered, and not with carnal, with clubs and staves, and prisons; for these weapons are of the heathens, Jews, Judasses, and of Cain, who was the first that killed and persecuted about religion and worship upon the earth, whom God said was a vagabond; and the apostle Paul said, "Woe be to them that go in his way," who said his weapons were spiritual, and so not like Cain's, who slew his brother, concerning his faith and doctrine: therefore consider who are of faith, and have the faith, they have the shield, the spiritual weapons; and who have the word of God, they have the sword of the spirit, and the hammer and the fire, that which is to cut down, and hammer down, and bar up that which is contrary to the word, which makes a separation from God; and these are the spiritual-weaponed men.

And Christ Jesus said, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, who is the end of the prophets, law, first covenant, and first priesthood, "It hath been said of them of the old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform thy oath to the Lord: but I say unto you, swear not at all, by heaven nor earth, nor any other oath; but in all your communication, let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; for whatsoever is more cometh of evil:" and likewise the apostle James, who followed Christ's command, and obeyed Christ's doctrine, saith, "Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, nor by any other oath;" therefore we and they, that keep out of evil and condemnation, cannot swear, but rather obey the doctrine of our Saviour Christ Jesus and the apostle, who is the son of God; and if the angels command us to swear, we cannot, for the son of God commands us the contrary, and to him the angels must bow. If Solomon, who was a king, and David and Moses, or Abraham, commands us to swear, we cannot; for the son of God commands the contrary, who was before

Abraham was, and is greater than Solomon, whom David called Lord, even Christ Jesus, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords: and if the Jews laws commands us to swear, we cannot; for Christ Jesus, who ends the Jews law and the oath, and redeems to God commands us we should not swear; so our Redeemer and Saviour, who is our life and truth, our way, our rock and salvation, his commands we cannot transgress: and if they that be Christians, and do profess the name of Christ, do persecute us for obeying of Christ Jesus his command, and because we will not transgress his command, and the apostles, we say the will of the Lord be done. And we do say it is not well for Christians to persecute or imprison such as obey the command of Christ, who in their communications use yea and nay, according to his doctrine; and if their yea be not yea, and their nay, nay, and if we break our yea, and break our nay, then let us suffer as much for breaking of that, as others for breaking their oath: this imprisoning and fining us because we cannot swear to the breaking of the command of Christ, hath got up since the apostles days; for which doing so, and practice among the apostles and church in the primitive times, there is no command nor example.

And we desire to have (who pay their taxes and assessments) as much liberty as stage-players, and mountebanks, and ballad-singers, who meet together in hundreds, to the dishonour of God, and likewise all other plays, which we do not hear are called tumultuous meetings as ours are, who meet together to edify one another in that which is good, to worship God; and this is allowed in the scripture, "they that feared the Lord spake often together," whom the Lord heard, and these were cast out and hated in the days of Isaiah, for they were such as trembled at God's word; but sports and plays the scripture does not allow of, but the Lord, by his servants, rebuked such.[1]

Let no one be put to death for cattle or money, but let them restore; and if they have not wherewith, let them labour till they have, in the thing that is good, and so that they may have space to repent; and this is agreeable to the scriptures.

Let all writs and indictments, subpœnas, warrants, have no more put in them than the things that are truly charged against him; and all laws drawn in a short volume, that all may know them, that all things may be kept wholesome and sweet, that to the Lord God you may have a good savour; and let all prisoners, that have lain four or five years in gaols, prisons, and houses of correction, be brought out to a trial before their accusers, and see who there is that accuses them, and let them not lie to perish in gaols and prisons, that mercy and tenderness, justice and truth, may flow among all people, that to the Lord you may be a good savour, and in your generations, and a praise to God.

And again, concerning religion, and several opinions, and judgments in the worship of God, let every one speak his judgment, speak his opinion.

Let all magistrates keep peace with his magistrate's sword, and keep down the hand and fists of people, that they shall not strike with their fists, clubs, swords, and staves; for envious persons, strikers and manslayers, the law is against. And let the magistrates be like Gamaliel, who said, "If it was of God, it would stand; if it was not, it would fall;" who said to others, "They should take heed, lest they were found fighters against God;" so let the patience of an heathen be an example to Christians, which, indeed, them that profess the name of Christ, should be beyond Gamaliels; so whatever opinions, judgments, that are not of God, will fall; but take heed, do not

[1] The theatres, and other places of public amusement, which had been shut up during the reign of fanaticism, were now again opened. Nor did the dealers in small wares of literature escape the severity of the military saints, for I observe the following edict in Whitelocke:—"Sept. 13, 1648. Captain Bethan made provost-marshal, with power to apprehend such as staid in town contrary to the ordinance, and to seize upon all ballad-singers, sellers of malignant pamphlets, and to send them to the several militias, and to suppress stage-plays."—WHITELOCKE'S *Memorials*, Lond. 1682. fol. p. 332.

fight against it, lest you be found fighters against God; and consider Christ's mind, who said, "Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest:" Therefore you may see he stopped his disciples from pulling up, lest they should pull up the tares and wheat together, and so prevented that danger; therefore, mind that caution. And Saul, before he was converted, in his first birth was a persecutor, running up and down from the chief priests, with his packet of letters, to hale and persecute from city to city, such as lived in the life of Christ Jesus; but of this action he repented when he was converted; and the apostles had no such agents as the Jews chief priests had, with packets of letters, to persecute them, and hale from city to city; and they that have done so since the days of the apostles, gone up and down with their packets of letters, haling and persecuting such as have been in the life of Christ Jesus, have been like the unconverted Jews and Priests, and Saul; but not like the church in the primitive times, and converted Paul. So here you may see the converted and the unconverted; he that is in the birth born of the spirit, and he that is in the birth born of the flesh.

And concerning of what sort of people the Lord made use of, and spake to in the Old Testament; and concerning also what sort his son Christ Jesus made use of and spoke to in the New Testament; in the Old, such as were herdsmen, plowmen, keepers of cattle, gatherers of fruit, threshers of corn, keepers of sheep: and these were hated of the world, as Abel, a keeper of sheep, and Moses, a keeper of sheep, and Jacob, a keeper of sheep, and the prophet David, a keeper of sheep; and these confounded the world, and such like as these speak forth the scriptures. And Christ chose fishermen for soul-gatherers, Paul, a tent-maker, &c. And these had not been at universities and schools of learning to train them up in; but Christ Jesus was their teacher, who did not call many of the great doctors and learned men, who is the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever, both God and Christ. And if he make use of the same, and such like now, be not offended; if he fill the earth with his knowledge, and cover it with the same as the water of the sea, let none be troubled and offended: "For all the children of the Lord shall be taught of him, and in righteousness shall they be established, and great shall be their peace," according to Isaiah's Prophesy, Isa. liv., which prophecy many of us do witness: and likewise we do witness the promise of God, who said he would make "a new covenant, not according to the old;" for he said, "I will put my law in their minds, and put them in their hearts, whereby they shall not have need to say to one another, know the Lord; for all shall know him, from the greatest to the least; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people," &c., and this we witness: and so we need not to have teachers, saying, "Know the Lord." So therefore we need not be compelled to such teachers, who would keep us always in teaching, that we might be always paying of them who keeps us always learning; under whose teachings we were never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; under whose teaching we were kept in reprobation from faith, which Christ is the author of now, unto whom we look, and need not say to one another, "Know the Lord." And Christ is the head of every man, who is our head, who is our leader, who is our way, and we need not another. For God now speaks unto us by his Son, who is the heir of all things; upholding all things by his word and power; of whose grace have we received, who is our covenant with God and our life; of whose kingdom we are heirs, that is everlasting without end; and in whose dominion is our life, that is an everlasting dominion, which hath no end; which is over all that has an end. And our cross of Christ is the power of God, that crucifieth us from the world, and keeps us over and from the power of ungodliness that is therein; and for this cross sake are we persecuted; in which cross is our fellowship; and our gospel it is the power of God, which is the everlasting gospel, which lasts for ever; in which we are shod, and our helmet is salvation, and our fellowship is in the spirit, which baptizeth

into one body, which plunges down the corruption that is got up since the transgression, which separates from God; in which spirit is our fellowship, in which we were all made to drink; and into this we would have all people to come, that they might have fellowship and union, and drink; and the head of our church is Christ Jesus, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given unto him: Christ, who is God's wisdom to govern it, who is the rock to uphold it above all storms and tempests; and our religion is pure, from above, and we cannot own that which is below, amongst whom the profession lieth in lips and mouth, and tongues at liberty, and hearts afar off from God; tongues at liberty and not bridled: and our manners lies in the power of God, and spirit, and the light of Christ Jesus, that keeps us from evil words, that corrupts good manners. So where the good manners are not, the tongue is not bridled.

And again, let no one be persecuted, nor imprisoned, nor fined, for not putting off his hat or cap, which satisfieth the lust of the eye, and the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, which is of the world, and not of the Father; so we cannot seek honour one of another, as the Pharisees did, to whom Christ said, "How can you believe, who seek honour one of another, and not the honour which comes above only?" Therefore, who believe and are the believers, and seek the honour which comes from God only, which is from above, such seek not the honour that is below, as the Pharisees did one of another. So the believer is the converted, born of God, and will not persecute, for not having that honour that is below given to him, neither will he seek it, as the unconverted Pharisees did. John v.

And again, for we to honour all men, is to have all men in esteem; therefore we esteeming all men, do love them, and not hurt them, and so are come into the mind of Christ Jesus, who commands to love enemies, who is the Saviour of all men, but especially those that believe; and the mind of God is, that all men should come to repentance, and to the knowledge of the truth; but all Christendom have professed that scripture, and said, "Honour all men," &c., which hath been hat, lip, and foot, but have hurt, murdered, killed one another, their heads and princes; and these have been with the honour below, which God hath, and will lay in the dust; for to "honour all men," is to have "all men in esteem," and to have "all men in esteem," is to hurt no man. And if this had been so in the whole Christendom practised, then would never a man in the whole Christendom have been hurt by one another, but every man in the whole Christendom would have loved one another as himself; and they that rule well, such are worthy of double esteem, more than they that are ruled, which are all to be had in esteem which are honoured; and if this practice had been followed in the whole Christendom, there had been more love and unity, which hath been lost since the apostles' days, which practice was amongst them, which the honour of a magistrate lies in the higher power, and likewise the honour of all men, which every soul must be subject to the higher power: and in that power "they honoured all men," and in that power they give them that rule well double honour, which before this honour is the humility; so he that will have the honour, must have the humility, for it goes before the honour, which higher power brings him to be humble, in which higher power he hath the honour, and this is from above, higher honour in the higher power, higher I say, and above the devil and all his works, and workers, and his transgressors; a higher power is higher than them all, is over and above them all, and it is above the honour which is below, which God will stain; and in this power we do esteem all men, and do give double esteem to them that rule well; and so honour them not with that honour which the world honours them withal, which is below; and the same that will honour them with hat and with knee, will dishonour them and God both; which they, with that honour in the power of God which is from above, which honour they honour withal, will not dishonour God nor man.

Now you have tried us, by long and cruel imprisonments in dungeons and holes, and vaults, and cellars, and stables, and houses of correction, where we have been thrust upon heaps, and have not had so much liberty in many places as felons; nor have not had so much room in many places as to lie down by one another: Through which cruel sufferings and hard usage, twenty-one have died, and besides, many more are weak, and not suffered to have necessaries to come in; and many tradesmen, and seamen, merchants, and husbandmen, their callings and families have been neglected and wasted: So you have not acted towards us as Christians, nor minded Solomon's council, who saith, "a kingdom is maintained by husbandry."

So these twenty-one which are dead, their innocent blood, through cruel sufferings, we leave to the Lord to require; and can say, "the Lord forgive you, and lay not these things to your charge;" but that ye may do so no more, and not bring innocent blood upon yourselves and the land. For the Lord will make inquisition for blood; "for precious are the death of his saints in his eyes." Though we are killed all the day long, and are as the sheep for the slaughter, and by these long and cruel hard sufferings, of above five thousand since the king's arrival, from whom we did not look for such measure of sufferings; and three thousand of us have suffered by the powers before him, which many of them yet lye in prison, and have lain this four or five years, in the names of the protectors and commonwealths, for conscience sake, and yet by you have not been set at liberty, though they do not lye in your names in your gaols.

And notwithstanding all this trial of us, by which you have tried us under cruel sufferings, and have not found us guilty of plots, insurrections, tumults against the king, or the peace of the nation, or any man's person or estate, our liberty is not restored to us as to meet together to worship God according to the kings word and declaration, which is but a just thing; we not being found to be such (as his proclamation limits) who have made ill use of his indulgence, neither have we forfeited our liberty: therefore it is not equity to number us among such who have forfeited their liberty. Now, therefore, our desire is, that a proclamation may be set forth that we may have our liberty, seeing we have not forfeited it, according to the king's word, and that men may not run upon us with arms, clubs, and staves, which are not Christians weapons to run upon people who are met together to worship God; which is the spiritual men's place to meddle with spiritual things. And it is the son of perdition that sits in the temple of God, which exalts himself above all that is called God, who must be destroyed by the brightness of his coming, and by the breath of his mouth; and, have cried the ministers, we cannot serve our bellies of the people, if we have not the magistrates swords to compel and forbid people not to meet together to worship God and pray together, and declare his goodness, and confess his name; for with the mouth confession is made to salvation: you may as well bid us deny God our salvation, and not confess ourselves to be Christians, and to live without the fear of God; "for they that feared God, met often together," as in Malachi, whom the Lord heard: And is not the scripture full of these sayings, that the saints should tell of the wonders of God, and declare what God had done for their souls? And what! Christians limit us from this! And must we be limited from confessing Christ before men? Is not Christ ashamed of them before his Father, that be ashamed of him before men? And must sons and daughters be limited from prophesying, upon whom the Lord hath poured his spirit? And doth not the apostle say, "Quench not the spirit?" And is not this his doctrine? And doth not God say, "Limit not the Holy One, and despise not prophesy?" And doth not the apostle say, "God is not worshipped by the handy-works of men," by that which men's hands have wrought and set up for worship? That is a large word, but God is worshipped in spirit and truth; this is Christ's doctrine; and let none be compelled to the public worship, nor fined, nor imprisoned, for

that was never the practice nor doctrine of Christ, nor the apostles, to compel any against their own consciences, who were not first persuaded by the Spirit of God.[1]

This is from the people of God called Quakers, and subscribed by us this 13th day of the third month, 1661.

G. Fox. F. Howgil. R. Hubberthorn.
J. Stubbs. H. Fell. R. Scostrop.

Postscript.

Let no one be persecuted about religion, worship, ministers maintenance; let all be done freely in bounty and love, as it was among the true churches in the primitive times; for Cain killed his brother about worship, religion, and sacrifice, which Cain built a city; by that you may see he was a ruler, for which fact, killing his brother, God said, "He was a fugitive, a vagabond in the earth, for murdering and killing his brother."

The Jews, by the law of God, were to kill heretics and false prophets, that were setters forth of strange gods; and this they were to do by the law of God, which law of God Christ ended, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, who was the chief magistrate upon the earth: and the Jews, in a pretence of killing the false prophets, they killed the true prophets, and stoned them to death, before Christ the great prophet came in the flesh, and they crucified him, and caused many of the apostles to be persecuted and killed, and they thought they did God good service, having God's law to kill such that set forth strange gods, or another way; therefore they thought they did God good service in killing the prophets, killing the Son, killing the saints, and so do all religions else, as do the Antichrists and Papists, that have killed and put to death so many hundreds that were contrary minded in religions, which, with them, was vagabonded from God, by which the earth hath been stained with the blood of the innocent, in killing, persecuting, and putting to death about religion since the apostle's days; "and the church went into the wilderness," Rev. xii. "Yea the very earth hath not yielded her increase, but it hath brought a curse upon it;" though they have been sacrificers and killers, as Cain, which sacrifice God hath no re-

[1] The violent hatred entertained against the Quakers by other sectaries, as well as by the Church of England, is exemplified by the following curious legend, extracted from a book not likely to be consulted by those who may be possessed of the present volumes:—"One time Alexander Peden, (a Cameronian preacher and fugitive,) travelling alone in Ireland, being a dark mist, and night approaching, was obliged to go to a house belonging to a Quaker, where he begged the favour of his roof all night. The Quaker said, 'Thou art a stranger, thou art very welcome, and shalt be kindly entertained; but I cannot wait upon thee, for I am going to the meeting.' Mr Peden said, 'I will go along with you.' The Quaker said, 'Thou mayest if thou pleasest; but thou must not trouble us.' He said, 'I shall be civil.' When they came to the meeting, as their custom was, they sat for some time silent; some with their faces to the wall, and some covered; and there being a void in the loft above, there came down the appearance of a raven, and sat on one man's head, who rose up, and spoke with such vehemence, that the foam flew from his mouth. It went to a second, and he did so likewise. Mr Peden, sitting next the landlord, said, 'Do you not see? You will not deny yon afterwards.' He answered, 'Thou promised to be silent.' From a second it went to a third man's head, who did as the former two. When they dismissed, on the way home, Mr Peden said to his landlord, 'I always thought there was a devilry amongst you, but I never thought that he had appeared visibly till now. I have seen it. O! for the Lord's sake, quit this way, and flee to the Lord Jesus, in whom there is redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of all your iniquities.' The poor man fell a-weeping, and said, 'I perceive that God hath sent you to my house, and put it in your heart to go along with me, and permitted the devil to appear visibly among us this night. I never saw the like before; let me have the help of your prayers, for I resolve, through the Lord's grace, to follow this way no longer.' After this he became a singular Christian; and, when dying, blessed the Lord that in mercy he sent the man of God to his house."—*Biographia Scoticana, or Lives of Scots Worthies.* Glasgow, 1797, 8. p. 446.

spect to, but to such as are of Abel's faith, that do not kill, but have the spiritual weapons: Therefore let there be an universal liberty about religion, and let no Christian persecute a Christian, seeing all profess Christ in words; but let them be ruled with spiritual weapons, and their religion defended with spiritual weaponed men, else they are but like Cain, the Jews, Judas, and the Papists, and not like the apostles in the primitive times, who said their weapons were not carnal, but spiritual.

And if you say, how should we know the true disciples of Christ Jesus? here is their mark, they are such that love one another, hereby they are known to be disciples; and if you do say, How shall we know the true believers in Christ Jesus? these are they that are passed from death to life, and such love both brethren and enemies.

Now, though there were haters and persecutors, deniers of the resurrection, blasphemers of God and Christ, who had all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, the chief ruler upon the earth, which ended the law, did not persecute any, nor cause any to be put to death, to be persecuted or banished by the Jews law, but he said, "Love enemies." Here they differed from the Pharisees; here was their mark of being children of the most high God. And the apostle saith, "He that is born of the flesh will persecute him that is born of the spirit;" so here is each birth, (and they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God) the one will persecute, and the other is persecuted, and the apostle bids "overcome evil with good."

So all the true worshippers that worship God in the spirit, in the truth, which the devil is out of, these cannot persecute any about religion, church, and worship, but are the spiritual men, and have the spiritual weapons, and these are like unto the apostles in the primitive times: therefore, as the papists have persecuted about their church, religion, and sacrifice, for which example they have had none from the apostles in the primitive times, let none follow their examples but Christ; who said, "Love enemies, and wrestle not with flesh and blood;" but Christ said to the disciples, who would have had fire come down from heaven to consume them who were contrary-minded, he reproved them, and tells them they knew not what spirit they were of.

Wherefore they that destroy men's lives about worship, church, and religion, do not know what spirit they are of; wherefore, how can we trust our bodies, souls, and spirits, into the hands of such as know not what spirit they are of themselves?

Let there be no forced maintenance to the ministers that profess the gospel, but let all be done by freeness and bounty, as it was in the apostles days; for the papists that set up tithes, and pretend the law of God, hath been since the apostles days; which law of God Christ ended, and tithes both, as in Heb. vii.

Let no one be put to death for cattle or money, or such things as many be; but let them live to restore four-fold, or be sold for their theft, and to work with their hands in the thing that is good, according to the apostles doctrine, and command of God; for the law of God is just and equal, and perfect, going over all transgression, answering the transgressed principle in all, and to all men to do as they would be done by.

And many say the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us," then fall a persecuting and revenging, although with their lips they say these words; for if they had forgiven, there had never been persecution in the whole Christendom since the apostles days.

Wherefore they that say these words, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us," and do not the things, are the sayers and not doers, like the Pharisees.

Wherefore consider, for Christ Jesus, the Lord of Life, the King of Glory, Lord of Heaven and Earth, is come to reign, to reward every one according to their works, and give every one a reward for his doings; wherefore fear and dread the Lord God of Hosts, of Heaven and Earth, for now you have time to prize it, spend it not as a tale, nor

as one that dreameth, pass it not away; for man must perish, or will perish, living in the earth out of the life, being in the separation from God; wherefore fear and tremble before the Living Mighty God of Heaven and Earth, "The Lord of Hosts is his name."

Now, whereas there is a great noise of stopping and imprisoning the leaders and heads of the Quakers. Thus Christ is their head, and the head of every man, (as in Corinthians) and Christ in the female, and he is the head there, who is the leader to God, who destroys the devil and his works, and all the powers of the world cannot limit him. Christ, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, and he, in the male and female, is king, is head, is the leader, is their commander, is their wisdom, justification, and sanctification; is their redemption, and the resurrection, bringing them to God, into a life that is everlasting, without end: so Christ is the prophet and king, a king to rule, a prophet to teach, an everlasting priesthood, that offers up the spiritual sacrifice to God; he is in man, in the male, in the female; so Christ is in all, except they be reprobates, and if he be within, he is the teacher, he is the head, he is the elder, he is the first, he is the last: So here is no such thing among the Quakers, which know their election before the world began, whose salvation is wrought out with fear and trembling, that are redeemed from all them that have cast the fear of God behind them, and live without it, without God in the world, and no assurance of election; who hire men to lead them and teach them, where there is exalting, and heads many over them, whom Christ is the head to condemnation that hate the light: among them are the several masters, like Pharisees; but to the disciples he said, "It shall not be so among you," who is the head of his disciples, their teacher and leader, so they have but one head, if they be ten thousand times ten thousand; Christ is the head in the male and female, and here is no exercising lordship among them over one another, as among the Gentiles; and the apostate Christians are got into their lordship, and are offended if they will not give them earthly honour: And the Lord saith, "His children shall be taught of him, and they shall be established in righteousness;" and these are them which the teachers and professors of the world persecute. And the Lord saith, "Every one that hath heard, and learned of the Father, cometh to the Son;" and the apostle saith, "They have the anointing within them to teach them, and they need not man to teach them, but as the same anointing did teach them." And this he wrote to the saints concerning them that did seduce them; and he told them many antichrists and false prophets were gone out into the world, and those be them that be always teaching them that they may be always paying them; but the true apostles brought people to the anointing within them, and told them "That the grace of God, which brought salvation, did teach them." And God had put his law in their minds, and writ it in their hearts, whereby they need not say one to another, Know the Lord, for they all know him, from the least to the greatest: and the apostle said to the Hebrews how that God had spoke to our fathers by the prophets at sundry times; but now hath spoke unto us by or in his Son, which is the teacher, whom we witness (thousands) to be our teacher, and head, and leader; "Why persecutes thou me," saith Christ: It is hard for ye to kick against that which pricks you in your own consciences, saith Christ, in the male, in the female; you cast into prison, you do not visit Christ there, you do not cloath him, you do not feed him, nor give him drink. Oh! where will you appear? where will your end be that do not justly? Did not Christ lay these plainly down, saying, "They cast him into prison, and did not visit him, nor relieve him when he was sick?" and yet now you in Christendom do not see and are so ignorant of him, where he is made manifest in his members in the male and female, who is their head and teacher, and leader into the righteousness and truth, whom you should love; and you cast them into prison for meeting together, having nothing against them to insnare them, and yet you profess the name of Christ.

Now, if you did profess the name of Christ in truth, you would love enemies (if they were your enemies) and not persecute them that are taught of God, and Christ is their head; for God let Cain have the liberty of the earth, though he was a fugitive in it, for murdering his brother; and God let the heretic Nimrod, that began to build Babel, have liberty in the earth; and scoffing Ismael have liberty in the earth in the wilderness.

And, because the Jews had the law of God, who had the signs, types, figures, and shadows, by which they were to kill blasphemers and false prophets that drew away from God; which law and outward carnal weapons was a figure of the true spiritual weapons and of the word of God, Christ Jesus, that destroys the devil and blasphemers and false prophets which were gone out from God; and this was done by the spiritual weapons, yea by the sword that proceeds out of his mouth, therefore the Christians are to love enemies.

For they that go about to take away the heads and leaders of the Quakers, as they think, they go about to take away Christ, for he is the head, not many heads, but their head and leader; for the many heads is the beast, and is in this world, and is in the fall from God; for Christ is their head and leader, and way (in the male and female) and life and truth, who is the way to God the Father, who is the only king, omnipotent, immortal, and everlasting; glory be to him for ever more, who hath sent his son to be our teacher, saviour, redeemer, and our way and truth and life, and our resurrection and our offering, and great sacrifice by which we are sanctified and perfected for ever; who is also our prophet, priest, and king, and his command we cannot deny, but must confess him before men, even Christ Jesus, who hath spoken to us in these last days, who ends the law, and priests, temples, tythes, offerings, sacrifices, first covenant, and ceremonies and shadows, and the carnal weapons which do kill about religion; and the Son of God bids us love enemies: God's Son bids us love enemies, and swear not at all. And this is the Son of God that speaks from Heaven, they that speak from earth kill and persecute one another, and say, "We must swear," and brings it from the Jews law, which Christ ends, or from the Heathens below: But we must confess Christ before men, for he hath poured out of his spirit upon all flesh, and his sons and daughters, and they shall and do prophesy; and the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy, and this is our testimony of Jesus, even the spirit of prophecy; and God hath given to us of his spirit by which we know his things, and the manifestation of his spirit is given to every man to profit withal; and they that grieve and quench the spirit do not profit by the spirit but to their condemnation, and if any one have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his.

A Fanatic's Address, humbly presented to the King and his Peers, and also to his People in their Representative the Commons House of Parliament, assembled and sitting at Westminster: Discovering to them the Innocency of his Actings in the midst of the late Revolutions of Governments in this Nation; with the Resolves of them that walk with him, and the Qualifications of those they intend to have Communion withall. By Henry Adis, a baptized Believer, undergoing the Name of a Free-willer; and also most ignominiously, by the Tongue of Infamy, called a Fanatic or a Madman.

Phil. iv. 5. Let your moderation be known unto all men, the Lord is at hand.

Printed in the Year 1661.

For as much as several that lately took upon them the places of trust, government, and authority in these nations, under a pretence of making such a reformation in church and state as was agreeable both to the law of God and the best reformed churches; and yet their ends in all this, the event did clearly evidence, was nothing either more or less but to advance and set up self and self-interests; the which, that they might the better, and with the more self-security effect, they proclaimed liberty of conscience, that so they might gain a party to stand for and by them, if necessity required; in which time of freedom, a small party (the Searcher of all hearts right well knoweth) enjoyed our liberties under them, with an utter detestation both to their acts of violence, oppression, and self-servings, with our continual bearing our testimony against them in those actions as it fell in our way, both in discourses and teachings; but more publickly in my books, printed and published in the year 1648, called the Symptoms of Ruin, or the Sword and Famine the Attendants of Oppression; as also in that book intitled A Cup for the City and her Adherents; and in that poem called A Spy for Justice sent out of the Tower Chamber of the Fleet; in all which it will evidently appear, that for mine own part I could not own nor in the least allow of their violence nor oppression: And the better to clear to the whole nation our innocency, and the cleanness of our hands, as to all manner of acts of violence and oppression, I caused 1500 declarations to be printed and published the 12th day of the 11th month, vulgarly called January, in the year 1659, which is also joined to the latter end of my Fanatic's Mite cast into the King's Treasury; in which I declared my judgment, and the judgment of that small company that were in society with me, both concerning fighting, swearing, and government, and our obedience to magistracy and magistrates, and our present disrelish to them then in being, as in the 23d and 24th lines of the said declaration (if recourse thereunto had) is evident: And yet, notwithstanding, myself, with two more of the said declarers, in this late imprisonment about the late insurrection, and also upon refusing to engage to the king by an oath, have been cruelly imprisoned in the Gatehouse dungeon, and two of us also most abusively (with others) were printed as traitors, although the thought of those, and such like acts of violence and bloodshed, are even an abhorring to our souls.

And seeing we have the word of the king passed to us, for our protection under him in our liberties in our meetings, to discharge our duty to our God and each to other, in that way that God hath manifested himself unto us in his revealed will, the

Holy Scriptures of truth, so long as we on our parts, without acts of violence, hostility, plottings, contrivings, or underminings, shall behave ourselves peaceably and quietly under him.

And seeing we, on our parts, have never in the least forfeited our privileges by any thing that we have either acted or in the least intended, and yet our peaceable and quiet meetings have been beset with rude and debauched soldiers, rending and swearing, attended with the rude rabble, and that since our late enlargement by the king's coronation favour; and all this for speaking in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, "a man approved of God," Acts ii. 22. he that is pretendedly owned of you all, and yet contended for by you all; and yet such is the inveteracy of the spirits of some, that they are eagerly fighting against those that in the singleness of their souls serve this Jesus in the footsteps of the flock of God gone before; of whom, because the king, the nobility, and the generality of the commonalty of this land of our nativity are misinformed of some of us, and that we, with some, are of the judgment, "that killing is no murder," intend to lay a punishment upon us for the guilt and opinion of some whom we as little own as they that are ready to inflict the punishment; I have therefore thought good once more to set pen to paper, and in plainness of speech to give the king and his people, and you their representatives, a fresh discovery of the intents of our hearts and the bents of our spirits, in the singleness of our souls, in the sight and presence of him who is the searcher of all hearts, that sin-revenging God, who is of a more pure eye than to approve of or to behold iniquity with approbation thereunto.

I shall therefore declare our judgments as to the present governor and government, and our opinion touching government simply so considered; and then I hope, Daniel like, neither the king, his people, nor you their representative, shall find any just cause against us, save in the matters of our God; in which (the Lord assisting us) we shall resolve in God's way to go on in, "and if therein we perish, we perish."

And therefore, first of all, I shall let you know that we do own government, and that we both do and shall resolve to be obedient to governors, because they be ordained of God, according to Rom. xiii. 1, 2. And, therefore, on our parts, we dare not resist them, but shall, according to verse 7. "Render unto them tribute, custom, fear, and honour." And for as much as we have seen the hand of him who changeth the times and seasons, who removeth kings and setteth up kings, Dan. ii. 21, 37. Dan. v. 18, 19, 1. Sam. xv. 1, 23. 1. Sam. xvi. 12. to be great in this change in setting up Charles the Second; we do therefore own him to be the lawful king of these three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to whom we shall willingly submit in all civil things that we do find to be agreeable to the mind of God, revealed in that directory his Holy Scriptures of truth; and if at any time he shall require from us any thing that we cannot in conscience actually obey him in, we shall not in the least resist him violently, nor by force of arms oppose him, but shall patiently suffer under him the penalties for our not obeying him; and as we own him, so we shall receive, own, and obey, actively or passively, all others his civil magistrates set up and sent by him for the punishment of "evil doers," and the "praise of them that do well," according to 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. And this we shall do in the singleness of our souls, without evasions, equivocations, or mental reservations.

Secondly, As we do own magistracy to be of God, so we cannot look upon ourselves to be concerned in the affairs of this or any other nation, so as to have to do with government, as to our own particulars, although we were endowed with such qualifications and estates as might render us capable thereof; because we look upon ourselves to be a people "chosen out of the world," and such as shall be "hated of the world," John xv. 19.; and for the sake and name of Christ, shall be "hated before kings, rulers, governors, magistrates, and councils of this world," as he himself hath fortold us, Matt. x. 17, 18. Mark xiii. 9. "For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer per-

secution," 2 Tim. iii. 12. And therefore we look upon it to be our duties to behave ourselves as pilgrims and strangers on earth, as the flock of God gone before us did and were, Heb. xi. 13. 1. Pet. ii. 11. "And to sit loose to the things of this world, and to use the world as if we used it not, and as not abusing it," 1. Cor. vii. 30, 31.; but that our moderation therein, and in all things, "may be known to all men, because the Lord is at hand," Phil. iv, 15. and not Martha like, to be too much "cumbered with the things of this world," but with Mary, "to look after that one thing necessary, and to choose that good part which shall not be taken from us," Luke x. 41, 42. And as we are "risen with Christ, so to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of the Father," Col. iii. 1. "And so to lay up for ourselves treasures in Heaven, where neither rust nor moth do corrupt, and where thieves cannot break through nor steal," Matt. vi. 20.

Thirdly, We shall and do own the parliament of England, convened and gathered together by the king's writs, to be the lawful, and only lawful assembly of the nation, for the confirming, establishing, making, and repealing of laws and statutes for the better well-being of the nation in civil things; but we cannot find, from the word of God, any warrant for the greatest of men or councils, either civil or ecclesiastical, to alter or abrogate any of the laws of God made by that great Council of Heaven, or to prescribe any other kind or manner of worship than what the great Jehovah in his Magna Charta, the holy scriptures of truth, hath established, ratified and confirmed by "miracles, signs and wonders, and divers gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will," Heb. ii. 4., and in which the flock of God, gone before us, acted, who continued "stedfastly in the apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and prayer," Acts ii. 42., to which directory only we both do, must, and shall conform to, and none other. And if, by the hands of the rude multitude, by your continued toleration, or otherwise by your appointments, we shall therein or therefore perish, we perish; yet I cannot but by the way let you know, that for some time past I have observed and taken special notice, that, when parliaments have gone about that work of settling and ordering of matters concerning the worship and service of God, their designs have suddenly been blasted, their councils confounded, and their enemies, foreign or domestic, encreased; by which means they have been forced to leave that work, or else by the hands of those that called them, or by the army's force, they have been violently dispersed.

And now I shall really inform you of our resolutions herein, and shall declare, that if this great assembly shall go on to intermeddle with the regulating of our consciences as to the worship and service of our God, or give it into the hands of the churchmen of England so to do, we shall not, by force of arms, nor the least violence, oppose them, nor comply with any that shall oppose them; neither shall we resolve to conform to them in the least, in what is inconsistent with the laws of our God, left us in scripture record; but, under our penalties for our refusals, we shall, with Israel of old, groan under such Egyptian bondage; and we question not but that the captain of our salvation, in his own due time, by a mighty hand and stretched out arm, will release and relieve us, to the comfort of his poor oppressed suffering ones, and to the confusion of his and his people's enemies; and, with Israel of old, we shall resolve to "stand still and behold the salvation of our God," which he will work for us, let our sufferings be under (you or them) what they will, for our not actually obeying man's traditions.

Fourthly, We look upon it to be our bounden duty, notwithstanding though we suffer for it by the hands of men, yet to follow the direction of King Jesus, the captain of our salvation, who himself was "made perfect through sufferings," Heb. ii. 10., who, that his own flock might the better avoid that great danger of forswearing, either by ignorance, forgetfulness, mistakings, or by reason of fear, favour, or affection, he perswadeth them "not to swear at all," Matt. v. 34., who also telleth us, Matt.

v. 20., that "except our righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, we shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven; and therefore, in verse 37, he requireth that our Yea should be Yea, and our Nay, Nay; and he addeth this as a reason, for, saith he, "Whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil," or of that evil-one; as much as if he should have said, when you either assert or deny a thing, you shall do it with such singleness of heart, and with such sincerity of soul, being in me, or in my way, order, or worship, as that you shall not cause the name of God, nor his gospel, to be blasphemed or evil spoken of, by reason of your deceitful denials or affirmings, but that you speak the truth in me, who am made of my Father unto you, both "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption;" and so am become to you the "Lord your righteousness," Jer. xxiii. 6., who, as I judge, doth not tye us distinctly to the circumstance of the terms, Yea and Nay, but to the substance of the verity or truth of the thing asserted, although the terms may differ, as do his own, who saith, "Verily, verily, I say unto you," John iii. 3., who also useth the same expression above twenty times in that Gospel by St John, the which verily, verily, had it been an evil, or if it had come of that evil one, and he himself speaking it had been his evil, to have tied us from it as an evil, and yet acted it himself; and so he would have laid himself under a guilt, the which to say I really believe is no less than blasphemy; so that he tieth us, as I judge, not to the circumstance of the words, but to the substance of the matter, and that without swearing, in saying, "Swear not at all;" so that though we cannot swear to King Charles, yet we can and shall be freely willing to promise to King Charles what we can safely and upon a scripture account promise. And as we are not ourselves free to plot, contrive, nor by force of arms to undermine him nor his government, so to prevent the shedding of blood, and the breach of the peace of the three nations, we shall and will be ready and willing to discover all plots, conspiracies, or any thing that by force of arms we shall know of against him, to some justices of the peace, or other his ministers, within twenty-four hours after the knowledge of such plot or force intended; and shall resolve (the Lord assisting us) to be as true and faithful in our yeas and nays, whether promissary or testimonial, to King Charles and his subjects, of what rank or quality soever they be, as our brethren of Holland are to the States, and to their fellow-citizens and townsmen: And we hope our performances therein will be found far more real than the multitudes either are or have been, who have been ready to swear for this to-day and against it to-morrow; whose own interests generally cause their mouths to open in such swearings and forswearings more than conscience; the which we dare not do lest we be found transgressing the law of our Saviour, and his faithful servant, who say, "Swear not, and swear not at all," Matt. v. 34. Jam. v. 12.

Fifthly, We look upon it to be our duties, to be a peaceable, a quiet, a harmless, and an innocent people, and to keep ourselves from all manner of acts of war, violence, and hostility; because to kill, inslave, bring under, ruin, or destroy, our friends were most inhumane; and to do so to our enemies we dare not, because our lawgiver, by his faithfull servant, Rom. xii. 17, &c. requireth us to "recompense to no man evil for evil, but that we provide things honest in the sight of all men;" and that if possible, as much as in us lieth, we should live peaceably with all men; who requireth us not to "avenge ourselves, but rather to give place unto wrath;" because it is written, "vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, saith the Lord;" therefore, saith he, "if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head; and be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good:" yea, and so saith our Saviour himself, Matt. v. 44. "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you; that you may be (or that you may evidence yourselves to be) the children of your Father, which is in Heaven; for he maketh the sun to rise on

the evil and on the good, and his rain to fall on the just and on the unjust: for if you love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans the same? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father, which is in Heaven, is perfect." And we look upon it to be our duties to follow our Lord and Master, who left himself a pattern for us to follow, who saith, Matt. xi. 29. "Learn of me, for I am lowly and meek, and ye shall find rest for your souls;" who, saith the apostle, 1. Pet. ii. 21, 23. "When he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him who judgeth righteously." Much more might be said to their particular, the which, for brevity's sake, I shall omit; and shall thus affirm, that for this cause, and such requirements as these are, we dare not have to do with weapons of war, nor that the acts of violence in any case be found in our hands, no not for the best things, and to advance or promote either the gospel or kingdom of Christ by any such way or means, we dare not in the least have so much as a thought, but look upon it to be our duties patiently to wait, and earnestly, according to that other requirement of Christ, to pray, "That his kingdom may come," that so his "will may be done on earth as is in Heaven," Matt. vi. 10. And as we have declared in the said declaration, in 1659, "that we could not hold society with, nor own those that were in the same faith and order with us, and from whom we then stood at a distance, that acted with the carnal weapons, weapons of war, and acts of hostility then;" so still, we look upon it to be our bounden duty so to do, because it is so frequently forbidden in scripture, and also because it bringeth such an odium upon the truth, and also upon the peaceable people of God that are in gospel order, and walk close to the appointments of Christ in all his ordinances, and in church-fellowship, as it is at this day: And therefore we cannot have to do with any such as do so act, or that look upon it to be their liberties or privileges so to act; and shall have as little to do with them now as then, or with any one that hath so acted, unless they shall freely relinquish the same, and shall acknowledge their failing and evil in their so acting, whether it be either against or for King Charles the First, or King Charles the Second; it being so clearly made out to us, and also to several of them that formerly so acted, from the Holy Scriptures, to be contrary to the qualifications of a gospel disciple to have to do with weapons of war, or the sword of slaughter, whose weapon only ought to be the "sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, to cut down, kill, and slay, wound, and bring under every imagination, and every high thought that exalteth itself against the knowledge of Jesus Christ;" and to bring every soul to the obedience of Christ, in all his laws, statutes, ordinances, and appointments: In order whereunto,

Sixthly, We look upon it to be agreeable to the pure will and mind of God, that there be a free toleration for men and women to worship God, without either constraint or restraint; and that no acts of violence be used against them therein, to force the conscience of any, no not the meanest of the sons and daughters of men, of what persuasion or judgment soever they be of; because Jesus Christ, out of that exceeding love of the Father, was sent "to lay down his life for the sins of the world," John i. 29. "and to be a redemption for that first transgression," Heb. ix. 15. under the guilt of which all the whole bulk of mankind that ever were, are, or ever shall be, by imputation, do lie under; and from the punishment of which, by Jesus Christ, they shall all be released and restored, Rom. v. 18. And not only so, but they are also, by Jesus Christ, that second Adam, brought into a capacity to have that salvation that is in Jesus Christ, with eternal glory, 2 Tim. ii. 10. whose work was to "come to seek and to save that which was lost," as he himself saith, Luke xix. 10. And therefore he gave out his universal commission, the benefit whereof extendeth to all; and therefore to be preached to all, Matt. xxviii. 19. Mark xvi. 15.

And we having this universal gospel to preach, to wit, "That God was in Christ,

reconciling the world unto himself by Jesus Christ, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us the ministry of reconciliation;" now then we are "ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you (yea) (you great tall cedars of England) [we pray] you in Christ stead be ye reconciled unto God," 2 Cor. v. 19. 20. And have a care, I beseech you, in the fear of the great Jehovah, that ye neither slight our message, as you tender the good of your own souls to eternity; neither be ye, I pray you, as those Pharisees and hypocrites, against whom a wo was pronounced by our master King Jesus, Matt. xxiii. 13. who shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men, who neither desired to go in themselves, nor suffered those that were entering to go in: Oh, I beseech you, have a care of this, for men are backward enough of themselves; and should you but seem to hinder them, happily their disobedience may be put upon your score; and he that is found forwards now to hinder, will be found most guilty at that day when Christ shall dispense to every man according as his work shall be, 2 Cor. v. 10. Oh, I beseech you once again, yea and again I intreat you, have a care every one of you, as you tender your own good to eternity, that you hinder none, though ever so rich nor ever so poor; for God is "no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him," Acts x. 34. Hinder none, be they ever so young, nor ever so old; for our householder, the master of our family, Jesus Christ, who is a son over his own house, comes to some early in the morning, Matt. xx. 1. &c. even whilst they are tender and young, even so soon as they come to reason and understanding, God, by the incomings of his Holy Spirit, comes to hire them into his vineyard: To some he comes at the third hour in their youth; to others at the sixth hour in their manhood; to others at the ninth hour in their declining age; and to some again at the eleventh hour, even in their old age. O then I say again, I beseech you have a care that none be hindred of their entrance into the vineyard of Christ, of no age or sex whatsoever; for he may be loitering in the market-place of the world this day that may be hired into the vineyard of Jesus Christ to-morrow; for Christ of a persecuting Saul may suddenly make a preaching Paul; one voice from Heaven can do it, through mercy I know it by good experience, and therefore I am the bolder to assert it; and that provoketh me the more earnestly to beg again and again that no violence be used, because the householder, Matt. xx. 1. is said to hire, not to frighten, nor beat, force, or constrain, but to hire labourers to go into his vineyard, telling them what they shall have for their pains if they will labour when they are there. And as I told the king in my Fanatic's Mite, in page the ninth of the last impression, "That a gospel minister was not as a general in an army, to frighten, beat, or fight men into faith, but as an ambassador to persuade and invite, and gently treat with, and to intreat into the way of God, the one being gospel or evangelical, but the way of force being diabolical and of the devil, and proceedeth from the fruits of the flesh," a part whereof I told the mayor of London, in Christian love to his soul, the danger whereof, in my Alarm given to him in his Quarters, in page 34, in which some of them are clearly laid down, and how they will exclude a soul from Heaven's glory.

Again, it is required, that "all things be tried, and that which is good be held fast;" but how shall there be a trying of all things if there be a constraint only to one? for, how can there be a choice where the trying any but one is restrained? the which restraint confounds the choice. Again, if those of the episcopal government do look upon toleration or liberty of conscience, simply so considered, to be a sin, then I query if it be not an evil to tolerate any; and whether that evil is not then more aggravated if they shall tolerate that opinion or religion that they would have us swear against, because they say it is idolatrous and sinful? And whether there is not a farther aggravation, if the worser be allowed and the better be suppressed? And whether they will not evidence themselves to be such as judge not as God judgeth, if they shall

tolerate the great, the rich, and mighty, and suppress the mean, the poor, and the low? when God "respecteth not persons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him."

And, therefore, I would earnestly beg every one (the bent of whose spirit carrieth him that way) according to the requirement of the apostle, "to try their spirits whether they are of God or not," 1. John iv. 1. and to examine their wisdom in this case of persecution, whether it be that wisdom that is from above, which is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy," Jam. iii. 17.

Whether it be without partiality? whether they would be willing to be served so themselves? whether, if they have at any time undergone persecution for conscience sake, and have not cried out against it as abominable, as the Roman Catholics and Episcopals have done in that grand usurper Oliver Cromwell's days, and the general Baptists, confident I am should have done, had he longer continued; even as they with others now do, and as that people of the Presbyterian persuasion suddenly (unless my judgment greatly fail me) will do, if this horrid Rome-bred persecuting spirit still be predominant in England, which is contrary to the true spirit of God, whose fruit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, and temperance, against which there is no law; no law of God, although there be now some laws of man intended to be made against them: Oh! that this were taking upon your spirits that now sit at the stern!

Was not your loyalty to King Charles the First and King Charles the Second a great cause of your hardships, most of you? How fared it with you, you that were continually in England? Were not those that bore sway in England your continual tormentors, your fear and daily dread? and those that were not away did they not feel the smart of it? Did you not all, both abroad and at home, cry out of oppression, cruelty, and tyranny? Did you cry out of them, and think you that others will not cry out of you if you be found such actors to others? Was it evil in them to use you so for your loyalty to King Charles? And can you be so cruel to those that are loyal to King Jesus, and never acted any thing against King Charles the First, nor King Charles the Second, or against the meanest of you, nor ever took part with them that did? Did the hand of God follow them for their cruel and unjust actings to you and the king, as most of you do say it did? And can you be the same to others for their loyalty to him who hath righted you of them, and brought you to your own again; and that against some of them too that never got the worth of one farthing by all their pillagings, plunderings, or sales, neither of goods nor lands? Can you be contented to enjoy your own? And are you not willing that those that never harmed you should enjoy theirs? Are you glad that you are brought into the land of your nativity again? And would you now most unjustly jostle others out? Are you now setting up that worship that you judge to be agreeable to the mind of God? And will you now force others to forsake what they are persuaded to?

Oh! that you would but consider what your own oppressions were, and who you are now about to oppress; let not your fury, nor revenge, fall heavy upon the innocent: Why should iniquity and injustice be found in your hands?

Oh! consider with yourselves apart, and discourse it each with other seriously, what such a judgment as I, in the singleness of my soul, have laid before you, can or ever did do you harm; who never did any acts of violence for nor against you or the king, nor ever shall resolve to do; who have not gone with a defensive weapon, so much as to defend myself with, above these fifteen years; and am of the same judgment with our brethren of Holland, whose innocent and harmless behaviour, confident I am, many of you, in that time of your absence from this land of your nativity, are well acquainted with; the which I am confident the strictest of you have no just ex

ception against, either for endeavouring to undermine government, or to pull down governors, or, by fraud or force, to have to do with any man's possession, goods, or estate; who am willing to do by another as I would have another do by me, and am as willing another should live as myself, whose endeavours, in all my teachings, have been to persuade persons to forsake and avoid all acts of violence and oppression, and to cleave to God with purpose of heart, and to persuade those that have owned God in his own way, to continue stedfast in the same, and to prove faithfull to him, whose laws teach the best loyalty to our earthly princes, and purest love to all, yea to our very enemies, who with singleheartedness to all, and, without either fawning or flattery, have and shall still resolve to tell every one with whom I have to do, the worst of their condition, and shew them the danger they are in by reason of their misactings; with an earnest desire that, in order to their eternal well-being, they would refuse the evil and choose the good.

And so I have at this time done with you, the great council of the nation, and if for my plainness of speech either as to the matter or manner of it, you shall become mine enemy, because I deale so plainly with you, I shall let you know, that, notwithstanding, I shall, in the singleness of my soul, pray for you and for your conversion, not in the least endeavouring or plotting your confusion.

And now I shall earnestly desire both the king, his people, and you their representative, to judge with equity our innocent cause, that so, when you shall yourselves be summoned at that great session, before that great tribunal and righteous Judge, who shall give to every man according as his work shall be, that then you be found innocent and without blame as to your actings against the peaceable ones of Christ's flock, whose sentence of either, "Come, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom," or, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire," will be of an eternal extent, and that upon the account of men's actings to his people, either for doing them good, or for refusing to do them that good they might have done them; who looketh upon what is either neglected or done to them to be done unto himself: And hence it is that he uttered that from Heaven, saying, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," Acts ix. 3, 4. And after the same manner will be his sentence at that great day of account, even, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels; for when I was hungry, ye fed me not; and naked, ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not; for inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me."

Oh then, I beseech thee, whoever thou be, that art of a persecuting spirit, I say again, I would beg thee seriously to consider, Oh persecuting spirit, that if the Lord Christ will thus severely punish the neglecting the doing good to his people, when hungry, naked, sick, and imprisoned, what then will be the portion of those that cause them to come into such difficulties and straits as imprisonments, hungerings, nakedness, and sickness; and cause them to be thrown, as it were, on heaps, one upon another, as some of the Baptists lately have been, sixty in one room, some nine foot broad and fourteen foot long, in Newgate: And much after the same way in several other gaols and prisons in the nation, enough to breed infections and diseases, had not the God whom we serve appeared mightily on our behalfs.

And seeing the eternal sentence will be so severe against such violent actors, in love to their souls I cannot choose but give them a timely caution, and in their behalfs, with that servant of the Lord, Deut. xxxii. 29. cry out and say, "O that they were wise, that they would understand this, that they would consider their latter end."

And now let not the king, his peers, nor his people be angry, and I will speak but this once more in the behalf of myself, and all that are of the separation, of what judgment soever, that so, if possible, I may be instrumental that the peace of the nation be preserved and kept; and this I shall humbly beg, that if you are not willing that we

should serve our God in that way which we have received, but that we shall be taken into custody for our so doing, that then you would commissionate some peace-officers for that work to have to do with us, and that we be not left to the mercy of the rude multitude, nor the violent laws of the mercenary soldiers, whose actings towards the peaceable have been very rude and inhumane in London and Westminster; where, at one meeting, they wounded one man so dangerously on the arm, that it is greatly feared he will lose the use of one of his hands.

At another meeting-place, they rudely came and drank up the wine that was provided by that congregation to celebrate that holy ordinance of communicating at the table of the Lord.

At another meeting-place, the congregation being generally dispersed before they came, in revenge whereof the soldiery set on the rude multitude to break in pieces the table that they used to make use of to celebrate the Lord's Supper upon.

At another meeting-place they rudely behaved themselves, violently casting some of them head-long down the stairs, but the stairs being winding, and some people upon them, the force of the falls (through mercy) being thereby broken, there was not much harm done as to the people; the greatest harm that was done was by one of the soldiers to himself; for he set that up then upon his own score, the which (unrepented of) will exclude him Heaven's glory, if the saying of our apostle be true, in 1 Cor. vi. 9. who would not have men to be deceived, for, saith he, "neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, &c. shall inherit the kingdom of God:" And such was one of them who stole a Bible, as I am informed by one, who saith, that at the very interim of time charged him with it in the face of the congregation; and if such acts of deceit should be winked at and allowed, we should be in as bad a condition as when our houses were searched upon the late insurrection, when who would came and forced into houses, and took and bore away what they pleased, to the great hindrance of some, as can be clearly evidenced; and when our pockets were searched in the main guard, and our knives and other things taken from us, and never restored to us again; and if such acts of violence be not restrained, our peaceable and well-governed land, in a short time may (it is to be feared) become Acheldama.

And therefore, in the behalf of myself and all others, whose light it is to walk in a separated way, if by your appointments we shall be taken into custody for our peaceable meeting together in the service of our God, I shall humbly beg that we may have the privileges of free-born Englishmen, and that which the worst of offenders enjoy; who, though the laws, both of God and man, will condemn to the shamefullest death, yet they are apprehended by peace officers, and peaceably preserved from the hands of violence and cruelty till they be legally charged, adjudged, and condemned; the which security, if this great assembly shall vouchsafe us, and that the nation be forbidden to make any tumultuous insurrections contrary to the peace of the nation, and that they forbear to commit any acts of violence upon us, either in our peaceable assemblings together, or apart at our habitations, or elsewhere, till further order from the assembly; the which, if this national assembly shall vouchsafe us the privilege of, we shall in all humility and thankfulness acknowledge it; but if not, yet it shall be our great care in our meetings, to perform our duties in obedience to our God, and to follow that Christian advice of his servant, in 1 Tim. ii. 1. "To make prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks for all men, for kings, and all that are in authority; that under them we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty, because it is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour:" and this shall be the resolution of him, whose only end and aim is the glory of God, the good of the king, the well-being of his people, and the eternal benefit of all your souls;

Who in the singleness of heart, in the sight of the all-seeing God, shall subscribe himself a friend to your souls, in order to your eternal well-being, in the behalf of himself and those he hath communion withall.

HENRY ADIS.

The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Primitive Church. By an Humble Moderator, Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, as verily supposed.

Zach. viii. 19. Love the truth and peace.
Gal. iv. 16. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?

Anno 1675.

The loyal, pious, and moderate author of the following treatise was Herbert Croft, third son of Sir Herbert Croft of Croft Castle. He was educated to the church, but had scarcely attained the situation of dean of Hereford, when the civil wars broke out. His temper being as firm as gentle, he continued to preach in behalf of the king and church of England, until the parliamentary soldiers threatened to fire upon him in the pulpit. He also suffered from straitened circumstances, until, in 1659, he succeeded to the family estate of his father by the successive deaths of his two brothers. Upon the restoration he was promoted, in 1661, to the bishopric of Hereford, then vacant by the death of Nicolus Monk, brother to the restorer of monarchy.

In 1675, the dissensions among English protestants rose to such a height, that this pious bishop, with other moderate divines, began to entertain fears that popery might enter through the breach. In order to avert such a calamity, he published the following moderating pamphlet, eminent for its charitable and truly Christian spirit, and to which it can only be objected, tha the passions and prejudices on both sides rendered the purpose which it labours to effect altogether impossible. The tract had, however, a prodigious circulation, and doubtless, among the cool and sensible persons of all sects, made some converts. Bishop Croft survived the revolution, and died in 1691.

Anthony Wood gives the following account of the Naked Truth, and of the long and warm controversy to which its appearance gave occasion:—

"The Naked Truth; or the true State of the Primitive Church, Lond. 1675. qu. ibid. 1680, fol. The appearance of this book at such a time (1675) was like a comet. "It drew (as one saith)[1] the eyes of all that could look upon it. It was a divine manifestation of a Christian spirit of love." And certainly, as that pious endeavour hath encreased his (the author's) comforts, so he hath not lost all his labour; for since that we have had more overtures of peace than we heard of in many years before of discord and troubles from the learned in the church of England," &c. Thus a certain lukewarm conformist (quoted here in the margin) in behalf of the non-conformists, who, as they before had a great esteem for John Hales his book of schism, so as much, if not more, now for this, which they characterize with grand encomiums. Will. Jenkyn, one of the principal heads of them, while he lived, styles it,[2] among others, *Tractatus egregius;* and Andrew Marvell, who, after he had termed[3] the author of it judicious, learned, conscientious, a sincere protestant, and a true son, if not a father, of the church of England, saith[4] of the

[1] Edward Pearse, in his book, intitled the Conformists third Plea for Nonconformists, &c. Lond. 1682, qu. in the first and second page of the preface.
[2] In his Celeusma, p. 9.
[3] In his preface to his book entitled Mr Smirke on the Divine Mode, &c.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 3.

book itself, that " 'Tis a treatise which, if not for its opposer (meaning Francis Turner, whom he calls Mr Smirke) needs no commendation, being writ with that evidence and demonstration of spirit that all sober men cannot but give their assent and consent to it unasked. It is a book of that kind that no Christian scarce can peruse it without wishing himself to be the author, and almost imagining that he is so; the conceptions therein being of so eternal idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy of the original of his own mind," &c. The said book making a great noise at its first publication, it was soon after answered by several persons, as (1.) by Franc. Turner, D. D. head or master of St John's college in Cambridge, in a booke entitled, Animadversions on a Pamphlet entitled The Naked Truth, &c. Printed twice in 1676 in qu. (2.) By the author of *Lex Talionis*, or the Author of the Naked Truth stript naked. Lond. 1676, qu. supposed then to be written by Dr Pet. Gunning, Bishop of Chichester, concerning which book the author[1] before mentioned saith thus: " But as to a new book fresh come out, entitled the Author of the Naked Truth stript naked (to the Fell, or to the skin) that hieroglyphical quibble of the great gun in the title page will not excuse Bishop Gunning; for his sermon is still expected." I guess that the word Fell, included before in the parenthesis, to allude to Philip Fell, fellow of Eaton College, who was then generally supposed to be the author of *Lex Talionis* before mentioned, at its first coming forth, though some (as I remember) said that Dr William Lloyd, Dean of Bangor, was the author of it. The said Bishop Gunning, soon after the publishing of the Naked Truth, preached a smart and learned sermon before the king against it, which was much talked of, and expected in print, being commanded, as 'twas said, by his majesty to do it: and therefore it gave occasion to Andrew Marvell, before quoted, to say that Bishop Gunning's sermon is still expected. (3.) By Gilbert Burnet, D. D. in his book called, A modest Survey of the most considerable Things, in a Discourse lately published entitled The Naked Truth, Lond. 1676. qu. This, I say, was written by Dr Burnet (though his name is not set to it) because I have seen it reckoned as his in a catalogue of those books written by him put at the end of another by a bookseller, to shew that such books were sold by him. Thus far the answers of the said book called the Naked Truth, which (as I understand by a letter written by a knowing gentleman, a neighbour of Bishop Croft, in Herefordshire, dated 13th June, 1676, was then lately (as he was credibly informed) translated into French by the Hugonets, who are at great variance about it, some liking it, others not, &c. The reader may be now pleased to know that, besides the aforesaid pamphlet, entitled the Naked Truth, have been other parts since published, entitled the Naked Truth, but not written by the same author. Such are these, (1.) the Naked Truth, the second Part, in several Enquiries concerning the Canons and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, &c. Lond. 1671, in 17 sh. in fol. which book, with a Vindication of the Naked Truth, the second Part, against the trivial Objections of one Fulwood[2] in a libelling pamphlet, called *Leges Anglicæ*, &c. were written by Edmund Hickeringhill, rector of All-Saints church in Colchester, first a pensioner of St John's coll. in Cambridge, then, in 1650, jun. bach. fellow of Gonvill and Caius college, soon after a lieutenant in the English army in Scotland, then a captain in major-gen. or gen. major Fleetwood's regiment, when he was the Swedish ambassador in England from Carolus Gustavus, and afterwards author of Jamaica revived, with all the Ports, Harbours, &c. thereunto belonging, &c. Lond. 1661. oct. sec. edit. (2.) The third Part of Naked Truth, or some serious Considerations that are of high Concern to the ruling Clergy of England, Scotland, or any other Protestant Nation, &c. Lond. 1681, in 11 sh. in fol. There is no name to it, but a noted author,[3] who calls it a posthumous book, saith it was written by Dr Worsley, meaning Dr Benj. Worsley, whose library was exposed to sale by way of auction, 13th May, 1678. (3.) The fourth Part of Naked Truth, or the Complaint of the Church to some of her Sons for Breach of her Articles, &c. Lond. 1682, in 10 sh. in fol. By whom this was written I know not, only so far, that he was a legal son and a sincere conformist to the church of England. Much about this time came out the Black Non-conformist, discovered in more Naked Truth, &c. Lond. 1682, in a thin fol. written by Hickeringhill before mentioned. To all these I may add, the Catholic Naked Truth, or the Puritans Convert to Apostolical Christianity, printed 1676, qu. To which are the initial letters of W. H. set, that is, Hubert, commonly called Berry, sometime of Cambridge, who took orders from the bishop of Ely, but, leaving his religion soon after, he went beyond the seas, and spent sometime among the Jesuits. Afterwards returning into England, wrote several books, of which the said Catholic Naked Truth was one. About which time, being betrayed to Dr Compton, Bishop of London, by one

[1] Andr. Marvell, in Mr Smirke, &c. p. 76, being the last page.
[2] Francis Fulwood, archdeacon of Totness.
[3] Rich. Baxter, in his second true Defence of the mere Nonconformists, &c. Lond. 1681, qu. cap. 2. p. ii.

Laurence, a servant to Will. Knott, a bookbinder of St James in Westminster, was for sometime kept in custody, but no proof appearing that he was a Rom. priest, he was set at liberty. The said Laurence, by the way it must be noted, had left the protestant religion and turned papist; but being afterwards reconciled to the English church again, he did do much mischief to the papists in betraying them to the magistrates. Soon after there was another pamphlet published, entitled Naked Truth, or Truth manifesting itself in several Particulars for the Removing of Hindrances, &c. given forth by way of Question and Answer, printed 1676, in oct. There is no name set to the book, but upon my perusal of it, I find the author of it to be possessed with quaking principles, and therefore it may really be called the Quaker's Naked Truth." WOOD's *Athenæ*, vol. ii. p. 866.

An Humble Petition to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

My Lords and noble Gentlemen, you have fully expressed your zeal to God and his church in making laws for unity in faith, and uniformity in discipline: for, as our Saviour said, "A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand," so the same may certainly be said of a church, the reason being the same for both: and I call the searcher of all hearts, the God of life and death, to witness, that I would most readily, yea most joyfully, sacrifice all I have in this world, my life and all, that all non-conformists were reduced to our church. But it falls out most sadly that your laws have not the desired effect, our church is more and more divided; such is the perverse nature of man, *niti in vetitum*, obstinately to oppose authority, especially when they can pretend the colour of religion and conscience: this carries so great an applause among the vulgar (still envious at superiors) that it is, as it were, nuts to an ape, sweeter to them than any other thing this world affords: for the enjoyment of this they will endure any thing, imprisonment, loss of goods, yea sometime of life also. And this is it which mainly nourishes our divisions, gives great advantage to the growth of popery, and threatens the total ruin of our church. Many, who were formerly very zealous for our church, seeing these our sad divisions, and not seeing those of the Roman church, nor their gross superstitions (which their priests conceal till they have got men fast) are easily seduc'd by their pretended unity, and daily fall from us. This makes my heart to bleed, and my soul with anguish ready to expire, rather than live to see that dismal day of relapse into their manifold idolatries. Wherefore I humbled my soul before God in fasting and prayer, begging daily the assistance of his holy spirit to direct me to some healing salve for these our bleeding wounds: and therefore I have some reason to believe that what is contained in these following papers comes from the great goodness of God, who never fails those who seek him in humility and sincerity, both which I am confident I have done; and this I am sure of, that no worldly designs have moved me to this, but have often tempted me to give it over; I am also sure, that there is nothing contained therein which is contrary to the known laws of the land: in this only I confess I have transgressed, in putting it forth without licence; and for this I beg of God and you, as Naaman did of Elisha; "In this thing the Lord and you pardon your servant;" and I hope you will say unto me as Elisha did unto Naaman, "Go in peace;" and I farther hope this shall not cast such a prejudice upon it, as to make you cast it by, or read it with disgust. I do not expect you should approve any thing upon the account of my seeking God in this, but upon my reasons alledged; nor do I expect that upon my reasons you should approve all: yet I beseech you seriously consider all, and God of his infinite goodness direct you to that

which may make for the unity of our church, by yielding to weak ones (if not wilful ones also) as far as your reason and conscience will permit: sure you cannot so loath all condescention, as not to loath more, and detest papal confusion, which certainly comes on apace by our division; and of two evils, both reason and religion require us to chuse the less; now doubtless you cannot think condescention (if evil at all, sure not) so evil as papal idolatry, and that papistry is idolatry is so clearly proved by our learned Dr Stillingfleet, as it were lost labour to say more of it.[1] Condescention may seem in some respects imprudent, but whether in this conjuncture of affairs imprudent I beseech you again consider well. The wisest men have changed their counsels and resolves upon second thoughts, much more upon experience, and approaching evils not at first discovered. It is a common thing with princes, when they find their main enemies power encrease much, to make peace with lesser enemies, on conditions never before to be endured; self-preservation being the prime principle in all creatures rational and irrational, springing from nature itself, it should in nature and reason overballance any other consideration; and whatever is done to this end, if not sinfully done, must needs be wisely done. I most humbly beseech the all-wise God, and sole giver of wisdom, to pour down his holy and wise spirit upon you. Amen.

To the Reader.

CHRISTIAN reader, so I term you, hoping you have in some measure the spirit of Christ, and desire it more, the spirit of meekness, humility, charity, not to censure my errors, and inveigh against them, but to pity and endeavour to rectify them, if you find any; and I assure you, in the word of a Christian, I shall be far more ready to recant than to vent an error: If you be not thus christianly disposed, I earnestly beseech you read no further, for I am sure you will be displeased with it; and can you think it wisdom to run yourself into displeasure? Enjoy your present quiet, and let me rest. But if you be so christianly disposed as I mentioned, then I as earnestly beg of you to proceed, to discover my errors, and amend them. But perchance you will ask who I am, why did I not tell you, by putting my name to this pamphlet? I will ingenuously confess the cause. I am a meek man, of great passions, not able to bear commendations or reproach; my small ability puts me out of danger of the first, but in great fear of the latter. Why then was I so forward to publish my weakness? to have it cured; yet truly I have not been very forward, for it is now above two years since I had these thoughts, in which time I have read and conferred all I could to discover if I were in an error; but, for all I yet could meet with, do not find it so, but hope all I say is truth, and that it may be useful to the publick in this present conjuncture of affairs. Therefore I proceed, and, in the next place, most humbly beseech all that read this, to lay aside all bias of interest or education; both are very great, I am sure I found it so very long before I could master them, and that of education most difficult; were it not so, there could not be that difference of opinion in Christian religion, all allowing the Bible for the rule of faith; the papists themselves do not reject it, but add to it the authority of the church. I verily believe there are thousands of Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, both learned and religious, who would lay down their lives for the truth they profess, and yet are divided in opinion merely by education, having in their youth so imprinted their own opinions in their mind, as you may sooner separate their body than their opinion from their soul. Nay, I have heard, that among the Turks there are many wise and moderate persons, that are as zealous to maintain

[1] In 1671, Dr Stillingfleet published his "Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, and the Hazard of Salvation in the Communion of it, in Answer to some Papers of a revolted Protestant."

their ridiculous Alcoran as we our Bible; which cannot proceed from any thing but the strong bias of education, which so wheels about and intoxicates their brain. And, to say somewhat more particular of our own nation here, those that have been educated in that way, as to sit at the communion, and baptize their children without the cross, had rather omit those sacraments than use kneeling, or the cross; and those that have been educated in kneeling and crossing, though they acknowledge they are meer ceremonies indifferent, yet had rather omit the sacraments than omit the ceremonies, just as if a man had rather starve than eat bread baked in a pan, because he hath used bread baked in an oven. So that religion in many is really but their humour; fancy passeth for reason, and custom is more prevalent than any argument. This is the thing which makes me fear I shall meet with very few that will calmly and indifferently consider what I write, but will presently startle at it as new and cross to their genius, or to their interest, or their reputation, which they value above all; I mean the esteem and kindness of their best friends and acquaintance, whose taunts and reproach they cannot bear; but I humbly beseech them to pause a while, and lay it by till the passion be over, till they have mastered all these difficulties. I beseech them to set before their eyes the beauty, the honour, the stedfastness of truth, the comfort, the delight, the everlasting felicity of a clear and rectified conscience; then resume it, and consider again. But they cry, Pish! 'tis not worth it, 'tis a ridiculous toy, and savours something of the sectarian: I grant there are some things among the sectarians I approve of; I will not reject and condemn any truth uttered, nor any goood action performed, though said and done by the devil. I consider the things, and, if good, embrace them, whoever utters them, though I detest his errors in other things; you will say the same; then I beseech you do the same; consider what I say simply in itself, whether the papists or anabaptists say the same it matters not; I hope you will not reject Christ because they both profess him. But if, after all your serious, patient, unbiass'd consideration, you find it an erroneous, contemptible pamphlet, yet contemn not the person that wrote it in the sincerity of his heart, lest you receive the same measure again from Christ, who hath assured us, that shall be his rule, to mete unto us the like. Christ died for the salvation of my poor soul as well as yours, contemn it not therefore, but endeavour to rectify it; if God hath given you more knowledge and wisdom than me, "Be not high-minded, but fear; and let him that stands take heed lest he fall." Thus I pray for you, do you the like for me, and, however we differ in opinion, let us accord in charity, and in Christ Jesus, the Redeemer of us all. Amen.

Concerning Articles of Faith.

THAT which we commonly call the Apostles Creed, if it were not composed by them, yet certainly by primitive and apostolick men, and proposed as the sum of Christian faith, the sum total necessary to salvation; it can't be supposed they left out any thing which they thought necessary to salvation, they might as well have omitted half, or all: As one commandment broken, is the same in effect with all; so one necessary principle of faith denied cancels all, and shuts out from heaven. When I speak of believing the Apostles Creed, I do not mean that we believe all there contained with a divine faith because it is there contained, for we have no assurance that the apostles composed that creed; but we are sure all that is in that creed is evident in scripture to any common understanding; therefore we believe all with a divine faith. But I mention this creed only, to shew that the primitive church received this as the sum total of faith necessary to salvation; why not now? Is the state of salvation altered? If it be compleat, what needs any other article? You would have men improve in faith, so would

I, but rather intensive than extensive, to confirm it rather than enlarge it: one sound grain of mustard-seed is better than a bushel of unsound chaffy stuff. 'Tis good to know all gospel-truths, and to believe them, no doubt of that; but the question is not what is good, but what is necessary. I pray remember the treasurer to Candace, queen of Ethiopia, whom Philip instructed in the faith; his time of catechising was very short, and soon proceeded to baptism. But Philip first required a confession of his faith, and the eunuch made it, and I beseech you observe it; "I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God:" And straitway he was baptized. How? No more than this? No more; this little grain of faith being sound, believed with all his heart, purchased the kingdom of heaven: had he believed the whole gospel with half his heart, it had been of less value in the sight of God; 'tis not the quantity, but the quality of our faith God requireth. But sure the eunuch was more fully instructed; it may be you are sure of it, but I could never yet meet with any assurance of it, nor any great probability of it; I am sure he saw Philip no more, and I am sure Philip required no more, but baptized him on this, and had the eunuch departed this life in the same instant that Philip parted from him, I believe I have better assurance that this faith would have saved the eunuch than any man hath that he ever was taught more: See 1 John, iv. 2. "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God." But the more the better still I grant, though no more necessary. Hast thou more faith, have it to thy self before God. "Happy is he who condemneth not himself in the thing which he alloweth;" happy is he who is thankful to God for having received much, and despiseth not him that hath received little: God dispenseth his gifts and graces according to his free will and pleasure, nor doth he require more of any man than according to the proportion he hath given, no more should we.

Nothing hath caused more mischief in the church, than the establishing new and many articles of faith, and requiring all to assent unto them. I am willing to believe that zealous men endeavoured this with pious intentions to promote that which they conceived truth; but by imposing it on the dissenters, caused furious wars, and lamentable bloodshed among Christians, brother fighting against brother, and murthering each other. Can there be any thing more irrational, than to endeavour to promote the truth of the gospel contrary to the laws of the gospel? To break an evident commandment to establish a doubtful truth? I say, doubtful to him on whom it is imposed, though seeming clear to him that imposes it. If it were fully expressed in scripture-words, there would need no new expression, no new article; if it be not fully express'd in scripture, but deduced from scripture-expressions, then what one man thinks clearly deduced, another may think not so; I mean, not another ignorant and weak, but as learned and as able. What more common than in divinity and philosophy schools? One cries, this is a clear demonstration; another cries, no such matter, but flatly denies it. Mens understandings are as various as their speech or their countenance, otherwise it were impossible there should be so many understanding and moderate, yea, and conscientious men also, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, all in such opposition one against another, all believing scripture, yet so differing in the deductions from scripture. Truly I think him very defective in charity, however he abound in faith, who thinks all Papists, or Lutherans, or Calvinists maliciously or wilfully blind.

As for my part, I think nothing can be more clearly deduced from scripture, nothing more fully expressed in scripture, nothing more suitable to natural reason, than that no man should be forced to believe, for no man can be forced to believe; you may force a man to say this or that, but not to believe it. First, as to reason: If you bring a man an evident demonstration, and he hath a brain to understand your demonstration, he can't but assent to it. If you hold a clear printed book, with a clear candle to a man of clear eyes, and able to read, he will certainly read; but if the print be not clear,

or the candle, or his sight not clear, or he not learned to read, can your force make him read? And just so it is with our understanding, which is the eye of our soul, and a demonstration being as a candle to give light; if then your demonstration or deduction, or his understanding be not clear, or he not learned, you may with a club dash out his brains, but never clear them. He then that believes the scripture, can't but believe what you clearly demonstrate from scripture, if he hath clear brains; if he hath not, your force may puzzle and puddle his brains more by the passion of anger and hatred, make him abhor you and your arguments, but never lovingly embrace you or them: and thus you may hazard his soul by hatred, and your own soul also by provoking him to it, but never save his soul by a true belief. But perchance you will conclude, he doth not believe the scripture, because he doth not believe your arguments from scripture; (a strange conclusion) but what then? Would you, can you force him to believe the scripture? Can you drive faith like a nail into his head or heart with a hammer? Nay, 'tis not in a man's own power to make himself believe any thing farther than his reason shews him, much less divine things; this is the peculiar work of grace; and if faith be the gift of God, your argument cannot give it, nor your hammer force it; arguments may be good inducements, and if right, will prevail with those to believe whom God hath ordained to eternal life, but no other; preaching the word is the means God himself hath appointed, but as for force, I can't find in the gospel either commandment or countenance given for it. If the scripture command to speak the truth in love, to instruct our brother in the spirit of meekness, if we are to pray and beseech him to receive the grace of God, can any thing be more contrary to scripture rule than force and violence? To what purpose then is force, since it cannot make him believe the gospel? And if he doth believe the gospel, he will, I am sure, he cannot chuse, but believe what you clearly shew him is contained there, (supposing his brain to be clear;) and I am also sure, if he believe what is clearly contained, he need not believe any thing else. The scripture is our rule of faith compleat and full, the scripture itself tells us so, John xx. 31. "These things are written that you might believe, and believing ye might have life;" and our Saviour tells us, "That in them we have eternal life," John v. 39., and the 2 Tim. iii. 15. St Paul tells us, "The scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus; all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." And I beseech all men further to consider what is said, Deut. xii. 32. "Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it;" and likewise how they will avoid the curse in the last of the Revelations, if they add to the words there written; and surely 'tis the same crime to any other book of scripture. If it be answered, They do not require us to believe it to be scripture, I reply, They require men to believe it as scripture, with divine faith, which is as bad, they make their own words equal with God's word; or if they say they require not divine faith, then I am sure it is no matter of salvation whether I believe it or no, human faith cannot save. Thus you see how impertinent, how irrational, how impious it is, to require a man to believe any thing more than is clearly contained in scripture; and if it be clearly contained there, he that believes scripture and sees it clearly contained there, can't but believe it; if he do not see it clearly contained there, you can't force either his sight or his faith. Your force may make him blinder, but never see clearer, may make him an hypocrite, no true convert.

Again, I desire all men soberly to consider. Are not the prime and most necessary principles of faith, the Trinity, three persons and one God, the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the same person to be God and man, the resurrection of the dead, that we shall rise with the same body, when one body may be eaten and converted into several bodies, and such like? Are they not things far above the highest reason and sharpest

understanding that ever had man? Yet we believe them, because God (who cannot lye) hath declared *them*: Is it not then a strange thing for any man to take upon him to declare one *tittle* more of them than God hath declared, seeing we understand not what is declared? I mean, we have no comprehensive knowledge of the matter declared, but only a believing knowledge, our faith, not our reason reaches it: the apostles by the scriptures teach us this, not the schools by syllogisms. If then our reason understands not what is declared, how can we by reason make any deduction by way of argument from that which we understand not? As, for example, some hold, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; some, that he proceeds from the Father by the Son: I pray, doth any man understand how the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, from the Son, or by the Son? No, certainly; how then can he affirm or believe a tittle more of the Holy Ghost than the Holy Ghost hath declared? seeing, as I said, he understands not all what is declared. Discourse must be of things intelligible, though faith believes things not intelligible. Can any man prove, that rota on and circulation are all one, who understands not what rotation or circulation is? The like may be said of procession or mission of the Holy Ghost. The scripture plainly tells, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and that he is sent by the Father, that he is also sent by the Son; but whether he proceeds from the Son, or by the Son, the scripture is silent, and I am therefore ignorant, having no knowledge at all of any divine mysteries, but from the scriptures. 'I grant, that by rational deductions, and human way of argumenting, 'tis probable that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as from the Father; but if in divine matters we once give way to human deductions, a cunning sophister may soon lead a weak disputant into many errors. By human deductions you may infer, that the Son is inferior to the Father, as begotten by him; the Holy Ghost inferior to both, being sent by both; with us, the less is sent by the greater; by human deduction, from three distinct persons you may prove three distinct substances; I hope you will make no such inferences in the divine persons. Again, what a business have the school-men made about these words of our Saviour, "This is my body;" with their *prædicatum*, and *subjectum*, and *copula*, and *inviduum vagum*, in the pronoun *this*. Innumerable are their intricate impertinencies in this matter, and in their conclusion; the papists hold Christ to be present in the sacrament *transubstantialiter;* the Lutherans, *consubstantialiter;* the Calvinists, *sacramentaliter;* and yet all confess they understand none of these ways; as St Paul saith, "Desiring to be teachers, they understand not what they say, neither whereof they affirm," 1 Tim. i. 17. Had the scripture affirmed any of these ways, we ought to have submitted our reason in things above reason, though we understand them not, and 'tis reasonable so to do; but to go about to prove by reason what is above reason, is wonderful; and to discourse of what we understand not, is doubtless a spice of madness, and the conclusions we draw from such discourses must needs be very dangerous, we following the *ignem fatuum*, the uncertain light of human reason in divine matters, so totally beyond our reach: wherefore, we have no other safe way to speak of divine matters but in scripture language, *ipsissimis verbis*, with the very same words, according to that, 2 Tim. i. 13. "Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me in faith:" Mark, "Hold fast" not only the matter of faith, but "the form of sound words," these are safe; human words in divine and high mysteries are dangerous; man can no more set them forth in human words, than express the divine substance by human painting; 'tis the sole work of the Holy Ghost, who is also divine.

There hath not been a greater plague to Christian religion than school-divinity, where men take upon them the liberty to propose new questions, make nice distinctions and rash conclusions of divine matters, tossing them up and down with their tongues like tennis balls; and from hence proceed all the dangerous heresies, and cruel bickerings

about them, falling from words to blows. The first divinity-school we read of was set up at Alexandria by Pantænus; and from thence, soon after, sprung forth a damnable heresy of the Arrians, which over-run all Christendom, and was the cause of destruction to many millions of Christians, both body and soul. The heresies before this were so gross and sensual, that none took them up but dissolute or frantick people, and soon vanished; but after this school subtile way of arguing was brought into Christianity, heresy grew more refined, and so subtile, that the plain and pious fathers of the church knew not how to lay hold of it and repress it, the school distinctions and evasions quite baffled them; and these sophisters, proud of their conquest, triumphed, and carried away a specious appearance of truth as well as learning, (or rather cunning) insomuch, that many godly persons were also deluded and fell in unto them, and many of their heresies continue unto this day. This great bane of the church took its rise from hence; many of the primitive doctors and fathers being converted from heathenism, and having, by long and great industry, acquired much knowledge in natural philosophy, antiquity, history, and subtile logick, or sophistry, were very unwilling to abandon quite these their long studied and dearly beloved sciences, (falsly so called,) and therefore translated them into Christianity, applying their school terms, distinctions, syllogisms, &c. to divine matters; intending perchance, through indiscreet zeal, to illustrate and imbellish Christian knowledge with such artificial forms and figures, but rather defaced and spoiled it; Col. ii. 8. "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." I humbly conceive it had been far better for them and all Christendom, had they determined with St Paul, "To know nothing but Christ and him crucified," and not to intermingle mans wisdom and excellency of speech with divine knowledge and scripture doctrine, which is to be taught "by the demonstration of the spirit and power," as is set forth, 1 Cor. ii. not with logical syllogisms and sophistical enthymems; for, as the wisdom of God was foolishness to the Greeks and Gentiles, so the wisdom of the Greeks and Gentiles was foolishness to God, and destruction to his church; who, by the foolishness of preaching, had overcome all their wisdom, and captivated their understandings in obedience to the faith. But when the Christian doctors left this plain and simple way of preaching, and fell to cunning disputing, introducing new forms of speech, and nice expressions of their own coining, some approving, some opposing them, great discords, wars and confusions soon followed. Had that most prudent and most pious Constantine, the first and best of Christian emperors; had he pursued his own intentions to suppress all disputes, and all new questions of God the Son, both Homoousian and Homoiousion, and commanded all to acquiesce in the very scripture expressions without any addition, I am confident the Arrian heresy had soon expired; but by continual disputation, the heat of passion was raised, and the matter pursued with far more violence, which at length grew into rancour and malice irreconcilable: for some godly bishops (I humbly conceive more zealous than discreet) would not rest satisfied unless the Arrians were forced either to subscribe to the new word *Homoousian*, or to quit their livings; and this caused that great persecution against the orthodox, where the Arrians prevailed; whereas, by silence imposed on all parties, the malice, rancour, persecution, war, all had been prevented, and "the truth spoken in love" would at length most probably have prevailed: For, was not the gospel at first planted this way? Preaching, and praying men to receive it? by this way of weakness it prevailed; for "the weak things of God are stronger than men." But when men will be wiser than God's weakness, as a speedier and surer way to establish the truth, God, to convince them of their folly, suffers that strong man, the enemy of the gospel (whom none but his almighty arm can bind and master) to come and sow his tares of division, which soon over-run the good seed of the church, and bring all to confusion.

But what then? would I have all heretical opinions broached and spread abroad without any controul? Are not princes and magistrates to be nursing fathers unto the church? Must they not add the power of the sword to that of the word? "Not hold the sword in vain, but for the punishment of evil doers?" &c. All this I grant, and desire as much as any man, that both prince and pastor would hold fast "the faith once delivered to the saints," fully declared and contained in scripture; let them suffer no new doctrine to be set on foot, certainly superfluous, (the scripture being all-sufficient) and probably dangerous, as being of man, and not of God, who, having given us a compleat rule of faith and life, by his prophets, apostles, and his only Son, we have no reason to believe any new doctrine proceeds from him; therefore St Paul is very bold, and crieth out, "If an angel from heaven preach unto you any other gospel than is already preached, let him be accursed." The magistrate then is to countenance and protect the pastor preaching the gospel of Christ, to silence, oppose, punish all that preach any thing contrary, or not clearly contained in the gospel. Heresies never at first appear in their own natural shape, but disguised with specious pretences drawn from some obscure places of scripture, capable of various interpretations; and thus having gotten footing, by degrees they lay aside their disguises, and march on bare-faced. Therefore, both pastor and magistrate ought to be very watchful, and oppose all beginnings ever so specious, as dangerous, or at least superfluous, as I said. Let the pastors at first endeavour, by plain and sound doctrine, to stop the mouths of gainsayers; but if these turbulent spirits will not be stopt, neither by admonitions nor entreaties, then let the pastors proceed to the power of the keys; which, were it used with that gravity and severity as it was in the primitive times, would have great effect; that is, were it used in a solemn assembly, by the reverend bishop and his clergy, (not by lay-chancellors and their surrogates,) and the person excommunicated and shut out of the church, was likewise excluded from all conversation and commerce, every one shunning his company as a person infected with the plague, (so it was of old, and so it ought to be now, and so it would be now, if men made any conscience of their ways,) this I am confident would reduce many a one: But, if after this any persevere in their perverseness, then the magistrate may doubtless, by his power used with Christian moderation, endeavour to stop the spreading of the contagion, and do what in wisdom he thinks meet, to preserve the purity and peace of church and state, urging against them that scripture, "Hast thou faith, have it to thyself before God," Rom. xiv. 22. Or that, "Give none offence, neither to the Jew nor to the Gentile, nor to the church of God," 1 Cor. x. 32. Or that, Gal. v. 12. "I would they were even cut off that trouble you." St Paul was not here in jest, but in great earnest, as appears by his continued fervency all along this epistle; and doubtless he means not here a cutting off from the church by way of excommunication, for that was in his power to do; why then should he wish it? Nay, they had cut themselves off from the church before; certainly then he means a cutting off by the civil power, which then was heathen, and therefore St Paul would not have it made use of by Christians; for he would not allow them to appeal to unbelieving magistrates, no not in civil things, 1 Cor. vi. much less in spiritual things. Wherefore, when St Paul wishes they were cut off, he wishes there were a *fitting* power, that is, a Christian magistrate, to punish or banish those that trouble the church of Christ with doctrines apparently contrary to the clear text, and such as are destructive to Christianity: I dare go no farther. But as for those who keep their erroneous opinions to themselves, who neither publish nor practise any thing to the disturbance of the church and state, but only refuse to conform to the churches established doctrine or discipline, pardon me if I say, that really I cannot find any warrant, or so much as any hint from the gospel, to use any force to compell them; and from reason sure, there is no motive to use force; because, (as I shewed before)

force can't make a man believe your doctrine, but only, as an hypocrite, profess what he believes not.

I know full well there is a common objection against this, taken from St Austin, who was long of my opinion, but seems to be altered on this occasion. Some hereticks, Donatists, came to him in his latter days, and gave thanks, that the civil power was made use of to restrain them; confessing, that was the means which brought them to consider more calmly their own former extravagant opinions, and so brought them home to the true church. This objection is easily answered. First, the Donatists are well known to have been a sect, not only erroneous in judgment, but very turbulent in behaviour, always in seditious practices; and, in that case, I shewed before how the civil magistrate may proceed to punishment: but our case is not in repressing seditious practices, but enforcing a confession of faith quite of another nature. Then, secondly, to answer more particularly this story, I suppose there is no man such a stranger to the world, as to be ignorant that there are hypocrites in it; and such (for ought we know) these seeming converted Donatists might be, who, for love of this world more than for love of the truth, forsook their heretical profession, though not their opinion; who, conscious to themselves of their own dissimulation, and desirous to get favour with St Austin, a person of great veneration and authority withal, related unto him this specious story, which St Austin's great charity was apt to believe, as St Paul saith, "believeth all things;" and from hence concludeth, that it might be lawful to use the power of the civil sword to reduce heretics to the church. But unless it can be evinced that these Donatists hearts were changed as well as their profession, (a thing impossible to prove) all this proves nothing. Thirdly, put the case, their hearts were really changed as to matter of belief, 'tis evident their hearts were very worldly still, grovelling on the earth, not one step nearer Heaven; our Saviour saith, "An evil tree can't bring forth good fruit," and sure their heart was evil, which was far more moved for the quiet enjoyment of this world's good, than for the blessed enjoyment of Christ. Fourthly, though we farther grant, that the pruning of the magistrates sword did really correct the viciousness of the tree, and made it bring forth some good fruit, yet shall "we do evil, that good may come of it? God forbid," saith St Paul. Put the case, Malchus had been converted by St Peter's cutting off his ear, this would not have excused St Peter's act, which our Saviour so sharply reproved and threatned with perishing by the sword, and gave him the reason why he ought not to use the sword in his cause; "Thinkest thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he will presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" Canst thou do any thing more prejudicial to the honour of my God-head, than to think I want the help of man to defend me? And according to this may our Saviour say, Thinkest thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he shall give me more than twelve millions of souls to worship my name? Or canst thou do any thing to eclipse more the power and glory of the gospel, which I have ordained to be set up by weakness and foolishness of preaching, and thereby to subdue both the wisdom of the Greeks, and the power of the Gentiles: As I my self have conquered all enemies by preaching and suffering, so must my disciples tread in my steps. And just so we find that the gospel was most miraculously advanced over all the world by preaching and suffering for it, not by compelling others to it. 'Tis evident that upon preaching of the gospel, as many as were not ordained by God to eternal life, can never be brought thither by the ordinance or power of man: wherefore, when the ministers have preached and prayed, they have performed all they can do, the rest must be left to the justice or mercy of God, "who hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth;" so that the sharpest sword in this world shall not enter their hard heart more than an adamant.

All this I say in reference to compelling men to believe or conform, still reserving to the magistrate power, according to scripture, "To punish evil doers," not evil believers, not who think, but do publish or do practise something to subvert the fundamentals of religion, or disturb the peace of the state, or injure their neighbour. God, the only searcher of hearts, reserves unto himself the punishment of evil thoughts, of evil belief, which man can never have a right cognizance of, for the greatest professor may be the greatest atheist. But the magistrate shall conceive he hath sufficient warrant to punish also evil believers, and shall proceed to execution, or on that pretence shall punish true believers; the scripture is most clear, that the subject is bound to submit and bear it with all Christian patience, to the loss of goods, liberty, or life, not only patiently to bear it, but rejoice in it; and I am sure if he hath any true religion, and right understanding in him, he will rejoice on his own behalf, because his "reward is exceeding great:" Therefore whoever, under pretence of religion, raises any tumult, or takes up arms against the magistrate to preserve himself from persecution, absolutely declares himself either a stark fool or a stark atheist; either he believes there is no such reward, or is mad to reject the opportunity of gaining it; and so at the best is fit for Bedlam, at the worst for the gallows; now let him choose.

An Appendix to the former Subjects.

Before I leave this matter of imposing new articles of faith, I desire to speak a word or two concerning the authority of councils and fathers in relation to it.

When the superstitions and abuses of the popish church, especially in the matters of indulgences, grew very gross, as not longer to be endured, Luther, Melancthon, Oecolompadius, Bucer, and divers others opposed them; and coming to dispute with their adversaries about these things, the popish doctors having no scripture for their errors, quoted several fathers and councils, to give countenance unto them. The evangelical doctors (so called, because they chiefly urged *Evangelium*, the Gospel, for the defence of their doctrine) were most of them bred up from their infancy in the popish church, and therein taught even to adore all councils and fathers, and (education being of great force to command and awe both the wills and judgments of men) made them very shy and timorous to reject that authority which they had long reverenced; in modesty, therefore, some of the evangelical doctors were content to admit the authority of fathers and councils for three or four of the first centuries; some admitted five or six, whereby they were reduced sometimes to great streights in their disputations; for though neither all nor half the popish errors can be found in the councils and fathers of these centuries, yet some of them were crept very early into the church. This superstition of the cross and chrysm were in use in the second century: the millenary error got footing about that time; the necessity of infants receiving the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper came in soon after. About the fourth century there were some touches in oratory sermons, by way of rhetorical ejaculations, like praying to saints, but long after came to be formally used, as now in churches; and so superstitions came in some at one time and some at another. The Papists themselves do not receive all these errors, but reject some, as that of the Millenaries, and the necessity of infants receiving the Lord's Supper. Now I ask, first the Papists, by what rule they retain some of these things and reject others? Secondly, I ask the Evangelical by what rule they submit to the authority of some centuries, and refuse others? Both will answer me, because they believe some to be erroneous, some to be orthodox. Whereby 'tis evident, that neither submit to the fathers authority, as commanding their judgments, but receive their opinions as agreeing with their judgments; this is evidently true, clearly, and rational, and fully agrees with the rules given by

some of the fathers, as St Cyprian and St Austin, two as generally and as deservedly reverenced as any in the Christian church. St Cyprian tells us, that the very Præpositus (which we call bishop) is to be guided by his own reason and conscience, and is responsible only to God for his doctrine. St Austin tells us, that he submits to no doctor of the church ever so learned, ever so holy, any further than he proves his doctrine by scripture or reason, and desires none should do otherwise by him. This is plain and rational dealing; had the evangelical doctors taken this course in the beginning, they had saved themselves from many intricate troubles which their in-bred over-reverence to antiquity entangled them in: But sure they needed not have been so scrupulous in this matter, seeing there is scarce any one father whose authority the Papists themselves do not in some particular or other reject; though, other whiles, when he speaks for them, they cry it up to that height as if it were a matter of damnation not to submit unto it. I say not this, as if I would have antiquity wholly rejected, by no means, but to consult the fathers with great regard as expositors of scriptures, and attentively observe what they shew us from thence. I am not of those who admire the great knowledge, in divine matters, revealed in this latter age of the world; I do not think there are any now so likely to discover the truth of the gospel mysteries as those of ancient days. As for that saying, "a pigmy set on a giant's shoulder may see more than the giant," pardon me if I call it a shallow and silly fancy, nothing to our purpose; for our question is not of seeing more, but of the clear discerning and judging those things we all see, but are in doubt what they mean. If a pigmy and a giant see a beast at a mile's distance, and are in dispute whether it be a horse or an ox, the pigmy set on the giant's shoulder is never the nearer discerning what it is, which depends on the sharpness of sight, not the height of his shoulders. Now that the ancient and holy fathers of the church were more spiritual, and consequently sharper sighted in spiritual things than we carnal creatures of this latter age, is evident by their spiritual holy lives. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned," 1 Cor. ii. 14. And how natural, how carnal, how purblind we are, is too too visible. Besides, a purblind man near the object will discern it better than a much sharper sight at greater distance as we are; for if you ask those lofty conceited pigmies why they give more credit to the fathers of the second and third century, than to those of the sixth or seventh? they answer, because those that lived nearer the days of Christ and his apostles are likelier to know their minds better than those of remoter and corrupted ages; the reason is good, but mightily confounds those who live at the very foot of the hill in the valley of darkness and all iniquity, and therefore not likely to discern the truth of the doctrine of Christ, preach'd on the top of Mount Sion, as those who live in higher ascents. Wherefore I shall always hearken with due reverence unto what those primitive holy fathers deliver, and the more holy and more ancient, doubtless more to be regarded. And yet seeing that Irenæus, and before him Papius, held to be a disciple of St John the apostle, taught the error of the Millenaries, rejected now by all the church, why might not others do so as well as they? And therefore there can be no certainty of their doctrine farther than they shew us clearly from scripture, which ought to be our rule of faith, as I shewed before. But in any point of religion, either of faith or discipline, if, after diligent and humble search of scripture, the matter be doubtfull, then certainly I would so much reverence antiquity as to embrace what I found approved of by the greater number of ancient fathers; and what I found generally approved by them, though my own judgment did much incline to the contrary, yet I would receive it, unless it appeared to me flatly opposite to scripture, which we believe to be the word of God; then it were damnation in me to forsake that, and hearken to the words of the fathers on earth, or angels coming from Heaven, till they could make me understand their word agreed with God's word.

I must be saved by faith in God and Christ, and not by faith in men or angels. And now I shall be bold to make this assertion, that the man who reads scripture humbly and attentively, fasts and prays to God earnestly, consults his pastors and teachers carefully and modestly, and yet after all continues in some error by blind ignorance and mistake of scripture (if such a thing was, or ever will be suffered by the infinite goodness of God) that man shall sooner be saved than he who receives a true opinion from the authority of men, which he soberly conceives to be contrary to scripture; for 'tis all one to him, as if it were really so; all things are unclean to him that believes them unclean, so all things are damnable to him that believes them damnable, as he must who believes them flatly contrary to scripture. Let no man count me a libertine in faith, because I would neither compell nor be compelled to submit to the doctrines of men. I trust in God, no man shall out-go me in zealous "contending for the faith once delivered to the saints," once for all, never to receive any new doctrine, any other gospel than that preached by Christ and his apostles, herein I am no libertine; by God's gracious assistance, neither men nor angels shall make me recede from one tittle of this, nor to embrace with divine faith one tittle more than this; for, doubtless, it is far greater idolatry to believe in man than to sacrifice to man, more to give him my heart than my hand. And yet, notwithstanding all this, no man is forwarder than myself to receive from others human doctrine as human; that is, I believe it is not only possible but probable also, that another may have more natural understanding, more acquired learning, than myself, and so may find out that in scripture, or from scripture, or by reason, which I cannot do myself; but yet I can have no possible assurance that the doctrine he delivers to me is absolutely true, because I have assurance that 'tis possible for him to err, and then I can have no assurance but that he may err in that very doctrine he now delivers me. There is no man I ever heard or read of, to whom I could more readily submit to than St Austin, a person of wonderfull sharpness in understanding, and yet of great modesty, no way affecting to take new opinions, much less to impose them on others. Now, I pray, consider how can we have assurance of any doctrine he delivers more than another. I mean assurance from his own authority or reason; what he delivers from scripture authority is another matter; we believe St Austin erred in some things whereof he was most confident; he believed it absolutely necessary for children to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as I said; he believed it a direct heresy to hold there were any Antipodes: Lactantius, another great wit and great scholar, believed the like, with divers others. Who then can doubt that they might be mistaken in other things also? Wherefore let God be true, and all men liars, in this sense, to deliver lies materially; that is, falsities for truths.

What I have said of fathers, must certainly hold good of councils also, though ever so general, ever so primitive; for this and that father may and have erred; surely, then, that and that may also err? I can have no assurance in men, nor can I be saved by faith in men. The general objection made against this is, the promise which Christ made unto his church, "That the gates of hell should not prevail against it, and that he would be with the apostles unto the world's end." As for that other saying of our Saviour, "He that will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican," I can't but wonder that men of any brains or modesty should so grossly abuse this saying, spoken of several differences between man and man, to be referred to the termination of the church; that is, the congregation of the faithful, which they usually and by order should assemble in; and refer this to the church in general matters of faith, not in the least pointed at there. Wherefore I pass this over as very impertinent, and proceed to answer the former objection of more weight, yet no way concluding as they would have it: No man in the Christian world can more firmly believe than I do, "That the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and that Christ will be

with his church unto the end of the world;" but I do not believe, nor am I bound by scripture to believe, such expositions as the popish church makes of this place. By what authority doth the Romish church challenge to themselves to be expositors of scriptures more than other churches? I find nothing for it in scripture, which is my rule of faith. I proceed then to the business of general councils. Whether they may err in some points of faith, and why not? All the evangelical doctors grant the later general councils have erred; if so, why not the former? What promise had the former from Christ more than the latter? What period is there set in scripture for their not erring, or what promise is there at all for any not to err? "The gates of hell shall not prevail against the church," I grant, what's this to a general council? Not the thousandth part of the clergy, not the thousand thousandth part of the church, which in scripture is always put for the whole body of the faithful, though of late it be translated into quite another notion, and taken for the clergy only. But you will say a general council is the representative of the whole church: What then? What promise is made in scripture that the representative shall not err? You further urge, if the representative err, 'tis probable the whole church will receive their error. I answer, we are now treating of matter of faith, which must not depend on human probabilities, but divine certainties; besides, 'tis not so probable the church will receive the error of the representative. We know the whole church hath not received a truth determined by them, much less an error. And, I pray, have not councils been against councils? Put then the case, a general council should err in some matters, you can't therefore say the whole church hath erred; the gates of hell hath prevailed against the church. I pray consider, can you truly say, the Great Turk hath prevailed against the Christian army, because he hath killed the thousandth part of it? And yet the greatest general council holds a less proportion to the whole church. But I will grant yet more: Put the case, the whole church should deviate into some erroneous superstitions, had the devil therefore prevailed against it? Can I say, I have prevailed against another man because I gave him some slight hurt in his leg or thigh? As long as his head, his heart, his arm are whole, he is still able to fight and wound me as bad or worse; till the devil can so wound the whole body of the church as to destroy the vitals, the fundamentals, and make it no church, the gates of hell can't be said to have prevail'd against it. Now, God be blessed; there have continued all along several churches, as great or greater than the Romish church, which have still maintained, in defiance of Satan, "One God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things," and several other sound doctrines of Christianity; how then hath Satan prevailed, when so many millions have waged war against him, and upheld the kingdom of God and his Christ? The scripture plainly tells us, that in the days of Anti-Christ's great power, the church should be driven into the wilderness, scarce visible in the world; neither pope nor devil hath yet so prevailed, but as then Christ shall have, so Christ hath still had a church warring against Satan. Sure no learned Papist will deny, but that about the second century the Millenaries were far the greater part of the church, scarce any writing doctor in those days but had this error. Did Satan then prevail? And in St Austin's days the necessity of infants receiving the Lord's Supper was so general, and held so necessary a principle, that it was made use of to prove the necessity of infant baptism, this sacrament being to precede the other: In those days a lanthorn would have been necessary to find out a church without this error. Did Satan then prevail? But say you, no general council determined those errors; why? Because none was called about them; had any been called, who can doubt but that they would have avowed that in the council which they all taught in their churches? No, the spirit of God would have preserved them from it: Shew me that promise in scripture; if God's spirit did not preserve them from teaching the whole church so, I fear the spirit would not have preserved them

more in council than in congregation, where all sucking in this error from their infancy, would hardly have quitted it by a determination of council. I humbly crave pardon for this bold presumption, being led into it by the bold assertion of the Papists, telling us without warrant how God will preserve their councils from error, as if they had been of his privy council. We are not to search into God's secret counsels for what he will permit, or why he permits this or that. I search only into his declared promises, and with all the search I can possibly make, I can't find any such promise to general councils as not to err: no, only that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church to destroy it, which he hath hitherto made good, and I am sure will to the end of the world; but beyond his promise I am not sure of any thing, though it seems ever so rational. God will not endure to be fettered with sophistical sophisms and human consequences; and therefore I am afraid to wander from his wise and holy word, and trust to the doctrine of men seeming ever so wise, ever so holy; I reverence their persons, but can't believe in their doctrine. I am taught to believe only in God, not in the church, much less in any member, or congregation, or council; but to believe the holy catholick church, that is, that God hath had, now hath, and will have to the world's end, a select company of faithful ones, confessing and serving him; to whom be honour and glory for ever. Amen.

Concerning Ceremonies and Church Service.

First, as to ceremonies. I wonder men of any tolerable discretion should be so eager either for or against them, our salvation no way depending on them, but much hazarded by our contention about them, breaking peace, the principal thing recommended to us by the gospel of peace: sure both are very sinful. For my part, I think all subjects are bound in conscience to conform to the established ceremonies of that church whereof they are members, unless there be any thing flatly against the word of God: For to disobey our superiors is directly against the word of God: 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." And therefore he that doth not submit, had need have as clear an evidence out of scripture, that the thing he rejects is directly contrary to the word of God, otherwise he breaks an evident commandment to satisfy himself in a doubtful thing, which without doubt is damnable. St Paul requires one brother to yield unto another in things indifferent, much more children to parents, subjects to governors. But no man that knows this world can expect all children, all subjects will be dutiful and obedient; and therefore as children are to obey their parents, so parents ought not to provoke their children to disobedience, by imposing unnecessary things and very offensive: Yet if they do impose such things, the children are bound to obey, unless the things imposed be offensive to God also, then they are acquitted, not otherwise. But still parents must remember they are to give account to God for their commands, as children are for their obedience: and, setting this aside, nature alone should prompt parents to seek the love of their children, especially spiritual parents, styled the ministers of God, who is love: should not they desire rather to lead the people into the house of God by love, than to whip them in by fear, to have their churches full rather than empty; to put on such a habit as would invite them in, and not such as will fright them out. What wise and loving father would put on a winding-sheet on his head to fright his weak and simple child? I say this to the chief rulers of the church, not to inferior ministers, who must observe the constitutions of the chief, and the chief ought to consider the disposition of inferiors, what will be most edifying for them. As the apostles in the beginning of Christianity continued the observing not eating of blood, and things strangled, to comply with the Jews, so the surplice, with other things, was wisely and piously retained by the reformers from popery, when, probably, many

long nourished up in those ceremonies would not have come into the church, had all these been cast out; but now to be zealous for them, when the people are so passionate against them, savours more of passion likewise in governours than religion; as if they had rather shew their authority than their charity. If they answer, that many of their flock are as zealous for these things as others against them, and they had rather gratify the obedient conformers, than the most disobedient gainsayers, I reply, First, This is no obedience to conform to such ordinances of their superiors as they have a passion for; the superiors in this conform rather to them than they to their superiors: try their obedience, if they will submit to the taking of these things away, and then you may have more reason to gratify them; yet you know you are rather to bear with the infirmities of the weak, than please the strong. Love your friends most, value the obedient most; but love your enemies also, endeavour to gain the disobedient also: the first are your dutiful sons, abide always with you, all that you have is theirs; but yet when the prodigal, the stray returns, rejoyce and kill the fatted calf: yea, if he will not return, leave the ninety and nine, and go seek that one that is lost. But you have no hopes of gaining him, you believe 'tis not conscience but faction, and wilful perverseness keeps him off; oh do not despair, believe better of him; charity hopeth all things, believeth all things. But you know it is so with him; then pity him the more going headlong into hell, yield the more to save his soul from hell, overcome evil with good, fetter him, bind him fast with chains of love; what is stronger than love? it will overcome schism, faction, sedition, any thing; it will overcome God himself, and even force God to with-hold him by his merciful and powerful hand; and thus, converting this perverse "sinner from the error of his way, you will save his soul alive, and cover the multitude of your sins;" a blessed and joyful work, whereat the angels of heaven will rejoice and sing Alleluja, amen. Oh my fathers! my fathers! that should preach and practise the gospel of peace and love to your children, vouchsafe at my humble request to read Rom. xiv. See what great liberty that great grandfather of the church allows his children, and observe in the general how he became all things to all men to save some; and will not you in some things comply to gain all? will you restrain the liberty of the gospel to the rigidity of your discipline to lose some, to lose many, and perchance in the end to lose all, yourselves and all. Be pious, be charitable, be prudent, build your church on a rock that will endure storms, and not on the sand of ceremonies, that will both raise storms and probably overturn your church e're long. But you will say, if you yield to some dissenters in this, you may as well yield to others in that, and so by degrees abolish all your ceremonies: I beseech you, is not the body more than rayment, substance more than ceremony, will not you quit the latter to preserve the former? but you will preserve both, God grant you loose not both. But you will say, this is the way to loose both, first take away ceremonies, thereby you loose your friends, and then lie exposed to your enemies to spoil your goods. If your goods be the substance of your religion, and you preserve your ceremonies to preserve these, then really my fear of your loosing all is encreased; this is a very sandy and dirty foundation, can't hold out against storms; but if faith, hope and charity be the substance of your religion, (as I hope it is) these stood firm and encreased in the primitive times, in the greatest storms, when the whole world of Jews and Gentiles were enemies to the church, and not one of your ceremonies in the church to preserve it: the simple naked truth without any surplice to cover it, without any ecclesiastical policy to maintain it, overcame all, and so would do now, did we trust to that and the defender of it. Perchance I appear a great enemy to the surplice, so often naming that; I confess I am; would you know why? Not that I dislike, but, in my own judgement, much approve a pure white robe on the minister's shoulders, to put him in mind that purity becomes a minister of the gospel; but such dirty nasty surplies as most of them wear, and especially the singers in

cathedrals (where they should be most decent) is rather an imitation of their dirty lives, and have given my stomach such a surfeit of them, as I have almost an averseness to all: and I am confident, had not this decent habit been so undecently abused, it had never been so generally loathed.

I will name another ceremony which gives great offence, with greater reason, the bowing towards the altar, which, in my judgement, I allow and practise in some measure, when I come into such congregations as generally use it, avoiding still to give offence to any as far as I may with a safe conscience. I affirm, 'tis a very fitting thing to shew reverence in the house of God, and to shew it by bowing as well as any other means, and to bow that way as well as any other way, and in bowing, if the congregation did it to the south or the west, I should as readily conform to that. But you will say the primitive Christians, as we read, did generally bow towards the east (the primitive Christians did so, I grant, but not the prime primitive) what then? Is this any obligation on us now? the primitive did also use chrysm, or consecrated oyl, yet we retain it not; it grew into an abuse, therefore left off, so hath this bowing towards the altar by the papists, supposing Christ corporally present there: and truly many of our church-men give great suspicion to the people, that they also believe some such thing, otherwise pray answer me, when a minister at his entring into the church hath bowed to shew his reverence in the house of God, and when he ascends up to the altar bows again, to shew some particular reverence in that place where that blessed sacrament is consecrated, (let this pass for good also, though something may be said against it) yet I pray tell me, why the reader, passing from one side of the church to the other, and the minister passing from one end of the altar to the other, bows again? surely in reverence to the King of kings he supposes there sitting, who can imagine any other cause of his homage? and yet I verily believe this is not the cause, but merely for a causeless custom taken up one from another (the common beginning of all superstitions) having no reason for it, but much against it, giving thereby great scandal to weak ones, and ground of slander to malicious ones, who lay hold on any occasions to accuse them of papistry; for certainly 'tis done with little or no reason, or with a great deal of superstition.

Now as to that grand debated ceremony of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, I think there is no reason to condemn those that use it, nor much reason to press it on those that disuse it. Why? are we not to perform this great act of devotion with all possible reverence? I grant it, but is this to be express'd altogether in the outward posture of *the body*? if so, then your opposers thus retort it upon you: if outward *humility* be the thing you *contend* for, you ought to shew it to your God in the humblest way, and that is by prostrating rather than kneeling; but if inward humility, sure that consists chiefly in obedience to what Christ commanded, and to do it as he practised it, who can doubt but this is the most perfect obedience? and you know when our Saviour instituted this blessed sacrament, he gave this command in the close, "Do this in remembrance of me;" and sure he remembers our Saviour best who doth every thing as he did, both in substance and ceremony, and so we find the primitive Christians did, observing also to receive it at supper, as our Saviour did; but when this grew into a sinful abuse, the ceremony was altered to preserve the substance in more purity: so was kneeling abused by the papists and turned into superstition, why not therefore changed in like manner? But you kneel without any superstition, you do not adore the elements on the table, as the papists do, but Christ in Heaven. And so this man receives sitting and at supper without any irreverence, he doth it so merely in obedience to Christ's command, both in ceremony and substance, "Do this in remembrance of me." But you do not conceive Christ's command extended to the ceremonies, but only to the substance, and the church hath expressly commanded kneeling as the more reverend posture, therefore you ought to obey, I think so too: but

this man conceives Christ commands both substance and ceremonies to be observed, and consequently conceives the church's command contrary to Christ's, therefore he ought not to obey till you can rectify his judgment; if you can, then he ought to obey also; if you cannot, have patience with your weak brother, require no more of him in this matter then Christ required of his disciples; sure Christ would not have allowed any unfitting posture; be not overwise, nor over holy, condemn not that which Christ allowed. God is so infinitely gracious as to accept our poor devotions in any form, if but sincere in substance, nay though weak and frail in the substantial part, he will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoaking flax; his tender fatherly bowels yern upon his dear children coming to him afar off. Oh then let us learn to be like minded, tender and compassionate to our weak brethren, admit them into God's worship in any posture; if they come in sincerity of heart, reject not those whom God accepts.

I might go on thus to handle other ceremonies, as the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, &c.; but I conceive it needless, the same reasons being applicable to all, and he that is once brought to be indifferent and unconcerned in one, will soon be so disposed to all. Wherefore I conclude this point of ceremonies with St Paul, "He that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it, he that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks, and he that eateth not to the Lord, he eateth not, and giveth God thanks:" So he that kneeleth, kneeleth to the Lord, and he that kneeleth not to the Lord, he kneeleth not. And I desire you farther to observe this circumstance in St Paul's words, how he calls the zealous observer of ceremonial matters, the weak brother, and commands the strong not to despise him, it being really a despicable weakness and a childish or effeminate kind of devotion to be zealous in any ceremonial observance, which masculine spirits are apt to despise, but in Christian charity ought rather to pity and bear the infirmities of others. Wherefore let us be the men of understanding, men in devotion, be zealous, and hold fast the substantial parts of religion, piety, justice, temperance, chastity, truth, sincerity, stand fast for these, not recede one hair's breadth from these, keep but our ground and fight it out like men to death against all powers and principalities on earth, or under the earth, and let us leave it to women and children to contend about ceremonies, let it be indifferent to us, whether this or that, or no ceremony, whether kneel or not kneel, bow or not bow, surplice or not surplice, cross or no cross, ring or no ring, let us give glory to God in all, and no offence to our brethren in any thing.

Now if any man would be so curious as to ask, why St Paul did not determine this point, whether they should eat herbs only, or other meats also; whether regard a day or not; and so establish uniformity among them? I cannot imagine any other reason, but meerly to teach us this charitable compliance with one another, as necessary a practice as any other. Man is a very ticklish animal to govern; he will not always be guided by reason and authority; man hath a will as well as reason, and will have his own will in many things, even the godly: Very few are found so entirely pious as wholly to deny themselves, 'tis so high and sharp a point of religion, as you may break the heart strings of many in winding them up so high, and thus crack all their religion; perchance you would find it so yourselves, had the nonconformists the screwing you up as you them. Wherefore consider yourselves, lest ye also be tempted, be charitable to the weak, proceed not so severely against them in your courts of judicature, but remember what St Paul saith, Colos. ii. "Let no man judge you in meat, or drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ;" will you then, in respect of an holy-day, cross in baptism, standing at the Creed, kneeling at the sacrament, and the like, will you in respect of such shadows, judge, excommunicate, sen-

tence to everlasting flames a soul that holds of the body of Christ, believes all his holy gospel, accords with you in one faith, one baptism, who acknowledges the only true God, Creator of Heaven and earth, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent to be the Redeemer of mankind, which our Saviour affirms, "To be eternal life;" will you condemn such a one to eternal death? God forbid. My reverend fathers and judges of the church, I with St Paul, Col. iii. beseech you, "Put on fatherly bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering," towards your poor weak children, and so long as they hold fast the body of Christ, be not so rigorous with them for shadows; if they submit to you in substance, have patience though they do not submit in ceremonies; and give me leave to tell you my poor opinion: This violent pressings of ceremonies hath, I humbly conceive, been a great hindrance from embracing them, men fearing your intentions therein to be far worse than really they are, and therefore abhor them. Have you never observed a flock of sheep forcibly driven over a narrow bridge; the poor sheep fearing they are going into some penn or slaughter, chuse rather to leap into the river than go forwards; but drive them on gently and patiently, they will of themselves take the way you desire. Uniformity in ceremony is a good and desirable thing, therefore endeavour it; but unity in faith and charity is better, and therefore, if you cannot obtain that, be sure to preserve this; this is the one thing necessary; chuse this better part if you cannot have both; for this force, urging uniformity in worship, hath caused great division in faith as well as charity; for had you, by abolishing some ceremonies, taken the weak brethren into your church, they had not wandred about after seducing teachers, nor fallen into so many gross opinions of their own, but, being daily catechised and instructed by your orthodox and sound preaching, they would have followed you like good sheep, whereas now they wander about into a hundred by-paths of error, many whereof lead headlong to hell. Now I beseech you in the fear of God, set before your eyes the dreadfull day of judgment, when Christ on his tribunal of justice shall require an account of every word and deed, and shall thus question you: Here are several souls who, taking offence at your ceremonies, have forsaken my church, have forsaken the faith, have run into hell, the souls for which I shed my precious blood; why have you suffered this? Nay, why have you occasioned this? Will you answer, it was to preserve your ceremonies? Will not Christ return unto you, are your ceremonies more dear unto you than the souls for which I died? Who hath required these things at your hands? Will you for ceremonies, which you yourselves confess to be indifferent, no way necessary unto salvation, suffer your weak brethren to perish, for whom I died? Have not I shewed you how "David and his soldiers were guiltless in eating the shew-bread, which was not lawful but only for the priests to eat?" If David dispensed with a ceremony commanded by God, to satisfy the hunger of his people, will not you dispence with your own ceremonies to satisfy the souls of my people, who are called by my name, and profess my name, though in weakness? Or will you tell Christ they ought to suffer for their own wilfulness and perverseness, who will not submit to the laws of the church as they ought; will not Christ return? Shall they perish for transgressing your humane laws, which they ignorantly conclude erroneous, and shall not you perish for transgressing my divine laws, which you know to be good and holy? Had I mercy on you, and should not you have had mercy on your fellow servants? With the same measure you meeted it shall be measured to you again. I tremble to go farther, but most humbly beseech you for Christ's sake, endeavour to regain these stray sheep, for whom he shed his precious blood, and think it as great an advantage, as great an honour to you, as it was to St Paul to become all things to all men, that you may gain some, as doubtless you will many, though not all; and the few standers off will become the more convinced, and at long running wearied out and gained also. Thus, having reduced all into one fold in true faith and Christian charity, the present generation

will much forget, the succeeding generation will be wholly ignorant of, these ceremonious fancies; and all animosities being quite extinguished, wholesome edifying ceremonies may be easily introduced again with comfort to all, which are now irksome and grievous to many. And so I pass on to the second matter, the church service contained in the Books of Common Prayer, whereof briefly, because what I said before may be reply'd to this also.

Concerning Church Service.

I will not here enter into the dispute, whether it be lawful for a church to have a set form of prayer, supposing that there are none but either highly fanatick, or highly factious, that affirm it unlawful; and with such I have no reason to expect that reasonable arguments should prevail; for enough hath been already printed to this purpose. I may also suppose, that there is nothing contained in our Book of Common Prayer that is directly contrary to the word of God; for had there been any such thing, we should have heard of it long since, which I never yet did from any sober man. And truly I might, in the third place, suppose, that (a Book of Common Prayer being no way contrary to the word of God) the use of it is far more conducing to piety than to suffer extemporary prayer to be used generally in churches; experience hath fully declared it in our late confused times, when a man should have heard in many churches such extravagant, such wild, such rash, such blasphemous expressions as would drive any sober conscientious person out of their churches. Can you with reason expect it otherwise, when half the churches in this nation have not a tolerable maintenance to support men of parts and discretion fit to perform so solemn and holy an office? Had we the holiness, the zeal, the charity, the humility of the primitive times, when men forsook all the world, and daily sacrificed their lives for the service of God, we might hope that God would graciously pour down upon us, as he did on them, the special gifts of praying and prophesying; but now, when most serve God for gain, and would neither open nor shut the church doors for nought, as Malachi saith, we must not expect those gifts and graces. And therefore I conceive it absolutely necessary to have some form prescribed to be used by all; for were there liberty left to the more able and discreet, most would suppose themselves to be such, (few discovering their own weakness) and were it left to the bishop to licence as he saw fit, it would prove a very great cause of heart-burning among his clergy, and hatred towards himself, yea and rebellion against him and the laws. But now, in Christ, I humbly beseech the governors of the church calmly to consider, were it not better to have such a form of service as would satisfy most. The fathers of our church, as I said before, when they reformed this nation from popery, were desirous to fetch off as many as they could, retaining for this cause all the ceremonies and forms of prayer they could with a good rectified conscience, and therefore they prescribed that form of second service to be at the altar, as carrying some resemblance to the mass, then the people's delight, which, being now become the people's hate, should for the same resemblance, according to the same rule of reason, be now taken away. We commend our forefathers for doing piously and wisely, and yet we will not imitate them; they endeavoured to please and gain the people, we will needs displease and lose them: Certainly we cannot do our forefathers a greater honour than to observe their rule of reason, to conform to the times; and therefore they are grossly mistaken who think it a dishonour to them for us to take away what they have established, when we keep close to the reason wherefore they did establish it. Wise physicians, by the same rule of reason, prescribe things clear contrary, according to the temper of their patients,

hot or cold; some other things I could mention in the Book of Common Prayer (though no ways ill in themselves) yet fit to be altered, and would obviously appear so to every wise man once resolved to compose such a form as would take in most of this nation, which I humbly conceive governors should in conscience endeavour, becoming all things to all men to gain some, though not all; yet happily gain all in process of time, for the reason before specified.

But though I desire such a form of service, such ceremonies also to be established, as may give most general satisfaction, yet I desire what is established may be generally observed, and not a liberty left (as some do propose) to add or detract ceremonies or prayers according to the various opinions and humours of men; for certainly this would cause great faction and division; those that are for ceremonies would run from their own church to others where they were used, others to some fine fancied prayers of such as they approve of; and thus some churches would be thronged, others deserted, and no account could be taken by the pastor of this congregation; atheists also, and papists, under pretence of frequenting other churches, would abandon all. This course (say you) would bring but few into the church, and perchance drive some out, who, having been long bred up to such and such ceremonies, would have small devotion to frequent the church if all or many were abolished. To this I answer, that certainly his religion is vain that would abandon the substance for want of the ceremonies, which he acknowledgeth to be no way necessary, but only more satisfaction to his mind: Surely a very ignorant mind, who hath not learnt, "That obedience is better than sacrifice and whole burnt-offerings." And surely a very uncharitable mind, who would not leave ninety and nine unnecessary ceremonies, to bring one sinful strayed sheep into the congregation, and convert him from the error of his non-conforming way. I profess I am amazed to see how many men of a very good sence in most things, so zealously erroneous in this business of religion, seeing the scripture so plainly declares, that nothing so covers the multitude of our sins as an act of charity; nothing so acceptable unto God, so joyful to his holy angels, as conversion of a sinner. Yet these men will most passionately (and pardon me if I say most uncharitably and irreligiously) cry, Away with these idiot sectaries and mad fanaticks, let them wander and perish in their own wild imaginations, we will not leave one ceremony, nor any one line of our Common-Prayer Book, to gain thousands of them. No, if you alter that, we will rather leave the church, and go to the papists mass. If these be not as simple sectaries and mad fanaticks as any whatsoever, let God and his holy angels judge. But as for you, my reverend fathers of the church, I hope you will consult with scripture in this weighty affair, and model all according to the rules of meekness, charity, and compassionate tenderness to weak ones there set down; and endeavour, with prudent admonitions to rectify the errors of these too zealous ceremonists, and with fatherly bowels of condescention to win the hearts of blind and wilful seperatists. Certainly the more understanding and powerful leaders of them will not, cannot, have the face to stand off after your charitable condescension, their populous pretences will be so confuted, their mouths so stopped, their faces so confounded, as for mere shame, if not for reason and religion, they must come into our church; and their pastors coming in, the sheep will follow, though some stand a while and gaze; but at length, having no men of ability to lead them on their perverse ways, the shop-prating weavers and coblers will soon be deserted, and made heartless, seeing their own naked folly. And then shall we all join and joyfully sing *Te Deum* in our churches, and the holy angels in the Heavens. And then I shall most gladly sing with good old Simeon, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Concerning Preaching.

It remains that I now handle this great business of preaching, wherein I fear I shall displease many, there being but a few who use it according to the original institution; and yet I had rather they should preach as they do then quite omit it; for certainly 'tis a necessary work for a minister of the gospel to preach the gospel. Saint Paul tells us, "That some preach the gospel out of envy;" yet he was pleased that Christ should be so preached rather than not preached; and so I say of preaching Christ out of vanity, as 'tis evident many do, preaching themselves and their own abilities, at least as they think abilities, though often great weaknesses and conceited impertinences. I beseech you tell me, did not Christ and the apostles preach the best way? and are not we to follow their example? Who dare say otherwise? yet many do otherwise; they take here or there a sentence of scripture, the shorter and more abstruse the better, to shew their skill and invention, this they divide and subdivide into generals and particulars, the *quid*, the *quale*, the *quantum*, and such like quack-salving forms; then they study how to hook in this or that quaint sentence of philosopher or father, this or that nice speculation, endeavouring to couch all this in most elegant language; in short, their main end is to shew their wit, their reading, and whatever they think is excellent in them: No doubt rarely agreeing with that of St Paul, "I determined not to know any thing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified; and my speech and preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power:" 1 Cor. ii. And I verily believe this is the reason why preaching hath so little effect in these days, because they labour to speak the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God, nor do they preach in demonstration of the spirit, but in demonstration of their learning. I know full well this unapostolick way of preaching was used by some of the ancient fathers, especially the Greeks, always fond of niceties and curiosities, and being now become Christians (as I said before) transplanted their beloved rhetorical flowers of human learning into Christian gardens, which proved rather weeds to over-run the seed of sound and plain apostolick doctrine, human nature being a soil apter to give nourishment and vigour to human principles than divine. But when did ever any learned, witty, rhetorical harangue, or cunning syllogistical discourse, convert the tythe of St Peter's or St Paul's foolish preaching, as he terms it, "but the wisdom of God to those that are perfect," and sound in the faith? Who is ignorant of that famous passage at the council of Nice? whither resorted, with divers others, one eminent heathen philosopher, offering himself (as the manner of those vain-glorious sophisters was) to dispute with the Christian doctors; some bishops of great repute for learning, under him, as they thought, clearly confuted, but no way converted him; at last rises up a grave ancient bishop of small learning, but of great faith and piety, and (with great dissatisfaction of his brethren, fearing some gross baffle should befal this good man) comes up to the philosopher, and with great majestical authority recites unto him the apostolick creed, "I believe in God the Father Almighty"—and in the close calls to him, O philosopher, believest thou this? The philosopher answered, I believe, not being able to resist the demonstration of spirit and power wherewith he uttered those divine mysteries, as he confess'd before them all. You will say this was a miracle of great rarity; I grant it, but many such miracles should we see, had we the faith and powerful spirit of this holy bishop, and would endeavour to imitate apostolical preaching, not philosophical arguing, nor rhetorical declaiming.

We see plainly the apostolical preaching was either catechistical instructions, or pious admonitions; not tying themselves to any form, but past from one matter to another as the auditor's condition required, not as the preacher's fancy and reading

prompted; just as the Roman emperor Caligula, who, when delinquents came before him to be judged, condemned or acquitted them as agreed best with the current of his oration: So these men shape their discourse more to the applause than edification of the hearers. And so much time is spent in composing these oratory sermons, as the minister hath not leisure to perform a quarter of his parochial duty, of visiting the sick, of admonishing the scandalous, of reconciling the janglers, of private examining and instructing the poor ignorant souls, thousands in every country as ignorant as heathens, who understand no more of most sermons than if in Greek; so that the sermon is rather a banquet for the wantons that are full, than instruction to those who are even starved for want of spiritual food, the plain and saving word of Christ, not the nice conceited word of man, which may nourish camelions, never make solid sound Christians. There are others of a different strain, who, wanting both wit and learning also, think to supply all by strength of lungs, by loud and long babbling, riding hackney from one good town to another, and with fervency of spirit like a boiling pot running over where-ever they come. Were it a laughing matter, who could contain to hear some seeming zealot pastors talk so much of their obligation to preach the gospel, and must (forsooth) do it in the pulpit twice a Sunday, counting those almost accursed that do not so, and yet have many poor sheep in their flock as ignorant as any sheep, whom they never regard, never instruct in the first principles of the gospel; as if preaching were tyed to the pulpit and the sabbath-day. Pardon me, if I tell you a story which now comes into my head. I chanced to be in a lord's house on a Saturday, when a zealous minister came in; after some compliments and ceremonious discourse, he told the lord, that where-ever he was, he never failed to preach the gospel on the Lord's day as his duty, and therefore entreated that the pastor of the parish might be desired to give place to him next morning. I suspecting both his zeal and design (which afterwards appeared) asked him, if he had received any particular command from Christ to preach at this place, and that hour? The minister startling at my question, answered, No. I replied, sure then other ministers had the same obligation to preach the gospel as he had, and, moreover, it was the pastor's particular duty to preach to his own congregation on the Lord's day, how then could he in conscience desire the pastor to omit his duty, and give place to a stranger who had there no duty incumbent upon him? But the lord pulled me by the elbow, and took me off from farther pressing him, and told him, he would send to the pastor to give him place. But to return to our business. Very few are to be found, here and there one of piety and discretion, that demeans himself prudently in his office; and the reason is this: It is grown up into a general opinion, That none are to be admitted into holy orders but such as have studied in the university; and if he hath learnt a little to chop logick, he is presently deemed fit to divide the word of truth, and is easily instituted into a living; and if he can bring some nice metaphysical speculations from Aristotle, or some theological distinctions from Aquinas, then he is worthy of two or three livings or prebends: And thus university youths, and even boys of no experience or discretion, are made spiritual pastors, the gravest and most weighty office in the world. I beseech you, what have these sciences (falsly so called) to do with the gospel, where we find not one tittle of them; but rather decryed as enemies to the gospel, as tending to vain jangling, strife, and contention, nothing of edification. We had lately a brave story of the jesuits in China, who, finding the king and his courtiers much delighted with the mathematicks, but not very knowing in them, wrote to the general of their order at Rome to send them some priests, very skilful in that science, to preach the gospel there. Why did they not send for some also well skilled in puppet plays? Ridiculous creatures shall I say, or rather impious, who think to support the dignity, the majesty, the divinity of the gospel with such human toys? Just as if a king, having some potent enemy invading his country, should, instead of leading on

a stout and gallant army against him, lead on a morrice-dance, capering and frisking most featly, thinking thereby to appease and gain the heart of his adversary. "Yea fools and blind; we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places," Eph. vi. 12. "And therefore the weapons of our warfare must not be carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds," 2 Cor. x. 4. "We must then take the whole armour of God, the helmet of salvation, the breast-plate of righteousness, the shield of faith, the sword of the spirit." Read also St Paul to Timothy and Titus, setting down the required qualifications of bishops and deacons; see if you can find any such mathematick, logick, physick? No, but gravity, sobriety, meekness, diligence, and the like. Were such men taken into holy orders, and constituted pastors, the church of Christ had been far better edified, and the pastors far more reverenced, than now they are: though Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Scotus, Aquinas, were never known to them, so much as by name, yet they would want no pastoral knowledge, which is compleatly contained in scripture, as St Paul told Timothy, "That it was sufficient to make him wise unto salvation, profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction, that the man of God might be throughly furnished;" Mark, throughly furnished without logick, physick, mathematick, metaphysick, or school divinity. Scripture divinity throughly furnishes the man of God for all. I speak not this in disparagement of university learning, which I highly value, if rightly made use of, 'tis as useful as honourable to a nation; but much of university learning, as useless to a spiritual pastor as the art of navigation to a physician; the pastors only requisite and compleatly qualifying science being, according to St Paul, "to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, and to preach Christ, not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power;" to preach Christ as well out of pulpit as in the pulpit; in season and out of season; to the poor and to the rich; to the simple and ignorant, far rather than the knowing; to rebuke, to correct, to edify both by word and deed.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech the church governors to remember the original institution of the ministry, what kind of men the apostles chose into it, grave elderly men, therefore styl'd elders, and known as well by that name as bishops, who, having by long conversation, gotten experience and knowledge to govern themselves, were made governors of others. I grant we have Timothy for an example of younger years, that is, young by way of comparison to the other seniors; as a man of forty may be called young, compared to those of sixty; yet no youth simply, nor simple youth: and 'tis plain he was a person no way short of the elders in gravity, though somewhat in years: St Paul's general rule was, not to admit of novices; but all general rules have some exceptions, Timothy was one and a rare one, we find not another. Next, I pray consider what kind of preaching they used: You may easily guess at their sermons by their epistles, full of short catechistical instructions, grave exhortations, sober reproofs, discreet corrections, and then tell me whether a raw novice from the university, with all his sciences and languages, be fit for this, or rather a grave sober person of age and experience, having a good natural capacity, illuminated by scripture instruction and prayer, using also the help of grave and sound interpreters. Really 'tis most evident that the church is run into great contempt by the slightness and giddiness of many ministers, who intend nothing but to make a handsome schoolboy's exercise in the pulpit on Sunday, but never attend the other parochial duties, no, nor their own advance in spiritual knowledge, but give them wholly either to idle studies, or idle recreations, and are very children in divine knowledge and behaviour: I do affirm this in the presence of God as a truth, and I have known some pass for very good preachers, that could not give a good account of the Athanasian creed, nor

scarce of the childrens catechism; masters of art, but school-boys in true divinity, and so their parishioners continue very babes all their life long.

It would make any true Christian's heart bleed to think, how many thousand poor souls there are in this land, that have no more knowledge of God than heathens; thousands of the mendicant condition never come to church, and are never look'd after by any; likewise thousands of mean husbandry men, that do come to church, understand no more of the sermon than brutes: Perchance in their infancy some of them learnt a little of their catechism, that is, they could, like parrots, say some broken pieces, but never understand the meaning of one line; (this is the common way of catechising), but afterwards, as they grow up to be men, grow more babes in religion, so ignorant as scarce to know their heavenly Father, and are admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper before they are able to give account of the sacrament of baptism. Thus it is generally in the country, and in the city as bad, partly for the reason before specified, and partly by reason the number in many parishes is far greater than any one pastor can have a due care of; he cannot know half the names or faces of them, much less their faith and behaviour, which is requisite that he may both instruct and reprove where there is need. Wherefore I humbly conceive 'tis necessary to divide these numerous parishes into several parts; but withal to provide means out of them for several ministers, for there is no hope to gain it from their charity or piety, which is plain hypocrisy, seeming so zealous to hear the word, but to contribute nothing towards it; the minister may preach his heart out, and yet not get out of their purses any tolerable maintenance; a poor husbandman in the country of twenty pounds a year, that gets his bread by the sweat of his brows, pays more to a minister than a citizen that gets hundreds a year, sitting at ease in his shop, and spends more in ribbons, laces, and perriwigs in one year, than he pays to a minister in ten or twenty: I beseech them to consider what account they will give to their Lord and Master at that day.

But I return to the requisite qualities of a minister, who, according to St Paul, is to be a governor as well as a preacher; to admonish and rebuke as well as instruct, and therefore of two evils chuse the lesser, rather men defective in parts to preach, which may be supplied by homilies, than defective in wisdom and discretion to govern, which cannot be supplied by other means. But would men be content with the true gospel and apostolick preaching, doubtless there might persons be found out fit for both, to govern and to preach: to preach one God the Creator of all, to preach the baptism of repentance, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper, to preach godliness, justice, mercy, chastity, &c. all which will be far better performed by a grave and godly conscientious man, well catechized, though he never saw university, though he knew no other language but his mother tongue, than by any Aristotelist, Scotist, Aquinatist, with all their knacks of quidities and qualities, syllogisms and enthymems, distinctions and subsumptions, &c. Not one Greek, or Italian, or French of a thousand knew any language but his mother tongue when the gospel first flourished there; not one Indian of a hundred thousand, where St Thomas planted the gospel, ever heard of Plato or Aristotle; and so I may say of many other nations where the gospel was planted and priests ordained. When God instituted Aaron and that priesthood, not a tittle mentioned of school sciences or foreign languages. 'Tis true, the apostles by the Holy Ghost received the gift of tongues, because they were to preach to all nations, but we find not any infusion of school-learning by the Holy Ghost, nor any more gift of tongues after the gospel once spread over the world; God thought it then needless; I pray let's be no wiser than God and his Christ, who converted the world by the foolishness of preaching, but I never yet heard of any one nation converted by the wisdom of philosophical rhetorical preaching. Mistake me not; I say that sciences and languages are no way necessary for common parochial preachers,

yet I grant that sciences, especially historical, and languages, especially the oriental, are very useful to the perfect understanding of scripture, and very fit for some ministers to study, to whom God hath given parts and means to acquire them, who may be helpful to others; and the universities are very good places to train up youths to this purpose; but still these faculties are no way necessary to a parochial cure; a small proportion of learning, with a great deal of piety and discretion, is much better. Besides, there is another thing much to be considered: Were there such grave conscientious persons admitted into the ministry as the apostles ordained, such preaching set up as they practised, and all other decryed, such double honour paid unto the ministry as St Paul commanded and primitively was rendred, (such grave persons would scarce ever fail of it) then we might find thousands in the nation that, having means of their own, would preach the gospel to the poor for conscience sake. The maintenance for ministers in most parts is so wretchedly small (and so like to be, the tythes being in the hands of lay-men without hopes of recovery) that there is no convenient support for men of worth and gravity, and therefore youths and striplings as wretched are put into them of meer necessity, that they lie not wholly void; whereas, if men that had some estate to help to maintain themselves, being persons of conscience and convenient knowledge, were put into the ministry, and such preaching the gospel accepted of as the apostles and primitive disciples used, the cures would be served with far more edification of the people, and honour to the church, than now they are.

I most humbly beseech all in the spirit of meekness humbly to consider these things, laying aside the veil of pomp and vanity, which blinds their eyes, and hinders them from discovering the naked truth and simplicity of the gospel; I call the Searcher of all hearts to witness, I wish unto all clergymen both double honour and double maintenance also, I can't think any thing too much for those who conscientiously labour in the ministry. But seeing (as I said) there is no hopes of regaining the church maintenance, we in prudence should seek out such helps as may be had. And truly I have great reason to hope that, were this rule observed of putting only grave, discreet, and conscientious persons into the ministry (whether university men or not, it matters not, so as fully instructed in the doctrine of the gospel by sound commentators) many persons of good rank and estate would think it no dishonour, but rather a higher honour, to enter it, as they did in the primitive time: Julian, nearly related to the Roman emperor, and afterwards emperor himself, thought it an honour to be admitted a reader, one of the lowest offices in the church. And for the better advancing this business, and fitting all sorts of men with convenient knowledge for the ministry, I humbly conceive it very fit there should be one good and brief English comment of scripture selected and compiled out of those many voluminous authors, laying aside all impertinent criticisms, abstruse questions, nice speculations, and the like, setting down only the plain and most obvious sense in matters of faith and good life, necessary to salvation; such a book to be set forth by authority, with a command, that no man in sermons, exhortations, or catechisings, teach any thing contrary to it; and whatever learning beyond that is brought into the pulpit, let it rather be exploded than applauded; for if any countenance be given to excursions, there will be no end; the itch men have to shew their learning will soon bring us again into the vain unedifying practice we now are in. I humbly conceive it fit also that the book of homilies be reviewed, not to correct any thing in them, for they are most excellent sound exhortations, containing the true primitive spirit, but to add to them whatever is wanting to the necessary doctrine of faith and good manners, to teach every person how to behave himself in his several vocations, and these commanded to be read once over every year; for I have observed several, even good and conscientious preachers to take quite another method, and preach on this or that chapter, and so in the whole year, yea

perchance in two or three years, never preach on the duty between man and wife, parents and children, masters and servants, magistrates and subjects; or omit to treat of pride, or malice, or cheating, or the like, by reason of which omissions, several in the congregation are ignorant in necessary duties, though rightly instructed in things unnecessary.

I expect that many will cry out of this as a means to introduce laziness into the ministry, and a hindrance from exercising those talents God hath indowed them with. To this I answer, first, That I had rather the ministers should be lazy than the people ignorant in their duty. But secondly, I answer, That, besides pulpit preaching, the minister may find enough to do to keep him from laziness, and exercise the best, that *is*, the most useful talents of a minister, to visit and comfort the sick and afflicted, to compose differences and reconcile janglers, examine and instruct the meaner and duller part of his flock, who are not capable of pulpit preaching, to whom they must inculcate both doctrines and admonitions ten times over, and scarcely so, make them apprehend any spiritual matters. Experience only can raise a belief how extreamly dull the common people are in the mysteries of faith, and but little quicker in the principles of a good life: Christ died to save these poor vulgar souls as well as those of the gentry and more learn'd, yet the labour of most ministers is to entertain those that know enough, and are very lazy in catechising those poor souls that know nothing; let these be fully instructed, and then for me, let them shew their talents that those may have it who most want it, either by injoining such homilies, and mentioned to be yearly read, or such sermons to be yearly preached: I am no enemy to true apostolical preaching, God forbid I should; but to vain scholastical, useless preaching, to have the pastor, who should daily watch over his flock, sit in his study all the week long, picking from that or this quaint author a few beautiful flowers, and then to come on Sunday with his nosegay in his hand to entertain ladies and courtiers; for my part I count this far more sinful laziness than to read a pious homily on Sunday, and all the week after go up and down from house to house, taking pains to instruct and exhort such as I mentioned: But these shall be called dumb dogs, yet surely by none but barking curs, who are wholly ignorant in true apostolick preaching; pardon me if I return them their due, who speak evil of that they understand not.

They will object, The apostles and primitive disciples did not read homilies, but preach'd themselves; neither do I desire that any one homily should ever be read, so as we had the true apostolick preaching both on Sundays in publick, and week-days also in private, where there is need: But I am sure such pious homilies as I mentioned are no ways contrary to the apostolick and primitive practice, and are far more useful than such preaching as we have now-a-days. And I am also sure, that in the purest and most primitive time, homilies under another name were read in the churches, that is, epistles of apostolick godly bishops written to other churches, were read in the congregation with great veneration. Shall the name of epistle make the one applauded, the name of homily make the other reproached, the contents and the intent being the same, to stir up the people to godliness? If this will satisfy, let the homilies be stiled epistles to such or such a church, and then I hope they will pass for current. But you will say, the compilers of our homilies are not of equal authority to those primitive epistles: let that pass, but I am sure they are of far more authority than most of our preachers. I pray consider, how many giddy youths are of our ministry, how many of greater age, but of as little gravity or discretion; how many that vainly preach themselves and their own abilities, not Christ and his gospel; how many that preach piously and yet not usefully, but, as I said before, many things unnecessary, omitting many necessary: Sum up all these particulars, and you will find a small remainder that preach piously and edifying also, very few to equal the compilers of our homilies; and then calmly consider the great use, yea, the great necessity, of such homilies. But if you

can furnish all our churches with pious, discreet, edifying, preaching pastors, I am abundantly satisfied, and do you seal up the book of homilies till a new dearth of spiritual food, which God in his great mercy prevent. Amen.

Concerning Bishops and Priests.

Whoever unbiass'd reads the scripture, thence proceeds to the first christian writers, and so goes on from age to age, can not doubt but that the church was always governed by bishops, that is, by one elder, or presbyter, or president, or what else you please to call him, set over the rest of the clergy; with authority to ordain, to exhort, to rebuke, to judge and censure as he found cause: No other form of government is mentioned by any authority for fifteen hundred years from the apostles downwards. Now who can in reason and modesty suspect those primitive bishops who lived in the days of the apostles, chosen by them into the church, succeeded them in church government, yea, and in martyrdom also for the faith, as Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarpus, and others, who, I say, can suspect them to be prevaricators in church discipline, and take upon them another form of episcopal government contrary to apostolical institution? These great masters of self-denial, who gave their lives for the truth, would they transmit unto posterity a church government contrary to the truth? let who will believe it, I can neither believe it nor suspect it. And there is yet another thing very observable, that all the orthodox church dispersed all the world over, some parts having no correspondence at all with the other by reason of distance, some by wars divided and made cruel enemies, yet all agreed in this form of government; and not only the orthodox, but also the schismaticks and hereticks, who separated from, hated, and persecuted the orthodox church, they likewise retained still this form of government, as if all were of necessity compelled to acknowledge this, having never known, heard, nor dreamed of any other. And therefore nothing but necessity, if that, can excuse those who first set up another form of government to their own masters; let them stand or fall, I will not presume to censure them; I will only say, That from the beginning it was not so, and I thank God 'tis not so with us, and never shall be I trust in God. Amen.

But notwithstanding all this, yet 'tis very much to be doubted, whether they were of any distinct superior order from and above the presbyters, or one of the same order set over the rest with power to ordain elders, to exhort, rebuke, chastise, as Timothy and Titus were constituted by St Paul. For though they were of the same order with the other elders and pastors, yet there was great reason for some to be placed with greater authority to rule over the rest. The scripture tells us, "That even in the days of the apostles there were several seducing teachers, leading the people into errors and heresies, and more were to follow after the apostles times, grievous wolves in sheep's clothing;" and therefore it was very necessary to pick out some of eminent soundness in faith and godliness of life, and set them up on high with great authority, as fixed stars in the heavens, (so stiled Revel. i.) to whom all might have regard in dangerous times, as mariners observe in their sea-faring journies. But the scripture no where expresses any distinction of order among the elders; we find there but two orders mentioned, bishops and deacons. Of deacons we shall treat afterwards, let us now proceed to the order of bishops and priests, which the scripture distinguishes not; for there we find but one kind of ordination, then certainly but one order, for two distinct orders cannot be conferred in the same instant, by the same words, by the same actions. They who think deaconship and priesthood distinct, the one subservient to the other, though they intend the same hour to consecrate the man deacon and priest, do they not first compleat him deacon, then priest? I pray, let any man shew me from scripture (as I said) Timothy

or Titus, or any one ordained twice, made first priest then bishop, which is absolutely necessary if they be distinct characters; and 'tis generally affirmed, though I humbly conceive they scarce understand what they affirm, I mean they understand not what these characters are, whether Greek, Hebrew, or Arabick, or what else. But let that pass, I desire them only to shew me how a man can make two characters with one stroke or motion, A and B at the same instant. If then neither Timothy nor Titus, nor any other, were but once ordained, whence can we gather these two distinct characters, these two distinct orders? We find the apostles themselves but once ordained, those by the apostles but once ordained, and so on. When St Paul left Titus in Crete to ordain, he mentions only one ordination, that of presbyters, (so the word in Greek) no other; there's no commission given him to ordain bishops there. Nor Titus, he had no such command, we do not find that St Paul himself did; and sure you will not grant that the presbyters which Titus ordained, that they could ordain bishops there, for you will not allow them to ordain so much as presbyters? Yet bishops you will needs have in every city, and in Crete were very many; who ordained bishops for them all? Truly I can't find, nor you neither, I believe. But you will say, the superior order contains in it, virtually, the inferior order, (let this pass at present;) doth presbyter then virtually contain bishop? If so, then all presbyters are bishops. No, say you, bishop is the superior order, and that contains in it presbyter. You say so, but, by your leave, you are to prove so, or give me leave to say otherwise, especially seeing I have scripture for my saying and you have none for yours. But should I grant bishop the superior, what then? we find Titus ordained not any but presbyters, as he was commanded by St Paul, so we are still at a loss for our bishops, we find not their ordination. Or did St Paul mistake in his expression, and, meaning bishops in every city, said presbyters in every city; let this pass also, and I pray let us see what you mean by this, the superior order virtually contains the inferior. Do not you say they are two distinct orders, two real distinct indelible characters imprinted in the soul, as the school-men affirm (give me leave to talk their language, though I understand it not.) If I take a fair paper, and make an A upon it for the character of presbyter, and then make a B upon it for the character of a bishop, the same paper contains both characters, but sure one character doth not contain the other, A doth not contain B, nor doth B contain A. So the same soul may receive two characters, two orders, but if the two orders be distinct, how they can contain each other, I understand no more than I do these holy characters. If they can paint them out to me in their proper figures, perchance I may understand them better, but as yet I ingenuously confess my ignorance. I grant, in a metaphysical way of abstraction, the superior species contains the inferior genius. A man, a rational creature, contains the animality of a horse, the inferior creature, but doth not contain a real horse in his belly, nor can a man beget horses or men when he pleases. Nor can you truly say a man is a horse; I believe my school-men would take it in snuff should I affirm any of them to be horses, &c. But they affirm, that a bishop doth not only virtually contain the priesthood, but is really a priest, and can make priests or bishops as he please, whereby you may see this answer, that the superior order virtually contains the inferior, is a meer evasion; it sounds as if it were something, but really is nothing to our purpose at all; for we are not now upon metaphysical abstractions, but real individual substances, two actual distinct orders, as they would have it, two distinct indelible characters imprinted on mens souls by ordination, as A and B, which can never be truly affirmed one of the other. A is not B, and B is not A, a man is not a horse, and a horse is not a man; so a bishop ordained only bishop is not a priest, nor a priest a bishop if they be distinct. Wherefore I must believe them one and the same order, especially seeing the scripture applies the same name promiscuously to both; which is the second argument of their identity to be one and the same.

Acts xx. St Paul sends to Ephesus to call the presbyters of that church unto him at Miletum, and speaking to them he calls them all bishops (in our translation 'tis overseers) verse 28. So in his Epistle to the Phillippians, he directs to "all the saints, with the bishops and deacons," both in the plural number, so that by the word bishops, we must needs understand presbyters; for bishops, as we now take the word, were never many in one city. I pray observe also St Paul, Epistle to Titus i. 5. "For this cause left I thee in Crete——that thou should'st ordain elders in every city——if any be blameless—for a bishop must be blameless." Is it not here evident, that an elder and a bishop in St Paul's language is one and the same, otherwise there were no coherency at all in St Paul's speech. If this be not convincing, beyond all possible evasion, I understand nothing of discourse. Other such places are obvious in scripture to every one, I need mention no more; only I desire to inform the reader of a passage to this purpose in an epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians; this Clemens is mentioned in scripture, and is he whom St Peter appointed his successor at Rome, and who was of so great authority, that, as St Hierome tells us, this his epistle was read in churches. Now, in this epistle, Clemens particularly sets forth the constitution of the church by the apostles, and what ministers they ordained in the church; to wit, bishops and deacons, he names no other, which seems to me as full an evidence as can be that there were no other orders in the church in those days but those two: And yet we are sure there were then presbyters in the church; for Peter and John call themselves presbyters, and St Peter calls them presbyters to whom he wrote his epistle; so that if there were but two orders, to wit, bishops and deacons, presbyters must be one and the same with bishops or with deacons; not with deacons, therefore one and the same with bishops; one order called by two names promiscuously in scripture, as hath been shewed before. And I desire you to observe, that of those two names, presbyter and bishop, if there be any dignity and eminency express'd in one more than the other, sure it is in the name of presbyter, not bishop; because the apostles themselves, and the chief of the apostles (as some would have it who stand highest on their pantables) are in scripture styled presbyters or elders, as the word in our English translation signifies, but never bishops, as I remember. And therefore I cannot but wonder why that haughty head of the papists should not assume to himself the title of his pretended predecessor St Peter, presbyter rather than bishop, unless it be by God's providential disposure to shew his blindness in this as well as in other things, and make him confute himself by this name of bishop, which was never given to St Peter, no more than St Peter gave unto him the headship of the church. As to the interpretations and answers given to these and such like scripture expressions, sure I need not take any pains to confute them; for they are so weak as that Petavius, a late writer, and great stickler for the superiority of episcopacy, durst not trust to them, nor would venture his credit to make use of them, but found out a new and rare conceit, as he conceives, that these presbyters mentioned in scripture, and called by both names, were all really bishops, and that the apostles ordained them so, as most convenient for that time; for the congregations of the faithful being small, there needed no priests under the bishops to officiate, and yet there was need of a bishop in those small congregations, because there were several things to be done which were not within the power and capacity of presbyters to act, (as he supposes) viz. the laying on of hands, and confirming the faithful after baptism, the veiling of devoted women, the reconciling of penitents, the ordaining deacons where there was need; and adds moreover several impertinencies, as the making of chrysm, consecrating church-vessels, &c. And Petavius mightily applauds himself in this conceit, as the only means to clear all difficulties. Our Doctor Hammond also finding the usual interpretations of those places of scripture above-mentioned too weak to sustain the arguments builded on them for the unity of order, goes along after Petavius a great way in the fore-cited discourse

(though not in the latter impertinencies,) and affirms that the presbyters then were all bishops; and so far I go with them, that all were presbyters, all bishops, because all was one, and one was all, several names not several orders, as they would have it, and this I humbly conceive firmly proved by my former argument of one ordination, wherein two distinct orders could not be referred, so that still I require them to shew me from scripture where these presbyter-bishops were twice ordained, else it cannot be truly affirmed they were really and actually priests and bishops. As for that answer, that though but one order was conferred, viz. episcopal, yet that being superior to the priesthood, contains this virtually in it: First, you are to prove bishop to be superior to presbyter, which I deny, the apostles being peculiarly called presbyters. Secondly, that one contains the other, I suppose is already confuted, and fully declared that it cannot be; and, as I mentioned before, you do in effect confess it yourselves by your practice; for if the superior order so contains the inferior as to enable a man thereby to act all things belonging to the inferior, it is a very impertinent thing to ordain a man, as you do, first a deacon, then a priest, then a bishop, when you design to confer all upon him in the same day and hour.

And now I pray give me leave to examine a little Petavius's rare conceits, which he conceives will settle all former objections, and will meet with no new ones. He confesses the presbyters of the apostles times were all of one order, viz. bishops, because the pastors of each congregation might perform those several acts he mentions, which a bare presbyter is not capable of. And why not capable of them? how doth he prove this? He brings not one tittle of proof for this out of scripture, where there are good proofs to the contrary: St Peter and St John, presbyters, could do all these and more; *ergo*, presbyters are capable of all. But saith he, "the apostles were bishops also;" "also" is impertinent, as signifying somewhat else; whereas I say and prove 'tis one and the same order, only another name; it lies upon him to prove this difference of orders; and how doth he prove it? because presbyters can't do the acts of a bishop; why this is the thing in question; and thus he runs round to prove this by that, and that by this, and not one tittle out of scripture for either. I know full well of several canons of councils made some at one time, some at another, the bishops reserved many things to themselves, whereof most of them had been practised formerly by presbyters, and the canons were made to prevent the like for the future; for had there not been such a practice, there had been no need of such canons, whereby they reserved these things unto themselves; and for their own greatness would needs persuade the world that presbyters were not capable of them. I grant, that, for decency and order in that sense, some thing may be reserved to some, other things to other, to perform; but that the order of priesthood was not capable is even ridiculous, that the priesthood being capable to do the greatest things, should not be capable to do the least; he can consecrate the souls of men by baptism and the Lord's supper, yet, forsooth, can't consecrate their oyl, and their cups, and their candlesticks, which we never heard the apostles did or dream'd of, but are the fond dreams of doting men, just like the Pharisees washing cups and platters after the doctrines of men. Really there needs no better confutation of their distinction and superiority of episcopal order, than the mean ridiculous things which they ascribe unto their bishops, and debar presbyters of, which methinks a presbyter should contemn were they offered him; and therefore such arguments as these are not worth the small pains I have taken about them.

I proceed to somewhat that seems a little better; Petavius tells us, that the number of Christians encreasing, and factions arising in the church, the apostles at length, towards the end of their times, chose out of these presbyter-bishops, some chief men, and placed them as governors over the rest, and reserved unto these principal men the power of ordaining; thus far I freely consent, the scriptures declare it, and it seems

most rational. And I humbly conceive these governors and ordainers were men of great prudence and moderation, and probably had also that gift of the Holy Ghost; the discerning of spirits and judging of men (a gift mentioned in scripture among others) that none might be admitted into the priesthood but men of meek and peaceable spirits. But now I would ask Petavius when these governing, ordaining bishops were set over the rest of the presbyter-bishops, when Titus was first settled with this authority in Crete, and when Timothy was thus placed at Ephesus, where we find before were several presbyter-bishops, what became of them? were they un-bishop'd and made simple presbyters? they must no more ordain nor govern, but be subject to Timothy and Titus. I am sure it was thought no small punishment in future ages, when bishops were thus by decrees of council abased and cast down unto presbyter form, and it was for some notorious crimes. I pray what crime were all these presbyter-bishops guilty of to be thus handled and tumbled down into a lower form? truly Petavius deals hardly with them, unless he can shew us their crime. Or will he, instead of accusing them excuse himself, and say they were not un-bishop'd or abased, but only restrained from exercising that power their order was capable of, had they been commissioned thereto. Truly I must commend Petavius if he will thus ingenuously confess the truth, for I shall by and by fully declare that 'tis the diversity of commission, and not of order, that enables men to act diversly, and that a bishop without commission can do no more than a presbyter without commission; and therefore I farther beg of Petavius, that, till he can prove the contrary, he would confess them also to be all of one single order, called only by divers names, priest or bishop, and one chosen out of the number, not the rest abased, but he exalted, with authority to govern. This is the rational and common practice of all societies, corporations, colleges, monasteries, conclave of cardinals, what not; there is no new order supposed in any of these, but only a new election, and a new authority given, according to the fundamental constitution of each society. The pope himself with his triple crown and triple dominion over all patriarchs, arch-bishops, bishops, pretends to have no new order of popeship, but only the new authority conferred by his election: why then may not presbyters chosen to preside over the rest, without any new order, do the like? And for this very reason I conceive Justin Martyr uses the name of president always for bishop; and St Cyprian also, a bishop himself, and most glorious martyr, he calls himself and other bishops generally by the name of Præpositus, as if this were the main distinction betwixt himself and his presbyters, that he was Præpositus only, one of them placed with authority over them: no more, nor doth the name of bishop in the original Greek signify any more than the overseer of the rest. And as for the avoiding of heresies and factions, they thought it meet to settle some bishop, of great soundness in faith and godliness of life, with authority to restrain and chastise disorderly pastors. Just so, when whole nations were converted, and not only the pastors but the bishops also (who had oversight of the pastors) encreased in number, then for the same reason it was thought fit there should be an overseer of the bishops, and be called an arch-bishop; when the arch-bishops were multiplied, then another set over them, and he called a patriarch; and at last one over the patriarchs, and he called *Papa*, Pope *Catexochen*, though *Papa* before was a name attributed to other bishops. Now as pope, patriarch, archbishop, bishop, are all one and the same order; (papists themselves grant this) so bishop, elder, presbyter, priest, all one and the same, only one of these set over the rest, and he now particularly called *Episcopus*, that is, bishop *Catexochen*, because he oversees the overseers: but this last constitution only is apostolical; the other of arch-bishop, patriarch, pope, are merely human, not at all mentioned in scripture.

But now another objection arises: Petavius grants that all the elders which the apostles ordained were bishops, and towards the end of the apostles days they set some

eminent amongst them over the rest to govern and ordain elders in every city, as Timothy and Titus, and these elders in every city were bishops, and thus the apostles left the church with bishops only and deacons. And this is evident by what I brought before out of Clemens, who lived after the apostles days, and mentions only bishops and deacons left by the apostles. This being so, I desire to know who after the apostles days began this new kind of ordination of presbyters or elders, not bishops; the apostles ordained none such; who then? and by what authority was this new order set up? the scripture mentions it not; when and by whom came it in? a very bold undertaking without scripture or apostolical practice.

I will not boast my conceit as Petavius doth his; only I wish the reader to consider which is most tractable, most rational, or rather most scriptural, thereon I frame this whole fabrick as the rock and only sure foundation; human brain is too weak to erect and to support the fabrick of the church of God, which the Romanists have made a very Babel with their human inventions and multiplied characters and orders; some of them would have nine several holy orders in God's church militant here on earth, because there are nine several orders of cœlestial spirits in the church triumphant in heaven. This is a castle of their own building in the air, a rare foundation for God's church. Others will have seven several orders and characters as seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. Hath the Holy Ghost then but seven several gifts to confer on men? St Paul, 1 Cor. xii. counts unto us nine; not as if these were all, but only for example sake, to shew us that many and divers gifts are conferred on us by one and the same spirit; and in the conclusion of the same chapter he mentions eight. These things were uttered accidentally according to the occasion, not as limiting the gifts of the Holy Ghost to any set number. But if you will farther look into their application of these gifts of the Holy Ghost, and see to what kind of several orders they appropriate them, it would make a man amazed to see sober learned men, even that great wit and scholar Aquinas, discourse in such wild manner; as, did you but stand behind a curtain to hear and not to see them, you doubtless would conclude you heard some old woman in the nursery telling her dreams to children, rather than divine doctors in school. I will name but one or two of their orders. The porter of the church door is one, and (he forsooth) hath a sacred character imprinted on his soul, and his gift is the discerning of spirits, that he may judge who are fit to enter into God's church, who to be shut out. Another of their orders is that of *Acolothi*, who are now (anciently they were quite another thing) certain boys carrying torches, and attending on the bishop saying mass; these have their character also, and their gift of the Holy Ghost is the interpretation of tongues, signified (no doubt on't) by the light in their hands, but understand no more of tongues than the stick of their torch. I will not weary you with more of their absurdities.

Our episcopal divines rejecting these chimerical fancies of orders and characters, suppose it to be a certain faculty and power conferred by the laying on of hands for the exercise of ministerial duties; and according to this purpose the superior order contains the inferior, as the greater power contains in it the less: Thus episcopacy, being the superior order, contains in it priesthood and deaconship; these three are their supposed distinct orders. They may suppose this if they please, and I may suppose the contrary; but I would gladly know on what scripture they ground this discourse, that's the thing I still require; and there we find no larger faculty or power given to bishops, but rather to presbyters, as I have shewed, the apostles who had the greatest power being stiled presbyters, not bishops. And when our bishops do ordain presbyters, do not they use the very same form of words which our Saviour used when he ordained the apostles? "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven," &c. Do they not then by the same words confer the same power? (for I hope they use no equivocation, nor mental reservation) if the power be the same, the

order is the same by their own rule. Again, let us examine their own practice; do they not require a man should be ordained first deacon, before he be ordained priest, and priest before bishop? what needs this, if the superior contains the inferior? But in scripture we find it otherwise. Timothy, who long officiated under St Paul as a presbyter, when he was left at Ephesus, and so when Titus was left at Crete, both to be bishops, we find no new ordination; were this requisite, sure the scripture would have given us at least some hint of it, but not one tittle there. But if the scripture be defective in expressions, you will supply it by the expressions and practice of the church in the first succeeding ages.

Before you go on, and take much pains to shew me this, give me leave to tell you that I shall not easily recede from scripture in fundamentals, either of faith or church-discipline; in things indifferent of themselves, or in more weighty matters very doubtfully expressed in scripture, I shall always most readily submit to the interpretation of the primitive and universal church, I require both primitive and universal; for I shewed before, that in matters of faith there were some errors very primitive, yet not continued by the universal church, but rejected in succeeding ages. And at the time of the evangelical reformation by Luther, Melancthon, Calvin &c. I can shew some errors generally received in most, if not in all the churches of Christendom, but neither approved nor known by the primitive church: Wherefore I require what you produce should be both primitive and universal, and this to interpret some place of scripture doubtful in itself, not plain. Now as to the business in hand, I cannot yield, that the scripture is very doubtful in it, or scarce doubtful at all; for though in scripture it is not *in terminis* said, presbytery and episcopacy are both one and the same order, yet the same circumstantial expressions are (as I have shewed) so strong and many, that they are equivalent to a clear expression *in terminis*. Secondly, This is not a matter of any indifferency, but of vast and dangerous consequence, if mistaken, That a church without such bishops as you require cannot be truly called a church, and so we shall exclude many godly reformed churches: For if bishops be of such a superior distinct order as you pretend, if the power of ordination be inherent in them only, then where no bishop no true priests ordained, where no priests no sacraments, where no sacraments no church. Wherefore I humbly beseech you be not too positive in this point, lest thereby you do not only condemn all the reformed churches, but the scripture and St Paul also; who tells us, That the scripture is sufficient to make us wise unto salvation, both in matters of faith and works also, to instruct and thoroughly furnish us to every good work: and will any deny this of ordination to be both a good and necessary work, seeing that the powerful preaching the word and administration of the sacraments depend upon it? Wherefore I dare not by any means suspect the scripture defective in this weighty affair; yet, to shew you our willingness to hear all things, let us hear what you can tell us from antiquity.

The first you bring is Epiphanius, three hundred years after the apostles, from whom the main objection is drawn against the identity of order, and shot as a cannon ball against us beyond all possible resistance, but you will find it to be a mere tennis-ball. Epiphanius, making a catalogue of hereticks, puts in Ærius for one, who was an Arian, and moreover held that bishops and priests were of one order, and of equal dignity and authority, and that a presbyter had power to ordain, confirm, and, in short, to act any thing equal with a bishop. That he was an heretick is apparent, being an Arian; nay, I shall not scruple to yield unto you that he was an heretick in this his assertion concerning episcopacy and presbytery, (as we now understand them;) I say, the assertion contains heresy in one part but not in every part, viz. That the bishop and other presbyters are of equal authority and power to act: This may, in some sense, be called heresy, for it is against apostolical constitution declared in scripture, therefore an heresy; and if you can shew me from scripture as

much against identity of order, I shall brand him for an heretick in that also; but being sure there is no such thing in scripture, there can be no heresy in affirming the identity. I fully agree with Tertullian, we can make no judgment *de rebus fidei, nisi ex literis fidei,* of matters of faith, but from the writings of faith, that is, the scripture, and therefore I shall never be pulled from this pillar of truth. The scripture is our compleat rule of faith; no opinion is heretical and dammable which is not against that. Now, good reader, I pray take notice that Epiphanius was a very godly bishop in the main, but yet a very cholerick man, as appears in that his fierce contest with John, Bishop of Constantinople, and his bitter expressions therein, which I do not mention in disparagement of this holy man, but only give the reader a caution to remember, that passionate men do sometimes censure more severely than there is cause: Epiphanius being a bishop, and finding the authority and dignity of episcopacy much disparaged by Ærius being an Arian heretick, falls upon him sharply for this his opinion also, wherein he was in part much to be condemned, as I freely confess'd before, but not in the very point now in question; nor doth Epiphanius himself condemn him in this particular as an heretick, but only in the gross, to which I freely give my vote. But you will tell me, that a man of a far milder temper, St Austin, doth also enrol Ærius among hereticks. I know it well, but I desire you to know that St Austin doth not lay this to his charge as an heresy, for he saith only thus: Ærius also was an heretick, for he fell into the Arian heresy, and he added some opinions of his own; then St Austin recounts several of his opinions, whereof this was one, That he affirmed there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter; where, I pray you observe, St Austin gives us the reason why he ranks him with hereticks, viz. because he fell into the Arian heresy; then follows; And he added some opinions of his own: St Austin calls these opinions not heresies, for he doth not say he added more heresies of his own. Secondly, I pray you observe, St Austin makes no mention of his affirming the identity of order, but only this, That there was no difference at all between bishop and presbyter, wherein I will condemn Ærius as well as you. But as for the identity of order, 'tis well known that St Austin is noted by Medina, a papist writer, and others, to incline to this opinion; but for my part, I think the words quoted from St Austin do not express any opinion one way or other to this purpose, but are only a compliment to St Hierom, who was but a presbyter; yet in humility, St Austin being a bishop, acknowledges him to be his superior in many things. But I desire you to take notice of another very remarkable and most worthy passage of St Austin, who tells us plainly that we are not to read him, or any other author ever so holy, or ever so learned, with any obligation to submit to his or their opinions, unless they prove their opinions by scripture, or convincing reasons. So then, had Ærius been declared both by Epiphanius and St Austin also, to have been a heretick in this very particular of identity of order, yet they bringing neither scripture nor any reason at all, but merely a bare narrative of Ærius and his opinions, not so much as calling his opinion in this particular, heresy, much less offering proofs for it; by St. Austin's rule we may, with great civility to them and great confidence in the truth, still affirm the identity of order.

But how will I answer that objection taken out of St Hierom, who, say you, was as great a leveller of bishops with priests as any (and therefore whatever comes from him, you may be sure is extracted from him by the powerfulness of undeniable truth) yet he confesses that bishops have the authority of ordination more than presbyters. A man may smile to see this used as an argument for the pre-eminency of bishops, which is directly against it: For St Hierom having discours'd of the quality and identity of presbyters and bishops, and having brought many arguments from scripture to prove that bishop and presbyter was only two names for one and the same office; for

a further confirmation hereof asks this question, I pray what doth a bishop do more than a presbyter except ordination? Plainly intimating thereby, that this could make no such distinction of eminency in them above presbyters: I beseech you consider, Do not presbyters perform offices of a higher nature than ordination? Presbyters are ordained embassadors for Christ, to preach his holy gospel for the salvation of souls; they are under Christ, mediators between God and the people to make intercession for them; they administer the sacrament of baptism, wherein the children of wrath are regenerated and made the children of God, and heirs of eternal life; yea, they administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper also, the most transcendant act of religion and christian dignity, whereby we are made partakers of the body and blood of Christ: And what doth a bishop more than these except ordination? Which, being no sacrament, sure is inferior in dignity to the other mentioned acts, and therefore cannot elevate them to a higher degree. Judge now, I beseech you, whether this question makes *pro* or *con*: Are not such questions always tending to disparagement? When any man is boasting his power and authority, should I come and ask, What can you do more than others, unless it be in this or that poor business not worth speaking of? Would he not take this as an affront? Wherefore it cannot enter into my head, that St Hierom intended by this question to express any superior order above the priesthood, but plainly the contrary, viz. That bishops, having no other power distinct from priests but ordination, this could be no argument for a distinct and superior order. And now I desire my reader, if he understand Latin, to view the epistle of St Hierom to Evagrius, and doubtless he will wonder to see men have the confidence to quote any thing out of it for the distinction between episcopacy and presbytery, for the whole epistle is to shew the identity of them. Before I chanced to read this epistle, as I was of the erroneous opinion, that bishops were a distinct order, but so convinced by this epistle, as I was forced to submit to a change: And I farther desire my reader to observe the various fate of St Hierom and Ærius: Ærius is reviled as an heretick for affirming this identity of order; Hierom passes for a saint, and a great doctor of the church, though he affirms the very same as fully as Ærius, or any man can do; and therefore it may be my fate to be reviled as Ærius was; but our Saviour bids us rejoice and be exceeding glad when we are reviled for his name's sake, (or for his word's sake, sure all is one) for great is our reward; and so I proceed.

But there lies yet a great objection made by our good Bishop Hall: he tells how that Callathus, a presbyter of Alexandria, took upon him to ordain others; and that afterwards, in a council of a hundred bishops in Egypt, their ordination was declared null, because ordained by a presbyter: From this and some other such instances, the bishop would prove that the order of presbyters is not capable to ordain, therefore bishops are a dis inct order. I am sorry so good a man had no better a proof for his intended purpose. It seems he quite forgot how that the famous council of Nice, consisting of above three hundred, made a canon, wherein they declare, that if any bishop should ordain any of the clergy belonging to another bishop's diocese, without consent and leave had of that bishop to whose diocese they did belong, their ordination should be null. You see then the irregular ordination of a bishop is as null as the irregular ordination of a presbyter; therefore the irregular bishop and the irregular presbyter are of the same order, of the same authority, neither able to ordain. Is it not most evident by this, that 'tis not their order but commission that makes them capable to ordain? sure an irregular bishop is of the same order with the regular: Is the line of his diocese like a conjurer's circle, within it he is a bishop, without it he is none? No, but within it he hath commission given him to ordain, without it no commission, no nor to act in his own diocese beyond his commission, which is to ordain only the clergy of his own diocese, and within his own diocese. Can any thing be plainer? Calluthus then be-

ing but a presbyter, and under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Alexandria; his taking upon him to ordain presbyters was highly irregular and insolent, and therefore most justly declared null. I desire the papistical school-divines, with their manifold indelible characters, to observe here, how easily the councils dash'd out the indelible character of presbyter imprinted on the souls of these men irregularly ordained; they made a clear rasure, not one tittle of it left. And could they so easily cancel the gift of the Holy Ghost? I leave my school-men to find out how this rare feat was done; and I proceed to add a canon taken from a council at Antioch concerning Chorepiscopi, much to our purpose.

When the apostles had settled bishops in every city, with authority of ordaining and governing the several churches or congregations within the circuits of those cities, some were very large, and therefore in process of time, when more were converted to the faith, and the congregations increased more in number, and at greater distance than the bishop himself could well have the oversight of, the bishop chose some principal men for his assistance, and, dividing a great circuit into several lesser circuits, placed these men as overseers under him; and these were called Chorepiscopi, that is, country bishops, and were much after the manner of our rural deans. Those Chorepiscopi, country bishops, being thus settled in authority to govern the pastoral priests in their circuits, took upon them to ordain more priests than occasion required, which the chief bishops took very ill at their hands, as a great lessening to their supreme authority; and, to prevent it for the future, a canon was made in the council of Antioch, about the year 340, to forbid these country bishops to ordain any priests. Now I pray you observe, these Chorepiscopi were either really ordained in the order of the chief bishop or not; if they were as full bishops as he, (as really they were) why might they not ordain priests as well as he? The chief bishop answers, because he gave them no commission. Whereby you see that the power of ordaining priests was annexed no more to bishops than to priests, unless the bishops received a new commission to ordain, as well as a new ordination. If it be answered, that these Chorepiscopi were mere priests sent forth to have inspection only over other priests, then I pray observe, that these Chorepiscopi being mere priests, took upon them to ordain other priests; which certainly had been madness for them to do, had they then such a belief of bishops as is now required. They might as well have undertaken to create stars in the heavens: For if bishops only have received a divine power from Christ and his apostles to ordain priests, he that hath not this divine power of ordination can no more ordain a priest, than a man without the divine power of creation can create a star, both are impossible in nature: from whence it must follow, that these country bishops were directly mad in undertaking to ordain priests, having received no such divine power from Christ, his apostles, or their successors: But if we take these country bishops for sober godly persons in their right wits (as doubtless they were, being selected for that office) they must needs believe that, being priests alone, they had power to ordain other priests; and also believed, that the bishops, having made them overseers and governors in their little circuits, they had also received thereby commission to ordain as well as to govern, and were as little bishops under an archbishop, for such really they were; so that I can't in charity censure them so much as of contumacy in taking upon them more than (they thought at least) they had commission to act: I doubt not the chief bishop would be wary enough not to employ any contumacious persons. I conclude then, first, that it was only a mere mistake, an easy and pardonable mistake of their commission. Secondly, that in those times it was not thought an impossible thing for bare priests, no bishops, to ordain other priests, for then certainly they would never have undertaken it. And I confess myself of their opinion, and can't but so continue till I see more reason to the contrary.

And I hope my reader will see what weak proofs are brought for this distinction and superiority of order, no scripture, no primitive general council, no general consent of primitive doctors and fathers, no not one primitive father of note speaking particularly and home to our purpose; only a touch of Epiphanius and St Austin upon Ærius, the Arian heretick, but not declared, no not by them, an heretick in this particular of episcopacy; so that I myself declare more particularly against him than these fathers do, accusing him of heresy in part of his affirmation concerning bishops, though not in every part.

I shall conclude this business by giving my poor judgment drawn from the preceding arguments. I find in scripture that the priesthood is a holy order, into which no man is to thrust himself unless he be called; I do not find that deaconship hath an inferior part in it, or episcopacy above it, but that it is compleat and entire in it self, and that it may involve many administrations in one and the same order, and sometimes many in one and the same person. St John was an apostle, an evangelist, a prophet, a pastor, a teacher, an ordainer, (which we call bishop) all these gifts he had by one and the same spirit, in one and the same priesthood. Christ himself was of this order, a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedeck, that is, both king and priest, these were his offices; he is called also the bishop of our souls: Was this in Christ a distinct and superior office or order of his priesthood, who will presume to affirm this? And Christ told his apostles, "as my Father sent me, so send I you;" Christ therefore made them also kings and priests, as St John tells us, Rev. i. Our Saviour's kingdom was not of this world, no more was that of the apostles; our Saviour's office of priest and bishop was one and the same, so was that of the apostles; and they ordained and sent others, as Christ ordained and sent them; there was no distinction or diversity of order in Christ and his apostles, no more was there in those who were ordained and sent by the apostles, though there might be diversity of gifts or administrations; all were not evangelists nor prophets, some had the gift of tongues, some of prophecy, some of miracles, some of discerning spirits; and some such gift I conceive they might have whom the apostles constituted superintendent overseers, bishops over the rest, endued especially with the gift of discerning and judging of men, and therefore fit to be entrusted with the ordaining of others, for which there needed no new order, but the enlargement only of their commission to ordain, to oversee and govern those that were ordained. And these, as I said before, being settled in this eminent manner over the rest, were called by that name in Greek which signifies as much, and which we in English call bishop; and by degrees this name was wholly appropriate to them. In this order the apostles left the church at their death, and in this order their successors continued it (as in duty sure they ought) from time to time near one thousand five hundred years without any interruption. Wherefore for any to alter this way of government, or to take upon them to ordain, not being chosen this way to it, they would be guilty of great rashness and high presumption; and I thank God, I am as zealous for the preserving this primitive way as any man, yet I cannot by any means consent to them who would have episcopacy to be a distinct order, for the reasons before given; nor can I think the ordination of a priest made by priests invalid, for though it ought not to be done, (but only of necessity) yet being done 'tis valid, and certainly may without any crime be done by any priest, by shipwreck or any such chance cast into a country where there were none commissionated to ordain; in such a case he might and ought to ordain other fit persons for the service of God and preaching of the gospel. For who can doubt but that the substance is to be preferr'd before ceremony? And as St Paul approved of the preaching of Christ out of envy rather than no preaching, so doubtless to ordain out of order is better than no ordination, and the church of Christ be deprived of preaching, pray-

ing, and administring the sacraments, and all other pastoral duties; so great necessity may well excuse any irregularity: Yet where order can possibly be observed, it ought to be, for God is the God of order: Wherefore he that wilfully transgresses against order, transgresses against God, and shall "receive to himself damnation:" for, if to resist the ordinance of man only in human and temporal things be damnation, much more is it to resist an apostolick ordinance in things spiritual and divine.

Concerning Deacons.

Having thus stated and united the two pretended distinct orders of episcopacy and presbytery, I now proceed to the third pretended spiritual order, that of deaconship. Whether this of deaconship be properly to be called an order or an office I will not dispute, but certainly no spiritual order, for their office was to serve tables, as the scripture phrases it, which in plain English is nothing else but overseers of the poor, to distribute justly and discreetly the alms of the faithful; which the apostles would not trouble themselves withall, lest it should hinder them in the ministration of the word and prayer. But as most matters of this world, in process of time, deflect much from the original constitution, so it fell out in this business; for the bishops, who pretended to be successors to the apostles, by little and little took to themselves the dispensation of alms, first by way of inspection over the deacons, but at length the total management, and the deacons, who were mere lay-officers, by degrees crept into the church ministration, and became a reputed spiritual order, and a necessary degree and step to the priesthood, of which I can find nothing in scripture and the original institution, not a word relating to any thing but the ordering of alms for the poor. And the first I find of their officiating in spiritual matters, is in Justin Martyr, who lived in the second century. He relates, that when the bishop had consecrated the bread and wine for the Lord's Supper, the deacons took it from him and delivered it to the lay-communicants there present, and carried it also to the faithful that were absent, hindred, I guess, from coming by sickness, or some other good excusing cause. In the beginning, when the congregations of the faithful were small, the bishop himself delivered the communion to them, but at length encreasing to great numbers, it would have taken too much of their time for the bishop to have delivered it to the whole congregation, so the deacons were made use of as fit persons for this matter; for in those days there was always a communion in the assemblies on the Lord's-day, and the laity that day brought their alms and presents with them, which were delivered unto the deacons to dispose of to the poor by the bishops direction, and therefore the deacons receiving from their hands their charitable benevolence, were thought the fittest to return again to their hands the consecrated mysteries being part of their offerings. But 'tis evident this was not yet come to be the general practice of all churches, but only in Greece, where Justin Martyr lived; for Tertullian, who lived in Africk some years after Justin, declares that the custom there was to receive the blessed sacrament from the hands of the bishop only, whom he calls the president, that is, whosoever was chief in the assembly whether bishop or presbyter: But yet I confess that this custom of the deacons delivering the blessed sacrament, or at least one part of it, viz. the chalice, by degrees became the custom in most churches in after ages; and so passing from one thing to another, in time they came to administer the sacrament of baptism, and at last to the ministration of the word, the business which the apostles peculiarly reserved to themselves, and which the bishops also for a long time reserved so entirely to themselves as it was thought a great insolence for any, even for the presbyters, to take upon them to preach in presence of the bishop. Valerius, Bishop of Hippo (as Possidius relates) was sharply rebuked by his fellow bishops for

suffering St Austin, then but a presbyter, to preach before him. I know sometimes it was suffered also in other churches, but very rarely, where the bishop himself was of weak abilities for the work, and had some presbyters under him very eminent. And so it was with Bishop Valerius and St Austin, a person of great note in those days. And thus you see in process of time how strangely things alter from their original institution, the bishops omit preaching and become servants of tables, and the deacons from serving of tables step up into the pulpit and became preachers. But Petavius takes upon him to prove deaconship a spiritual order, and brings us a more early author for it than Justin, that noble martyr, mentioned before Ignatius; who, in his Epistle *ad Tralli*, calls deacons (as Petavius conceives) ministers of the mysteries of Christ. Here I find that, which I often lament, learned men to go on in a track one after another, and some through inadvertancy, some through partiality, take many passages of ancient authors quite different from their meaning, as here, all following the first erroneous interpreter of Ignatius. Whoever first translated this epistle of Ignatius, sure this fancy of deacons run much in his head, otherwise he could never have found them here, for 'tis evident the word *diaconus* in this place relates to the presbytery newly before mentioned, telling the people they ought to be obedient to the presbyters as to the apostles of Christ; (then follows) "You must therefore please them in all things, being ministers in the mysteries of Christ." Mark, I beseech you, "you must therefore;" is not "therefore" a particle relating to what went before, viz. to the presbyters, otherwise the speech is very absurd. Should I say, presbyters are as the apostles of Christ, therefore you must in all things please the deacons, were it sense? No, but just, *Deus in cœlo, ergo baculus in angulo;* but to say the presbyters are as the apostles, therefore you must please them in all things, being the ministers of the mysteries of Christ, as the apostles were; this is very good coherent sense: And so run the words of Ignatius; but the weak interpreter mistaking the word *diaconus*, ran into this error, and many learned men without any consideration have run after him. I grant the word *diaconus* is often set for deacons specifically distinguished from presbyters; but 'tis very often set for all ministers in general, apostles, bishops, presbyters, as you find frequently in scripture. St Paul in one epistle, viz. 2 Cor. twice stiles himself and other apostles *diaconous*. And I do the more wonder at the interpreter's mistake in this place, because by the following words Ignatius here excludes the specifical deacons, saying, "not the ministers of meats and drinks." Now we know the specifical deacons were ministers of meats and drinks to the poor; it was their proper work, for this very end they were chosen and for no other, as appears evidently in the Acts; and therefore Ignatius saying, "not the ministers of meats and drinks," directly excludes such deacons, and the word *diaconus* must necessarily be taken in the larger sense, and relate to the presbyters before mentioned, therefore please them in all things, being the ministers of the mysteries of Christ, not of meats and drinks for the poor. Whoever understands the Greek, and will see, must needs see the truth of what I affirm. But Petavius, intoxicated with this spiritual order of deaconship, turns all this round quite another way, according to the working of his fancy. And so he doth some places of scripture as little to his purpose as this. He tells us out of the Acts, that Philip and Stephen, both deacons, were preachers of the word, that is a spiritual work, therefore belongs to a spiritual order. I would gladly know who informed Petavius that Philip, who preached to the eunuch, and afterwards went about preaching to others, was Philip the deacon, and not rather Philip the apostle, as seems to me far more probable; for Philip the deacon was by his office to reside at Jerusalem and take care of the poor; thither the alms of the faithful were sent to relieve the saints at Jerusalem. But you farther urge, surely Stephen was a deacon; and let Philip also, if you please, it signifies little to the purpose. Sure, I can shew out of scripture, preachers

that were in no spiritual order, neither presbyters, nor deacons neither, as Aquila, and Priscilla his wife too, and Apollo likewise, to whom they both preached and instructed him more fully; sure they did not ordain Apollo a deacon, nor can I believe any of the apostles ordained him deacon, and sent him forth to preach before he was well catechised in the word; he was not so much as baptized in Christ, but knew only the baptism of John; if not baptised, surely not ordained deacon, yet he prevailed, and mightily convinced the Jews. It is in reason strange, though in practice common, to see how men wedded to an opinion, think whatever they read speaks to that, so fathers, doctors, all clink as they think. In the primitive time, all, both men and women, did preach the gospel, taken in a large sense, as St Peter calls "Noah a preacher of righteousness," that is, they endeavoured to instruct all they conversed with in the faith of Christ and godliness, for which many, both men and women, suffered martyrdom. Wherefore, though Philip the deacon and Stephen preach the gospel, it signifies nothing to the spirituality of the deaconship, seeing that thousands of lay-men and women also did the like. And so the apostles laying their hands on those chosen to be deacons, signifies as little to this purpose. Do not we find that Paul laid his hands on the converted disciples at Ephesus, and they received the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, yet none of them ordained either presbyter or deacon. And sometimes the apostles laid their hands on those that were already ordained, both presbyters and apostles also, as on Barnabas and Paul, when they were sent forth to preach. This laying on hands was a ceremony used on several occasions, I need not mention more, they are obvious to any that read the scripture. 'Tis evident then from scripture, that the first institution of deacons was a mere lay-office, I will not say a prophane office (as some too grossly and irreverently have termed it) but a pious and honourable office in the church of God, to serve tables, to take care of God's poor; but (as I have shewed) in process of time it became quite another thing, and so different from the original institution, as it made Chrysostom, and divers other great and good men, doubt whether the apostles did not constitute two sorts of deacons, some for this lay-office, some for spiritual offices: Had Chrysostom consulted only scripture, he would never have doubted nor dreamed of two sorts of deacons, there being no mention at all but of one; but he seeing the practice of the church (which he was unwilling to condemn) so different from that one apostolical institution of deacons; this so confounded the good man that he knew not well what to make of it, and, willing to piece scripture and the present practice together, to put a new patch upon an old garment, made the rent the wider, rending the deaconship in two pieces, which of old was but one, only to serve tables; which office he that used well purchased to himself a good degree, a good esteem, and so it might be a recommendation to the degree of priesthood, though no necessary step to it. And so we find that holy deacon and most renowned martyr St Lawrence was made a priest, but continued afterwards in that same office of deacon unto death, which he suffered in a most cruel manner, laid on a gridiron over coals, rather than he would give up the treasury of the church and alms to the poor, to the covetous cruel tyrant. This holy deacon Petavius brings to prove, that deacons, by virtue of that order only, did minister in holy things, telling us that St Ambrose mentions how he did distribute, in the Lord's Supper, the blood of Christ, to the communicants under bishop Xistus. Whereas St Ambrose tells us how he consecrated the blood of Christ, which plainly shews how untruly Petavius deals with us, and that St Lawrence was a priest, not a bare deacon; for neither Petavius, nor ever any other, allowed deacons the consecration of these sacred mysteries. Wherefore, seeing the scripture allows deacons, as deacons, no more than serving of tables for the poor, whatever else ministration is allowed them is by human authority, not divine, and their office or order, which you please to call it, being about temporal things, must be temporal not

spiritual. And so I leave them to their proper office of serving tables, not finding in scripture any thing more belonging to them.

Concerning Confirmation.

Confirmation, or some such thing, is so necessary, that, for want of due execution thereof, persons extremely unfit are admitted to the holy table of the Lord's Supper. I fear a quarter of the communicants of this nation do not sufficiently understand the true meaning of these holy mysteries, the due preparation for them, the benefits, the damages, in worthily or unworthily receiving them: This I affirm upon experience, having, by way of discourse, questioned many both of low and high degree, where one would little expect such ignorance. And by reason of this gross ignorance in due preparing and conscientious receiving, this blessed cordial and medicine of the soul (of power in itself to cure all our diseases if rightly applied) is turned into our destruction and damnation of the soul. For this holy sacrament rightly apprehended, would strike a terror into the soul and a dread of sin, but men receiving it without any regard into their sinful souls, the beams of grace which this sun of righteousness brings with it, harden their dirty hearts, and make them afterwards unsensible of any horrid abomination whatsoever. And all this is occasioned by the want of some fit person of authority to examine youth of all degrees, ever so high or ever so low, before they are admitted to the Lord's table. For there being many poor ignorant curates, many unconscientious careless ministers, many overawed by the superior quality of their parishioners, some cannot, some will not, some dare not, search into the requisite abilities of persons to be admitted. All which was prevented in the primitive times of Christianity, when able and holy bishops were elected, and therefore reverenced and obeyed in all spiritual matters by the greatest as well as by the least. These diligently and publickly before the congregation, at set times of the year, chiefly at Easter, examined all those who had been converted to the faith from infidelity that year, and all those who, baptised in the faith, desired admittance to the Lord's table; and upon approbation and confirmation of the bishop, fit persons only were publicly baptized by him, and at the church door, as soon as churches were built, where the baptistry was placed, and then brought into the church and admitted to the Lord's table: And no inferior minister did either baptize or administer the holy communion, unless it were by the bishop's order on urgent occasions. These things are very well known to the learned who are conversant in Ignatius's epistles, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, and other succeeding writers. And, in short, nothing was done of any moment, as is plain in Ignatius, but by the bishop's directions. But at length the number of Christians growing great, and multitudes of children daily born, and an opinion growing up also that it was absolutely necessary for the salvation of children not only to be baptized, but also to receive the holy communion before death, it was impossible for the bishop to be at hand to perform all, or to give particular order for all: necessity forced every priest in his cure to perform these offices. Yet, in process of time, the opinion of the necessity for children to receive the holy communion before death declining, and few or none admitted till the age of discretion, and the necessity of baptism for children still continuing, the bishops suffered still all ministers to baptize, but resumed to themselves again the power of confirming and licensing youth to the holy communion. And bishops only for a long time executing this office, it grew by degrees into an opinion that bishops only were capable to do it, and that confirmation was a sacrament, and such a sacrament as inferior priests, supposed then also to be of an inferior order, were not to meddle with. What errors will men, yea learned men, car-

ried along with a crowd, slide into, not willing to stand in opposition with a multitude, especially when countenanced by the bishop their superior. And then succeeding learned men having in their infancy sucked in the error, continue it in their riper learned years, and endeavour to defend it as a certain truth, and at last it passeth for an article of faith necessary to be believed. Thus have I laid out before you the true state and progress of this business of confirmation.

Now, I pray, consider first, suppose confirmation to be a sacrament, and to be administred by the bishop only, and none to be admitted to the Lord's table till confirmed, how is it possible for a bishop of so large a diocese as some of ours are (some extended three or fourscore miles, many forty or fifty) personally to confirm half the youth in a diocese, if he duly examine each one, as is most fit and necessary? We see how this is performed in their triennial visitations; not a quarter of those who are admitted ever come to the bishop, and yet the crowd is great: What is then done to those that come? They are asked by the bishop, whether they believe and will perform those things their godfathers and godmothers affirmed and promised for them at their baptism? they answer yes, and so are confirmed: But what those things are, whether they understand and can give a good account of those things, not a word of this. Oh but the curate, who presents those children to the bishop, assures him that they are fully instructed for it; this is the thing we complain of and desire to be redressed, that it may not be left to the discretion and care of every curate, seeing what pitiful creatures are by them admitted. And do we not see sometimes (the curate desiring to please the fond mother) children confirmed so young as cannot, without a miracle, be of a capacity to understand those divine mysteries? Besides, it may often happen that a pious child well fitted for the holy sacrament, and perchance being weak, earnestly desires it before his death, yet must stay some years 'till next visitation, or take a long journey to the bishop, for which he may want strength or means to support him. But in the primitive times the bishop confirmed every year; their diocess also was very narrow, so that access to him was quick and easy, and the work was as easy to the bishop, yea and easy also to their inferior curate, to instruct and prepare them; for parents and masters did then, according to their bounden duty (the great neglect whereof in these days will find sore punishment at the last day,) made it their chief care to instruct their servants and children from their infancy in the principles of religion.

You see how impossible it is for a bishop in a large diocess and triennial visitation to perform this necessary work as it ought; and therefore, in the second place, consider how necessary it is for the bishop to appoint some discreet conscientious ministers (as our dean rurals should be) in several circuits, to examine and license to the Lord's table: For I pass it as granted, that confirmation is no sacrament, and if it were, why may not priests, not bishops, perform it? Certainly there is not one word in scripture forbidding it, or any colourable pretence against it, nor can I discover the least ground of reason to forbid it; inferior ministers performing other offices superior to it, and certainly equal to it, though it were a sacrament, which our church denies. There is nothing in the world can be pretended, but that in the beginning bishops did only perform it. To this I answer, that from the very beginning there were no other priests but bishops, as I have shewed you, and then bishops did all other ministerial duties, preach, pray, baptize, catechise; and in succeeding ages, when there were several inferior priests, not bishops, all but confirming was ever transmitted to them; and to deacons also preaching, praying, and baptizing, nay baptizing tolerated in necessity to midwives, (I would gladly see any such thing in antiquity) and shall confirming, the meanest of all these, be denied priests? You will tell me there have been decrees in some councils to forbid it: And will you be bound up to all the decrees of councils, without scripture or any reason for

them? If once we leave scripture, and hearken to the doctrine of men, ever so holy, ever so learned, ever so primitive, we shall soon be wheedled into the papists religion, and many other errors which the papists themselves now reject, as I have declared at large before; and therefore I forbear saying more now to this purpose, but proceed to a third consideration, What will be the best means to prepare youth for the receiving the holy communion in every cure, and then present them to such as are appointed to license them?

In the first place, I humbly conceive it will be necessary to add unto the catechism a short and plain paraphrase upon every sentence in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and particularly to explain every unusual hard word therein; for those general questions at the end of them do not so sufficiently open the understandings of the weaker or duller youth, as that they know how to apply those generals to each particular sentence; but many youths, who can most readily say the catechism to a tittle, yet understand many words no more than if they were Greek, and scarce are able to give you the meaning of any sentence in their own words: And although they have all perfectly by heart, as we say, yet have very little in their heads and understandings; and so a parrot may be well nigh as capable of the Lord's Supper as some of those.

In the next place, I must tell you, that I fear as much ministers of the best parts as those of the meanest for this necessary work of catechizing, lest both have the same effect, though they act extreamly different, the one talk non-sense, the other above common-sense, both of them confounding the brains of the poor youths, who understand neither of them. I have heard some learned ministers call the youth together, ask a few Catechism questions, which the boys answering readily, are commended and dismissed: And then begins this learned man a profound lecture, shaped according to his own large dimensions, at which both boys and men also for the most part gaze as at a prodigious monster of learning; and perchance some of them say to themselves the same that Festus said to St Paul, "The man is besides himself, much learning hath made him mad." Sure he doth not know where he is, not in an university school of divinity, but in an assembly of weak and silly youth (who must "be fed with milk, and are not capable of strong meat,") where it were better for him, with St Paul, "to speak five words with his understanding, that by his voice he may teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue," or in such English as they understand no more than an unknown tongue. I humbly beseech these men to attend to the form and phrase of the gospel, and mark what kind of matter and language the divine oracle used in preaching it, even to the learned Scribes and Pharisees, and to learn of him who was "lowly in heart, and came not to seek his own glory but the glory of Him that sent him." I desire them also to read the latter end of the first chapter of 1 Cor. and the beginning of the second, and learn from thence to speak the wisdom of God in the weak and foolish way of preaching, to instruct and gain the weak and foolish, yet wise unto God. Really no man that hath not made some experience can believe how strangely weak and dull thousands both of boys and men also are in apprehending spiritual matters: So that a man had need to study much how to fit their weak heads with a suitable discourse, and hath as much need of great patience also to repeat every thing again and again, and even beat it into their heads. I have observed, that Plato's manner of many short and plain questions and answers to effect much; and likewise familiar similitudes from things within their own occupation and knowledge. And now, to encourage them to this toilsome work, I beseech them to consider that the souls of these weak simple ones cost our Saviour as dear as those of the philosophers, and are as dear to him, yea it seems dearer, seeing St Paul tells us in the place before cited, that he calls more of them to salvation; and therefore they ought

to be as dear to our Saviour's ministers, and to be chiefly called and sought by them; and then they shall be sure to have their reward from this our lowly Saviour.

In the last place, I conceive it necessary to consider, what course may be taken to bring all to catechising: For I have heard some pious ministers much complain, that they have used their utmost endeavours, yet cannot effect it; and it can never be expected, that many of the youth will come, unless compelled by parents and masters; of whom many are so careless, many so covetous, as they think every hour lost, which is not spent on their worldly affairs; so that the parents and masters need compulsion as well as their children and servants. And, considering how this necessary work of catechising hath been neglected for many years past, it is much to be feared that the aged need it as much as the youth. But would parents and masters well consider the great advantages that would accrue to them, even in their worldly concerns, they would be very zealous to come themselves, and both see and hear their youth catechised, and bred up in piety and godliness; the want whereof hath bred that great undutifulness in children, that sloth and falseness of servants, which we sadly behold in this degenerated age. And let me mention once again the strict account parents and masters must give to God for so great neglect to those committed to their charge. Wherefore, unless some fitter expedient can be found, I humbly conceive it would have some effect, if such careless parents and masters were not admitted themselves to the holy communion, who were faulty in this kind: For though many of them are not very zealous of the holy communion, could easily pass it by, yet for reputation sake they would not easily incur the being rejected; and doubtless many of them would be moved thereby, and the example of some would be followed by others, and so by degrees the number would increase: And when catechising by this means begins to grow in fashion, it would quickly be taken up by all. God be merciful to us, that religion in many is chiefly for fashion sake! yet I hope, by God's assisting grace, religion, beginning though but in fashion, would end at last in true devotion, at least in many, if not in all. However it is good that God should publickly be glorified, the publick would speed the better for it, though the private hypocrites suffer punishment in the end. God in his mercy turn their hearts that they may escape.

Of Church Government.

My last particular which remains yet to be handled, is that of the authority of bishops to govern as well as to ordain. And, in the first place, who can but wonder to see men so zealous in assuming to themselves the sole power of ordination, so much neglect, and even wholly abandon the power of the keys, that of excommunication, so high and so dreadful; which, though by great abuse in latter times is made very contemptible, yet in the original institution and primitive practice was very terrible: A power to deliver men over unto Satan, that prince of darkness, to take full possession of their souls, and sometimes of their bodies also, both being sentenced thereby to the everlasting flames of hell; and likewise a power to release penitent souls from the chains of darkness and slavery of the devil, and restore them to the glorious liberty of the sons of God, whereby they are made heirs of the kingdom of Heaven. If there be any thing under Heaven fit to stir up the ambition of mortal men, yea an ambition in angels themselves, sure this is it. Who can forgive sins but God alone? said the Jews to our Saviour Christ, swelling with indignation against him for this, though they had seen many divine miracles wrought by him, yet this is so peculiar, so transcendent a divine act, as not to be offered at by any but the great God Jehovah himself. But blessed for ever be this great and gracious God, who, by his eternal Son

Christ Jesus, hath given this power unto men. As his heavenly Father sent him with this power, so sent he his apostles with this power, saying unto them, "Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained:" Wherefore, if there be any thing in the office of a bishop to be stood upon and challenged peculiar to themselves, certainly it should be this; yet this is in a manner quite relinquished unto their chancellors, laymen, who have no more capacity to sentence or absolve a sinner, than to dissolve the heavens and earth, and make a new heaven and a new earth, and this pretended power of chancellors is sometimes purchased with a sum of money,—their money perish with them! Good God! what a horrid abuse is this of the divine authority! But this notorious transgression is excused, as they think, by this, that a minister called the bishop's surrogate, but is indeed the chancellor's servant, chosen, call'd, and placed there by him, to be his crier in the court, no better, that, when he hath examined, heard and sentenced the cause, then the minister (forsooth) pronounces the sentence. Just as a rector of a parish church should exclude any of his congregation, and lock him out of the church, then comes the clerk, shews and gingles the keys, that all may take notice that he is excluded. And by this his authority the chancellor takes upon him to sentence not only laymen, but clergymen also brought into his court for any delinquency, and in the court of the arches there they sentence even bishops themselves. This is a common practice in later ages, but in St Ambrose's time so great a wonder, as with amazement crieth out against the emperor Valentinian, when he took upon him to judge in such cases, saying, "When was it ever heard of since the beginning of the world, that laymen should judge of spirituals?" (he means in spiritual things, not in temporal things, which, by the laws of God and man, belongs to the lay-magistrate). This was that Ambrose of whom the other great emperor, as good as great Theodosius, father to this Valentinian, affirmed, Ambrose only knew how to act the bishop, and with all Christian humility this great emperor submitted to the sentence of this godly bishop, denying him entrance into the church for the cruelty acted by his soldiers at Thessalonica by his command; and upon his great repentance and pennance performed six months together, and after publick confession in the church, was again absolved and joyfully received into the church. Oh my great and reverend fathers of the church the bishops, whom Christ hath cleaved to his high dignity, whom he hath made kings and princes, whom he called to sit with him on his throne, there to give sentence of eternal life or eternal death, can you so tamely part with this prime flower of your crown, yea the very apex of it, and suffer the lay-members of the church to usurp this divine authority? Or how can you answer it to the chief bishop of our souls, if any one soul, by the ill management of the chancellors, should certainly perish? shall not his blood be required at your hands? But perchance some of you will answer, 'tis no fault of yours, but of your predecessors, who gave such patents unto them, as by virtue thereof they exercise this power, will ye nill ye. 'Tis too true, and I remember, when the bishop of Wells, hearing of a cause corruptly managed, and coming into the court to rectify it, the chancellor, Dr Duke, fairly and mannerly bid him be gone, for he had no power there to act any thing, and therewithall pulls out his patent sealed by the bishop's predecessor, which, like Perseus's shield with the Gorgon's head, frighted the poor bishop out of the court. Where are you parliament-men, you great sons of the church so zealous for episcopal government, yet suffer this principal part of it to be thus alienated and usurped by lay-men? If an unordained person take upon him to pray or preach, with what outcries and severe laws, and with great reason also, you fall upon him; but if an unordained person take upon him to judge, sentence, and excommunicate bishops themselves, you calmly pass it over, take no notice of it. You will answer me, the bishops themselves pass it over, yea and pass it away from themselves

and their successors for to gratify their kinsmen, or their friends, or perchance for worse, why then should you stir in it? Truly in this you have reason, and the blame must wholly light on them who do not use all possible endeavour, and implore your assistance also, to rectify this great abuse, which subverts the main pillar of the church government; this is no ceremonial matter, but the very substance of it,—they strain at gnats and swallow camels. For chancellors to intermeddle in probats of wills, payment of tythes, or any other temporal matters, there is no scripture nor reason to condemn, but rather to condemn bishops, should they interpose in such matters for which they have no commission from scripture, but rather a prohibition from that saying of our Saviour, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" But then it will be necessary that chancellors have also power of temporal punishments, and not prophane that high and holy power in sordid earthly things; certainly a greater prophanation than to convert a church into a chandler's shop; the church is a bulk of earthly materials, and holy only by dedication; the power of its keys is in its nature and original constitution spiritual and divine: If Uzza, being no Levite, suffered death for laying hold on the sacred ark of God to support and hold it up, what shall he suffer who, being no consecrated person, lays hold on the sacred authority of God to pull it down from heaven to earth? Let them consider.

But let not the civilians for this account me an enemy to their profession, which no man honours more, and I heartily wish much more of our civil matters were committed to their management and judicature. The civil law is that whereby most of the civilized world is govern'd, and if we will have commerce with them, 'tis fit we should be able civilians to deal with them, which will never be unless they have profitable and honourable places to encourage them for it; all that I beg of them is, that they would contain themselves within their own sphere of activity, and not intrude into spiritual and sacred matters committed by Christ and his apostles to the priesthood. And so I beg of priests, that they would not intermeddle in lay and temporal offices. In the time of popery, when spiritual and temporal affairs were all intermingled and horribly confounded, as the pope took upon him secular and imperial authority, directly contrary to the word and constitutions of Christ, so the bishops and priests under him intermeddled in all secular affairs and offices, and in this nation bishops were frequently lord-keepers, treasurers, chief justices, vice-roys, what not? which is strangely unapostolical and unlawful, their vocation being wholly spiritual, as men chosen out of the world should have no more to do with it, than of mere necessity for food and raiment. Wherefore to take upon them any lay-office, which must needs take them off much from the ministry of the word and prayer, is doubtless very sinful: For, Acts vi. we find the apostles gave themselves continually to these, and would not endure to have these interrupted by that charitable office of taking care for the poor; certainly then they would have much less endured, yea, abominated to be taken off by temporal and worldly offices. And on this occasion let me speak a word to those of the inferior clergy, who take upon them to study and practise physick for hire; this must needs be likewise sinful, as taking them off from their spiritual employment; had they studied physick before they entered holy orders, and would after make use of their skill among their poor neighbours out of charity, this were commendable, but being entered on a spiritual and pastoral charge, which requires the whole man, and more; to spend their time in this, or any other study not spiritual, is contrary to their vocation, and consequently sinful, and to do it for gain is sordid, and unworthy their high and holy calling. But *necessitas cogit ad turpia*, the maintenance of many ministers is so small, as it forces them, even for food and raiment, to seek it by other employment, which may in some measure excuse them, but mightily condemn those who should provide better for them: Whether this belongs not to king and parliament, I

must humbly beseech them in Christ's name seriously to consider; I crave pardon for this (I hope useful) digression, and return to the business of excommunication.

This sacred authority of excommunication being committed by Christ to the apostles, and by them to their successors, was used in weighty and very scandalous matters; very few examples of it in scripture: The incestuous Corinthian, Hymeneus, and Alexander; scarce another clearly exprest. The apostles being fully guided by the Holy Ghost in all things, did exercise this power singly themselves; but the succeeding bishops, having not the spirit of that full measure, used the assistance of the principal clergy in their diocess, that the act might be more solemn and authentick; the person excommunicated, if he conceived the act injurious, appealed to one or more neighbouring bishops, who assembled together, and, discussing the matter, either confirmed or reversed the act, as they found cause: And sometimes the matter proceeded so far as to cause an assembly of the whole province. But each bishop, or Præpositus (as St Cyprian calls him, and declares that he) was absolute in his own diocess to exercise his power, and none condemned for using it, but only for abusing it contrary to reason and conscience; these were the only rules they proceeded by at first. Afterwards, when bishops on this or other occasions met in assemblies provincial or general, they made divers canons, which passed for rules and laws to govern the church by, which doubtless are very good helps to bridle the extravagant passions of particular men, very apt in this corrupt age to prevaricate; yet I cannot conceive them so far obliging but new emergent circumstances may justly cause new and different decrees; yet so, as every particular bishop is obliged for peace sake to submit to, or at least to acquiesce in the general decree of that nation where he lives. I said, they are not bound entirely to submit to the decrees of former councils, either provincial or general; because, as I have shewed before, all their decrees are human, not divine; and all human ecclesiastical laws are alterable, according to the time and occasions by other general councils.

As to the bounds of each bishop's diocess, they were occasioned several ways: The apostles, for the better spreading of the gospel, preached it first in the principal cities, which generally had great influence upon the adjacent parts, by reason that the occasions of most call them thither; and in these cities they settled the chief pastors of the church, with power to ordain presbyters and pastors in other lesser cities and towns round about, as the congregations of the faithful encreased; and all those churches that were erected, and pastors established in them by these apostolick men in the chief cities (I humbly conceive in reverence of their worth and apostolick authority) were freely observant and subject to them, which afterwards, out of custom, grew into a kind of right challenged by their successors. Sometimes the authority of the pastor or bishop of a city was enlarged according to the temporal authority of the same, it being the metropolitan of this or that country; for so we find in the council of Nice, and other councils, the chiefest and largest authority given to the bishop of old Rome, because it was the first imperial city; to Constantinople as the second imperial city; to Alexandria, as the chief city of that part of Africa; to Antioch, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Corinth, Phillippi, &c. where you see, that though Jerusalem was the first city from whence the gospel issued forth, Antioch the second city where the gospel was planted, and where the faithful were first called Christians, yet Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria were preferred before them, and had far larger jurisdiction; so that it is a meer human temporal matter, and men have no farther obligation to it in conscience, than for peace sake and order, which in like manner obliges every man to be subject to all magistrates within their respective jurisdictions.

There are yet two things more to be considered in this business: First, where the apostles first planted the gospel in cities with authority over the adjacent parts, it was

in rich populous countries, where cities were much nearer together than in these northern parts, and the circuit of each city was much less in compass, so that the bishop might well have the inspection into all, and understand the behaviour of each pastor under him, to admonish and chastise when there was cause. Whereas with us, partly by great distance of cities, partly by the favour of former princes, several towns being cast into one diocess, they became so large as 'tis impossible any one bishop should have a sufficient inspection into them. As I said before of great parishes, so here of diocesses, the bishop knows not the names nor faces of half or a quarter of them, much less their behaviour; he may have as well a part of France in his diocess to govern. And as for their triennial and circuity visitations, they signify just nothing as to this, 'tis a mere money business to pay procurations to the bishop, fees to chancellors, registers, &c.; the bishop indeed usually makes a speech unto them, and a sermon is preached by some one of them, wherein perchance good admonitions are given; but what knowledge can the bishop by this have of their lives, or doctrine, or diligence? If he continue long there he may learn a few more names and faces, scarce any thing more. I humbly conceive this ought to be redressed, and the diocess brought into that compass that each bishop may be a bishop in government as well as in title and authority over them. But if the diocesses be divided less, and bishops more encrease, where shall we have maintenance for so many bishops, some having too little already? Whenever I shall see the clergy of this nation congregated by his majesty's authority, resolved in good earnest to reform and establish all according to the holy constitutions of the primitive times, and come to this last mentioned, contracting the bounds, and in number encreasing the diocesses and bishops for them, I'll undertake to propose ways both rational and conscientious of providing convenient maintenance for all; but I desire to be excused at present, lest greedy harpies make ill use of my zealous intentions.

And so I proceed to consider a second abuse in the church government, which is exempt jurisdictions, a thing altogether unknown to antiquity, and brought in by papal tyranny. The popes, at the height of their usurped dominion, taking upon themselves to be the head of the Christian churches, to be the universal bishop thereof, and all other to be but their curates, took then upon them also, among other matters, to exempt from the power of any their under bishops whomsoever they pleased. And out of policy, to have the more creatures and vassals immediately depending on them in every kingdom and nation, to stickle for them with kings and princes on all occasions, did for the most part exempt all monasteries (who with their near relations and tenants made a great part of the kingdom) from the jurisdiction of the bishop; they exempted also several deans and chapters, several peculiar chapels, several arch-deaconries, and others, and some of these were endowed with archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their precincts, wherein they acted whatever they pleased without controul of any but their popeships: All which would have appeared a confused madness in primitive times, when, for any person to have been out of the jurisdiction of all bishops, was to have been quite out of the church, and would have been looked upon as a heathen and infidel, according to the primitive practice in all ages, till papal usurpation. And therefore all these exempt jurisdictions are meer papal, and, if duly examined, will be found opposite to the established laws of this kingdom since the reformation from popery, as they are directly opposite to the primitive canons of the church before popery was known or heard of. And by reason of these exempt jurisdictions, great disputes and great frauds arise between the bishop and them, and the poor clergy are so piled and poled by them both that they are forced to go in thread-bare coats, whilst the several officers of both grow fat and fair by fees extracted from them. Wherefore I humbly conceive the bishops, with the rest of the clergy, are bound in conscience to implore the assistance of both houses of parliament to petition his majesty for the redress of these abuses by pious laws, settling the church-government in the primitive purity and authority,

which most evidently was very great, and as greatly reverenced, bishops being the persons to whom Christ and his apostles committed the souls of men, bought with the precious blood of Christ; to whom be glory, and to his holy spouse the church be all sacred authority for ever. Amen.

A charitable Admonition to all Non-conformists.

My beloved in Christ, you see how earnestly I have pleaded for you to the fathers and governors of our church, that they will graciously condescend to abolish some ceremonies in the church, that they may receive you into it; but yet I have no great hopes that they will hearken to me, you yourselves, for whom I plead, destroy my hope; for they presently dash me in the teeth, saying, Go rather and persuade the sons in duty to submit to their fathers, than fathers to yield to sons; and can you deny but of the two you are rather to submit? You think to excuse this by saying, Were it not against your conscience you would submit, but you dare not for fear of displeasing God, his holy word forbids you; I beseech you shew me in his holy word any one clear sentence against any one ceremony commanded in our church; you see plainly I am not biassed to any one ceremony, and I am sure I have read the scripture all over several times, and I humbly conceive 'tis no pride of heart if I think I understand scripture as well as you; and for my part I cannot find any one condemning sentence in scripture. But you have the Spirit of God enlightening you, which I want; by this rule you may affirm any thing out of scripture, and I should be as mad in disputing against you as you in affirming it; 'tis madness for a blind man (as you conceive me to be) to dispute of colours; therefore, if you are so void of all reason as to expect your bare affirmation, you that you have light ought to convince all gainsayers, I shall not trouble myself or you to gainsay you farther, but address myself to others who soberly undertake to shew me such texts, as an unbiassed Christian, willing and desirous to submit to all scripture truths (as I am sure I am) may discover the truth of them; and I desire those sober undertakers to shew me any one such clear text to excuse their nonconforming as I shew them for their conforming: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man," &c, 1 Pet. ii. 13. and "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit," Heb. xiii. 17. These are as clear as the sun that you ought to obey: Now, if the text you bring be not so clear, but doubtful, I beseech you, is your conscience so bold against a clear text, and so timorous at a doubtful text, is this religion or reason? Is it not apparently wilfulness and faction? I beseech you, my brethren, take heed of thus dissembling with God and the world, or take heed of giving yourselves up to these delusions of a mistaken spirit. Humility and obedience are evident marks of the spirit; "Learn of me," saith Christ, Matt. xi. 29, "for I am meek and lowly in heart: God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." Wherefore I beseech you, first, put on the Lord Jesus with all humility, that he may give you the grace of his Holy Spirit to discern clear truths from conceited fancical errors. Secondly, I beseech you consider, whether of the two it be not safer to err in the way of humility, than to err in the way of pride, which makes it doubly damnable, void of all excuse (I say this because you think, or pretend to think, our way erroneous, not that I have any such thought or doubt) whereas the humble soul hath great excuse to plead; and if charity cover a multitude of sins, sure humility will cover some; a soul cloathed with humility can't easily be displeasing to our humble Saviour, but cloathed with pride, can scarce be acceptable, but rather hateful, like the proud Pharisee with all his enumerated virtues; and, my brethren, 'tis most evident your spirit savours somewhat of the Pharisee, magnifying your own holiness, and despising all others as publicans and sinners, and refusing all communion with them; whereas the Holy of Holies, our Lord

Jesus, chose chiefly to converse with such; really I can't but think your case very dangerous on this account only, were there no more to accuse you of. Thirdly, I beseech you to consider the great mischief you bring upon this church and nation by your separation from the church; you pretend to be the great zealots against popery, and yet, give me leave to say, your indiscrete disobedient zeal mainly brings it in; your separation, and many following divisions, have caused many to abhor our church and turn to popery; and doubtless you are to give an account to God for the ruin of those souls, for I can never yield that you have any reasonable and true conscientious cause of separation, and meerly mistaken reason and conscience, which I much pity but no way approve; and therefore I must lay the advance of popery to your charge, to your separation, for I am sure 'tis the main snare wherewith they catch unstable souls, persuading them our church is not guided by the spirit of truth, seeing it is confounded by the spirit of division, it cannot be of God who is both verity and unity. Now, though it be well known to the learned, that their church hath neither verity nor unity, yet this is not discernable to weak souls, especially here in this country, where their church is under a cloud, and therefore their foul spots nothing so visible as abroad, where it walks barefaced, but are here by their priests either by great confidence denied, or with great cunning disguised. Wherefore again I most earnestly and most humbly beseech you, for Jesus sake, put on our Lord Jesus in all humility and obedience, submitting yourselves to the ordinances of those superiors and powers which God hath set over you; and if out of meer humility and obedience you conform, though you were guilty of some errors therein (I am confident there is none, yet were it so) my soul for yours, that guilt shall never be laid to your charge by our most gracious Saviour and most merciful Judge, Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

The Trial, Conviction, and Condemnation of Popery, for High Treason, in conspiring the Death, Ruin, and Subversion of Christianity; who upon full Evidence was convicted, and received Sentence accordingly. 1680.

This is one of the thousand treatises written and published to inflame the general indignation against the Catholics during the time of the Popish Plot.

A COMMISSION of Oyer and Terminer being issued forth for the trial of Popery, the judges repaired to the bench, and the court being set, after proclamation made for silence, the trial thus proceeded:

Clerk of the Court. Jaylor, set Popery to the bar.

Popery, hold up thy hand, here thou standest indicted by the name of Popery, late of the city of Rome, in the province of Babylon; not having the fear of God before thine eyes, but being moved by the instigation of the devil, didst of thine own free will voluntarily create, make, and devise several damnable principles and diabolical practices, contrary to the word of God, pernicious to mankind, and repugnant to hu-

man society, and thou the said Popery, to further thy aforesaid devices, the duty of thy allegiance not weighing, didst, as a false traitor, against our sacred and most illustrious prince, counterfeit his broad seal, and thereby with force and arms didst seal up his majesty's laws, both civil and divine, and didst command obedience to thy devilish inventions; and thou the afore-mentioned Popery, thoroughly to accomplish thy aforesaid designs, didst, with force and arms aforesaid, usurpatiously endeavour to exalt thyself, in the said city of Rome, equal with God, blasphemously saying thou couldest pardon sins, damn, &c. And thou the said Popery didst with the devil combine, by his assistance to allure, entice, and inforce kings, queens, and princes to retain thy damnable religion, to the utter destruction of their faithful subjects; and whereas many royal-hearted Christians ejected and opposed thy erroneous principles, thou the said Popery didst savagely and inhumanly invade their nations, assassinate kings, murdered thousands, burned their cities, robbed their houses, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity, and against the laws and statutes made and provided in that case. What sayest thou for thyself, Popery? Art thou guilty of these treasons, rebellions, murthers, &c. whereof thou standest indicted, or not guilty?

Pop. Not guilty.

Cl. of Cr. Culprit, how wilt thou be tried?

Pop. By God and my country.

Cl. of Cr. God send thee a good deliverance.

Cl. of Cr. Popery, these men that thou shalt hear called and personally appear are to pass between our sovereign lord the king and you, upon trial of your life and death; if therefore you will challenge them, or any of them, your time is to speak, as they come to the book to be sworn, and before they are sworn. Cryer, call Holy Scriptures.

Popery. My lord, I except against him; there is a sufficient gentleman stands by, pray let him be put in his place.

L. C. J. What is his name?

Pop. Good-Works.

L. C. J. You must not be your own chuser; but, that you may have as fair a trial as can be, he shall be one.

No other being challenged, the names of the jury that were sworn are as follows;

Righteousness,	}	Charity,	}
Evangelists,	}	Protestanism,	}
Sacraments,	}	Impartiality,	}
Good-Works,	}	Judgment,	}
Hope,	}	Fathers,	}
Faith,	}	Mercy.	}

Cl. of Cr. Cryer, count these. Righteousness.

Cryer. One, (and so the rest.)

Twelve good men and true, stand together and hear your evidence.

Cl. of Cr. Cryer, make proclamation.

Cryer. O yes, if any will give evidence for our sovereign lord the king against Popery, prisoner at the bar, let him come forth, and he shall be heard; for the prisoner stands at the bar upon his deliverance.

Cl. of Cr. You gentlemen of the jury, look upon the prisoner at the bar, and hear his cause; he stands indicted by the name of Popery, late of the city of Rome, in the province of Babylon: Upon his indictment he hath been arraigned, and thereunto hath pleaded not guilty, and for his trial hath put himself upon God and his country; whose

country ye are; your charge is to enquire whether he be guilty in the manner and form that he stands indicted, or not guilty?

Att. Gen. May it please your lordship, and you gentlemen of the jury, Popery stands here indicted of great and heinous crimes, yet not greater than hath been by him committed: It is not unknown to us that he is of the race and progeny of Cain, and his murthers are greater than have been perpetrated by any since the creation of the world; that he might the more plausibly commit his villanies, he hath shaded himself under the serene veil of Christianity; what name so lovely as Jesus, yet whose operations so odious as jesuits? He hath also stiled himself with *Istud nomen blasphemiæ*, universal; which he says he derived successively from St Peter, though it will puzzle his greatest doctors to prove that Peter was ever at Rome. Thus having strengthned himself in iniquity, usurping over kings and princes; bringing people and nations into thraldom and slavery; though nature had given him a perpetual writ of ease, and made every part of the Christian world feel his tyranny. But as the Jews, who sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver, came at last themselves to be sold thirty for a penny; so shall he know the arm of vengeance hath been long lifted up, that it may now fall down the heavier upon him. To prove the indictment we might call many witnesses, but we shall call only some principal ones: and, first, Sir Naked Truth, who had been greatly persecuted by him.

Cl. of Cr. Cryer, call Sir Naked Truth.

Cryer. My lord, here is the gentleman which was thrust out from being one of the jury, desires to know whether he may give evidence against the prisoner at the bar?

L. C. J. Who? Holy Scriptures?

Cryer. Yes, my lord.

L. C. J. Holy Scriptures, What canst thou say against the prisoner at the bar?

Holy Scriptures. My lord, Popery, now prisoner at the bar, hath broached many damnable heresies contrary to the word of God, and particularly that it is not a rule of faith, but as a nose of wax, to be turned which way the church pleases; whereas the word of God saith, "that all scripture is given by divine inspiration;" yet he wickedly prefers his own carnal traditions before it, as also his principles are directly against the Ten Commandments: Against the first, in making a God of the bread in the sacrament. Against the second, in bowing down thereunto. Against the third, by prophane swearing by God and the saints. Against the fourth, in preferring his saints-days, which are of his own institution, before the Sabbath, which is of divine. Against the fifth, in declaring that children of his religion owe not obedience to their parents, which are not of the same. Against the sixth, in maintaining the lawfulness of robbing, plundering, and endeavouring to ruin, by firing houses, or otherwise, all those that are not of his opinion. Against the seventh, in setting up and allowing of common stews, &c. Against the eighth, in bloody and inhuman murthering and massacring of protestants under the names of hereticks, and endeavouring to maintain the lawfulness thereof. Against the ninth, in making leagues with princes, for his own advantage, and then breaking them, saying, Oaths may not be kept with hereticks. Against the tenth, in a greedy coveting of gold, he pretending to give out pardons to commit all manner of villanies whatever. Besides, my lord, there is scarce one commandment of the first table free from his innovations; nevertheless he is not ashamed to say, that a man of his religion may keep all the commandments, contrary to the word of God, which saith, "that there is not a just man that liveth and sinneth not," and also, "that if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, &c."

L. C. J. Sir Naked Truth, What sayest thou against the prisoner at the bar?

Sir N. T. My lord, in the year 110, Popery seeming as an universal deluge to overspread the whole Christian world, I, with Sir Constant Patience, lived privately at Lyons in France, enjoying the glorious gospel, with many others of our honest friends

and neighbours, but Popery, the prisoner at the bar, there found us, massacred and tortured many of us for confessing the cause of Christ; put us to most exquisite torments, and exercised savage cruelties upon us: from thence flying to Germany, passing through Flanders, we saw Popery preparing a fire to burn several of our adherents which clave to Christ. One of our friends there suffering, I remember, before he went into the fire, took two stones in his hands, saying, When I shall eat these two stones, our religion shall cease, not before. When we were come to Germany, we found no rest there, for Popery pursued us thither, and he going through Bohemia, murdered many of the peers of that realm. In Germany he commanded all to be killed that were suspected, saying, God knows who are his. From thence we fled into Spain, where we were taken by Popery's bloody inquisition in this manner; a messenger came to us, and told us, that the lords inquisitors had something to say to us, and therefore we must wait upon them. We being come, they enquired our names, and sent us to prison. We having entered the first gate, the jaylor asked us, whether we had a knife about us, and under pretence to search for one, took from us all our jewels and money, and thereby left us nothing to help ourselves; then were we cast into a stinking dungeon, where we continued six months, then being brought forth, Popery, the prisoner at the bar, endeavoured by all means to extort from us a confession, which we not doing, he said we should be racked. Being brought to the rack, Popery sitting on a scaffold by the rack, in come our tormentor, and we being stripped, had our hands bound with cords; then they tied us to the pully, and fastening weights to our heels, they hoisted us up by degrees; thus hanging in great torture, they bad us accuse all we knew of our religion, which we denying, they racked all our bones out of joint, and then sent us to prison again, and at last dismissed us. From thence we fled into England, but here was the like; and so we fled again into France, where we lived quietly for some time, but at last Popery pursued us, and, disguised with a vizard of friendship, invited us, with most of our brethren, to a marriage, but being come, he murdered in one night above twenty thousand. From thence we fled to Ireland; but Popery pursuing us thither, committed the most barbarous and execrable murders, villanies, sparing neither man, woman or child, ripping up women with child, ravishing chaste matrons, drowning, putting to the sword, &c. many thousands of innocent protestants; from thence we again fled into England, where we were soon pursued, and though here he set not upon us so openly as before, yet his will was to do us the most hurt. In the year 1666, he burned down the famous city of London, and hath not ceased to endeavour to perpetrate his villanies; only by many special providences of God he hath been hindered; for we certainly hear he would here quite extirpate us to the utmost of his power: nay, I heard credibly, that he was resolved not to leave one drop of protestant blood; and, like his other devillish policy, could be glad to cast these treasonable conspiracies on the innocent protestants. My lord, he is so dangerous and so wickedly subtle, that we live in daily hazard of our lives, and when he may destroy us all, God only knows, if timely course be not taken.

L. C. J. Sir Constant Patience, what can you say against the prisoner at the bar?

Sir Con. Pat. My lord, it would be too tedious for me to rehearse all that Sir Naked Truth had spoken: we were companions together in all that he hath declared, and I aver the truth of what he hath spoken.

L. C. J. Are there any more witnesses?

Cl. of Cr. Yes, my lord, Light of Nature.

L. C. J. Let him come up. What canst thou say against the prisoner at the bar?

Li. of Na. My lord, Popery did really combine with the devil to promote his designs, and hath been guilty of great conjurations; I have seen him in the woods in the shape of a boar, he hath also been a cruel murderer; for I saw a pond of his cleansing,

and thence taken out sixty childrens skulls, and it is computed, that in about fifty years time he hath massacred fifteen millions of protestants.

L. C. J. What sayest thou Popery? thou art now admitted to speak for thyself.

Popery. My lord, the first witness that is suborned against me is pretended Holy Scriptures, which if I go to disprove, you will say that I speak against God's word: had I thought I should have had a just tryal, I would have prepared my witnesses, and made my defence. But how can I expect equity from those in my adversity, which were always barking at me in my prosperity?

L. C. J. You shall not be suffered to scandalize the king's court of judicature.

Then my lord proceeded and spake as follows:

You, gent. of the jury, you hear the prisoner is indicted for contriving heresy, contrary to the word of God; and, to gain proselytes thereunto, he hath been guilty of treasons, murders, and blasphemies; the first part of the indictment hath been largely confirmed by a peer of this realm, whose name is Holy Scriptures. And the second, by two worthy knights: also we have had a fourth witness, which, as the others, hath fairly laid open his villanies, and he for his defence hath only cast foul aspersions upon the justice of the court, his sins are great, and cry aloud for vengeance; and if justice be not executed against him, we may fear lest we be partakers with him of his plagues. The evidence is so clear, I think you need not withdraw.

Cl. of Cr. Gentlemen, are you agreed upon your verdict?

Omnes. Yes.

Cl. of Cr. Who shall speak for you?

Omnes. The foreman.

Cl. of Cr. Popery, hold up thy hand: gentlemen of the jury, look upon the prisoner at the bar; how say ye, is he guilty of the treasons, murders, &c. whereof he stands indicted, or not guilty?

Foreman. Guilty.

Cl. of Cr. Of all?

Foreman. Yes, of all.

Cl. of Cr. What goods or chattels?

Jury. He is made rich by the kings of the earth.

Cl. of Cr. Cryer, make proclamation.

Cryer. O Yes: My lord, the king's chief justice, strictly charges and commands all manner of persons to keep silence whilst sentence is pronouncing against the prisoner at the bar.

L. C. J. Popery, thou hast delighted thyself to make bonfires of the saints; and this thy devillish nature, if thou mightest live here for ever, thou wouldst still retain and still act thy abominable villanies; thou hardenest thy heart, yea, and now wouldst, if it lay in thy power, commit as bad on me, and every one of us, as thou hast done heretofore against our dear friends. Therefore the sentence of the court is, Thou shalt go back to the place from whence thou camest, and from thence shalt be slain and cast nto the pit of Tophet, there to be tormented day and night, where the smoak of thy torment shall ascend up for ever and ever, and all thy riches and pomp shall with thee be burnt with fire, and as thou hast filled to God's saints, they shall fill unto thee double.

Then a great shout and acclamation of joy made, the trumpet sounding, Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen, the court arose.

An Account of Queen Mary's Methods for introducing Popery, and procuring a Parliament to confirm it: seasonable to be published in this Time of imminent Danger; and dedicated to the Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftsbury.

To the Right Honourable Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury, &c.

My Lord,

It is (I confess) a great presumption to prefix your lordship's name to so small a treatise; but since the design of it is to inform all Englishmen of what ways the papists used in endeavouring to bring their religion into England, that they may be prevented in all their designs; I hope your lordship will pardon this boldness in me. And, my lord, I believe the English nation have so great a reverence for your lordship, that they will the better esteem this piece for your lordship's name being set before it, because they will imagine, that none durst have presumed to have laid it at your feet, unless it were agreeable to your sentiments.

My lord, I think nothing of this kind was ever yet printed, which was a great motive to me to publish it, who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Humble Servant,

T. S.

Several persons of great worth and learning have already given account of the great cruelties that have been exercised by papists on protestants, and some, particularly, have wrote of the dismal condition of the reformed Christians in Queen Mary's days; but none have yet, as I remember, acquainted the world with the methods Queen Mary used to introduce popery, which was, at her coming to the crown, in a fair way of being extirpated. And, considering that the discovering of a rock, on which some have formerly split, may be of great use for others to avoid it, I have undertaken to give you this following account.

Henry the Eighth, King of England, having left the kingdom of England in great peace, and in a fair way to shake off the burthensome yoke of Rome, Edward the 6th, his son, succeeded him, a prince so hopeful, that in six years time he had almost perfected the good work begun by his father King Henry, but unkind death snatch'd him away on the 6th of July, 1553, in the 16th year of his age, whose death was much lamented throughout the nation; most people prophetically presaging the misfortunes which were coming on them. After which the Duke of Northumberland caused his daughter, the Lady Jane, to be proclaimed queen, but her reign lasted only ten days; for the council, turning to the Lady Mary in the latter end of July, 1553, caused her to be proclaimed Queen of England in London, and other parts of the realm; upon which she removed from her castle of Framlingham towards London, and being come to Wansted in Essex, on the 30th of July the Lady Elizabeth, her sister, with a train of a thousand horse, went from her palace in the Strand to meet her. On the 3d of

August the queen rode thro' London to the Tower, where she set free Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and restored him to his bishoprick. On the fifth of August, Edmund Bonner, late Bishop of London, prisoner in the Marshalsea, and Cuthbert Tunstal, the old Bishop of Durham, prisoner in the King's-Bench, had their pardons, and were restored to their sees.

On the 12th of August the queen made an open declaration in council, "That tho' her conscience was staid in matters of religion, yet she would not restrain or compel others, otherwise than as God should put it into their hearts to embrace that religion she was in; which she hoped would be done by putting of godly and virtuous men into livings to preach the words of God."

Upon this, all parties hoped for a toleration to worship God their own way, but the papists presuming upon the queen's being of their religion, openly commended their own religion, and reproached the reformed; so that on the 13th, one Bourn, canon of Paul's, preaching at Paul's-Cross, not only pray'd for the dead, but declared, that Dr Bonner, Bishop of London, (late restored, and then in presence) for a sermon by him made four years before on the same text, and in the same place, had been unjustly cast into the Marshalsea; which speech so offended the people, who had a great veneration for the good King Edward, that a great disturbance arose, and a dagger was thrown at him, but he, with much difficulty, was conveyed into Paul's school by Mr Rogers, whilst Mr Bradford stept into the pulpit and appeased the people. This being repeated to the queen, she makes another declaration, "That she would have all her subjects live in amity, and charged them not to use the words papist or heretick."

Shortly after, all the bishops which had been deprived in the time of King Edward the Sixth were restored to their bishopricks, and the new removed; also all beneficed men that were married, and would not renounce their religion, were put out of their livings, and others of a contrary opinion were put into their room.

These men, when restored, urged the queen to re-establish popery; whom she answers, "That she designs nothing more, yet must act with so much caution as not to inflame her reformed subjects." In the mean time private cabals were held by the queen, and some of the most vigorous papists, and after several consultations, it was fully resolved that popery should be suddenly restored.

On the 19th of August, John Duke of Northumberland (who professed himself a protestant in King Edward's time, and persuaded the king to declare his daughter, the Lady Jane, his successor) was tried and condemned for high-treason, and on the 22d executed, and at his death declared himself a papist, and to have been so always; by which you may note what temporizers papists are, who can seem to be any thing for interest.

Now things seeming to be a little settled, the queen thinks it convenient to make another step towards popery, which is by a proclamation to prohibit preaching; it being certain that when a man is ignorant he is ready to embrace any novelty, not being capable of considering whether it be good or evil. Many censures passed upon this proclamation, but none durst openly testify their resentment for fear of being clapped up; and though the queen seem'd to carry all things fair, yet some of the wisest of the reformed (being sensible that persecution was coming on them) held several consultations, but their consciences will not let them rebel against their sovereign; yet, on the 15th of September, Arch-bishop Cranmer courageously declares against the mass, of which Bonner makes use to enflame the queen against him, and within two or three days Cranmer and Latimer are sent to the Tower; upon which several reformed Christians fly beyond sea.

The queen, who had all this while contented herself with being queen by proclamation, seeing things something settled, proceeds to her coronation, which was accord-

ingly splendidly performed on the last of September. After which she discharges a tax, published a general pardon, but interlaced with so many exceptions of matters and persons, that very few took benefit of it; and those that did were, by the commissioners assigned to compound with them, despoiled of offices and estates.

Soon after this, Justice Hales was imprisoned, for that, at a quarter-sessions in Kent, he gave charge upon the statutes of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, in derogation of the primacy of the church of Rome, which was a high ingratitude in the queen, he having, in King Edward's time, refused to sign a warrant for disinheriting the Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth.

On the 10th of October, the queen summons a parliament, and members are chose by force and threats in some places, and in others, those employed by the court, did by violence hinder the people from coming in to chuse; in many places false returns were made, and when the parliament met, some were violently turned out of the house; several bishops were thrust out of the house of lords for not worshipping the mass, and soon after imprisoned.

On the third of November, Cranmer was arraigned in Westminster-Hall, and found guilty of high-treason, which, by the way, note, was only for not worshipping mass, though other things were alledged against him, and was condemned to die.

After which, an act was made for repealing the laws made by King Edward touching religion, (see what a parliament can do, when one is pickt out for the purpose,) then they passed another act for preventing affronts to popish priests, who then began mightily to appear. Then another act was passed for preventing unlawful assemblies, which was meant the meeting of the reformed protestants.

The queen, having brought things to this point, begins to shew herself more openly, and publickly declares her resolution of being reconciled to the see of Rome, and accordingly sends Cardinal Pool to the pope for his blessing and directions; but he was stopt by the emperor as he was on his journey; but the queen sending to the emperor to desire him not to hinder, Cardinal Pool went on his journey.

In the mean while, Gardiner at home proposes to the queen the several methods for rooting out the reformed religion, which are accepted of, but not put in execution till other necessaries are dispatched; viz. the match with Prince Philip of Spain, which match the house of commons disliked; alledging that it would bring England under a foreign yoke; and since the commons cannot be persuaded to consent to it, the parliament is dissolved, (the constant practice when they would not do what they thought destructive to the nation) and a new one picked out by the former methods to agree to the match; they were such men as could be bribed to do any thing the queen would have them; for there were 1200,000 crowns sent from Spain to corrupt them. They confirm the marriage, set up the mass, and concur with the queen in all acts for persecuting the protestants; but, thanks be to God! we are not now in danger of such parliaments, peoples understandings being every where enlightened, and the whole nation sensible of what will be the consequence of such parliaments who shall concur with a popish king for destroying the lives, liberties, and properties of those that are of the protestant religion;—a religion which authorizes not murders and rapines, that teacheth the way to heaven by meekness and humility, by loyalty and faithfulness to their prince, and love to one another. But, on the contrary, the popish religion pretends to convert people by jails, fire, and faggot. The first instance of which in this queen's reign is Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, three reformed bishops, being adjudged hereticks, and condemned to die. After which follows the burning of Rogers, a minister, Hooper and Farrar, two bishops, and Bradford, another minister.

On the twenty-fifth of July, 1554, Prince Philip comes to Winchester, attended by several nobles, who were sent to Spain to fetch him; and on the twenty-fifth the mar-

riage was solemnized there. An infinite number of papists of all countries came over with him. The king and queen send for Cardinal Pool from Rome, who being come, his attainder was taken off, and he makes a speech to the parliament, exhorting them wholly to the *mother* church; upon which they desire pardon, and repent of their former errors, and profess themselves ready to abrogate all laws prejudicial to the see of Rome; upon which he gives them and the whole nation absolution. In March the queen delivers up all the abby lands, and leaves them to the disposal of the pope and his legate; so that by this gentlemen may see what they are to expect from a popish prince, viz. to have all their estates taken away, their families ruined, and even suffer the loss of their lives at his pleasure.——

Soon after this, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, are burnt, with thousands all over England, the repetition of who they were, and where executed, I shall not trouble you, since published at large in Fox; I shall only beg every honest Englishman, who is willing to serve his God in peace, and enjoy the privileges which God and the laws hath given him, to consider how sad the change of the present religion and government would be, when it shall lie in the power of the pope to order the destruction of protestants, and a popish prince think himself obliged to execute such his holiness's orders; when we, who are freeborn Englishmen, should be priest-ridden; when those that will not rack their consciences to save their estates and lives, shall be murdered. For such, and much worse, will be certainly the consequence of popery, since all their learned authors do publish that every man is obliged to convert or confound hereticks; and 'tis by that name they stile us. Let us reflect a little upon the late designs of the papists. Was not the scene of converting England to be laid in blood, of even the king himself, who hath been so favourable to them, as well as of all the protestants of England? Nay, they intended to have cut off even the duke himself, in whom they had built all their hopes, if he should not absolutely hold his crown of the pope! What care ought then to be taken for preventing the designs of such men? How diligent ought we to be in counterplotting? How industrious ought we to be in chusing good members of parliament, who, if bad, can make such a figure in altering the government, and bringing the country to destruction? How ought we to amend our lives, and live answerable to God's great mercies here bestowed upon us, and send up our hearty prayers that God would continue his majesty's life to us, and destroy and confound all his and the nation's enemies, and give a blessing to the endeavours of the approaching parliament, that the fears of the people may be quieted, and a hearty union between his majesty and the nation may be fully compleated?

A true and exact Copy of a treasonable and bloody Paper, called the Fanaticks New Covenant: which was taken from Mr Donald Cargill, at Queen's-Ferry, the third Day of June, Anno Dom. 1680, *one of their Field-Preachers, a declared Rebel and Traitor. Together with their execrable Declaration, published at the Cross of Sanquhair, upon the twenty-two Day of the said Month of June, after a solemn Procession and singing of Psalms, by Cameron, the notorious Ringleader of, and Preacher at, their Field Conventicles, accompanied with Twenty of that wicked Crew.*

This is a very remarkable paper in the church history of Scotland, and was much founded upon by controversial writers, as justifying, by its wild and extravagant tenets, the severities exercised on the Scottish non-conformists in the reigns of Charles II. and his successor. But, in truth, it may be rather considered as the fruit of these violences than their justifying cause. The presbyterians had, before 1680, sustained enough of oppression, which makes wise men mad, and which neither the fervour of their zeal, nor the natural ardour of the Scottish temper (the *perfervidum ingenium* objected to us by our law-writers) could brook. The predominance of this fiery spirit gave rise to the sect of Cameronians, founded by Richard Cameron (afterwards slain at the skirmish of Airds-moss,) who not only claimed the right of practising their own forms of religion unmolested, but totally disclaimed the civil authority, and disowned the king's right to the throne. Among the leaders of this party were Hall of Haugh-head, a small proprietor in Teviotdale, and Donald Cargill, an ejected minister. They had been both deeply engaged in the rebellion at Bothwell-bridge, and all the transactions which preceded that insurrection, and seem to have been resolved to draw up such a declaration of faith as should make an immortal quarrel, not only between presbytery and episcopacy, but between presbytery and monarchy. With such a view this paper was framed, which fell into the hands of the government in the following manner:—

Hall and Cargill, in June 1680, were lurking about the small towns upon the Forth, and on the 3d of that month came to Queensferry. Here Middleton, the governor of Blackness, attempted to apprehend them, but having no soldiers with him, and the women of the town rising in defence of the wanderers, they made their escape, after a scuffle, in which Hall was mortally wounded. Being unable to fly far, he was soon afterwards again apprehended by General Dalziel, and died in the jail of the Canongate of Edinburgh. As for Donald Cargill, from whom the paper is, in the title of the tract, rather inaccurately said to have been taken, he escaped during the scuffle at Queensferry, and in the October following, published, in a field meeting at the Torwood, a solemn sentence of excommunication against Charles the Second, his brother, and the principal members of his administration. A high reward was set upon his head, and after many hairbreadth escapes, he was made prisoner 15th May, 1681, and brought to Edinburgh, where he was tried and executed.

The obnoxious paper was taken from the person of Hall, Cargill's companion; it was entitled the Queensferry Declaration, and was published with great triumph by the government, who endeavoured to fix the odium of its tenets upon the whole body of presbyterians in Scotland.

On the other hand, the more reasonable part of the non-conformists argued that the paper was the unauthorized and unauthenticated memorandum of the sentiments of a few violent individuals; that it was disowned *in toto* by the majority of their body, and objected to in many particulars, even by those who were called Cameronians. Upon the point of disowning the king in particular, debates ran high even among the more violent of that sect. Some held the rejection to be absolute, others distinguished it as connected only with the persecuting course which the king had pursued by advice of the bishops and ministers of Scotland. Wodrow the historian has published part of a very sensible letter from a person who was a good deal

among the persecuted party at this time, and which concludes with the following melancholy picture of the divisions which subsisted amongst them:—

"Their practising and promoting separation was the most unaccountable thing I observed in their way, and evidently came from their ignorance and narrow-spiritedness, which brought them to think that nobody could oppose evil and promote good but in their way and according to their scheme. This way breaches encreased, and the little strength we had was quite broken; all charity was swallowed up in misconstructing and condemning others: and even such who went together in arms for the defence of the gospel, rather hung than clave together; and some of the more judicious among them, what from the indifference of some and the irregular heats of others, made the grave at Airds-moss, and other places, a very sweet sanctuary and most welcome.

In short, our condition for some time looked desperate; the ministry was contemned, and the more judicious quite discouraged in their endeavours to regulate the zeal of the weaker and more unexperienced set of people. It will still be found a dangerous thing for people to be prejudiced at their spiritual guides, and 'tis very hazardous for ministers to give either cause or occasion for people to stumble at them, and far more to foster prejudices in them; and I am of opinion, that few or no good men have ever trode that path but have very soon found themselves outrun in singularities by those to whom they taught them, and have had returns of the same jealousy and distrust which they indulged as to others."—WODROW's *History of the Church of Scotland, Edin.* 1722, fol. vol. II. p. 139.

It is remarkable, that in Donald Cargill's examination before the council, he does not explicitly own the principles of the Queensferry paper, nor will he declare who was the author of it. But the violent sentiments which it expresses were afterwards used as a pretext for increasing the violences practised upon the field-preachers and their congregations.

The Sanquhar Declaration originated from the same persons, and under the same circumstances.

"After Mr Cargill's narrow escape at Queensferry, he fled into the south, where several of his friends were hiding and wandering; Mr Richard Cameron, and some others, whose names are inserted in the proclamation I shall just now refer to. They had now broke off from all the rest of the presbyterian ministers and others through the kingdom, who could not reject the king's authority, and came to state their sufferings and testimony upon that head, and herein they stand by themselves. After some meetings for forming their Declaration, they came together in arms to the small burgh of Sanquhar, upon the 22d of June, in number about twenty persons, and Michael Cameron read the Declaration at the cross, and they left a copy of it affixed there. The Declaration, from the place of its publishing, is ordinarily termed the Sanquhar Declaration."———

"When the accounts of this Declaration came to the council, they write to Lawderdale, June 30th, That they had with horror read the paper taken on Mr Cargill and Mr Hall, and excuse their not giving an account of it sooner to the king for several reasons. They add, 'While we are searching into this, a more execrable paper was sent in by the general, published at Sanquhar, after a solemn procession and singing of psalms by one and twenty men, with whom was Cameron. Of both which we send attested copies. There is a party of these villains in arms, about seventy horse, all clothed and mounted, most of them ruffians, and the scum of the people, in quest of whom the general has sent several parties.' They send also up the proclamation they emit this day, and desire the king's further directions. By a letter, dated July 5th, 'The king approves of what they have done, expects they will continue their diligence, and use all lawful means to bring these rogues to exemplary punishment. And to the end that dutiful and loyal subjects may be informed, and have a just abhorrence of such principles and practices, the council are authorised to cause print and publish that covenant and declaration, with such other papers as they think fit to be published on this occasion."—WODROW, II. 137, 138.

A true and exact Copy of a Treasonable Paper, &c.

We under-subscribers, for our selves, and all that join with us and adhere to us, being put to it by God, our consciences, and men, do bind our souls with a solemn and sacred bond, lest on the one hand we should be carried with the stream of the

apostacy and defection of the church in this time, and on the other hand, lest we should (not being so engaged) evanish in vanity, and be without a right rule in good designs: We judged it our duty again to covenant with God, and one another, and to publish this Declaration to the world of our purposes, that men may know our most inward thoughts, the rules that we walk by, and the outmost ends that we have before our eyes for this intent, that these who are lovers of God, zealous of his reigning in glory, and desirous of reformation, and the propagation of his kingdom, may have occasion no more to be jealous of our intentions, and others may have no ground to load us with odious and foul aspersions; but that all knowing the truth of us, if they shall strive against us, and truth with us, shall do it without excuse, and against conviction; and that these who shall join with us, may do it upon solid and undoubted grounds, and both they and we may expect grace from him, faithfully to persevere, and happily to be successful in so good purposes.

It is true, we are not ignorant of the great unmindfulness, failing, counteracting, and mocking that has been in our former vows and covenants with God, and of the great judgments that have, and are like to follow such impious and sinful dealing with God in such weighty matters, (for which we both ought and desire to be humbled before him) which cannot but make us with great trembling of heart enter into new ones; knowing both our own weakness and readiness to relapse, and the great hazard and danger of such relapses: Yet, the desire of recovering and preserving a remnant, and the conviction of this, as the most convenient mean, the zeal to God's glory, and Christ's reigning, (which is the highest and most acceptable duty man can perform to God) hoping for his mercies, (who is witness to the integrity of our hearts, and the rightness of our intentions) that he will instruct, direct, accept, and prosper us, we go forward, declaring, that nothing else but what we here express is our design:

I.

We covenant and swear, that we take the only true and living God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be our God, and betake our selves to the merits and righteousness of his Son, as the alone righteousness that can justifie us before God; and that we take his scriptures and word to be the object of our faith, and rule of our conversation in all things; and that we shall give up our selves to him to be renewed, instructed, and in all things ruled by his spirit, according to that word; and shall earnestly endeavour, by his grace, to render to him that love, worship, and obedience, that his word requires, and his goodness engages us to.

II.

That we shall, to the outmost of our power, advance the kingdom of our Christ establish'd throughout the land, (if at any time hereafter God shall give us this opportunity) righteousness, and the true reformed religion, in the truth of its doctrine, in the purity and power of its worship and ordinances, and in its discipline and government, and free the church of God from the thraldom, tyranny, incroachment, and corruption of prelacy on the one hand, and erastianism on the other. And that we shall to our power, relieve the church and subjects of this kingdom, (we being called thereto, by his giving of us power, power being God's call to do good,) of that oppression that hath been exercised upon their consciences, civil rights and liberties, that men may serve him holily, without fear, and possess their civil rights in quietness, without disturbance.

III.

That we shall endeavour to our outmost, the extirpation of the kingdom of darkness, and whatsoever is contrair to the kingdom of Christ, and especially idolatry, and po-

pery in all the articles of it, as we are bound in our national covenant; and superstition, will-worship, and prelacy, with its hierarchy, as we are bound in our solemn league and covenant; and that we shall, with the same sincerity, endeavour (God giving us assistance) the overthrow of that power that hath established that prelacy and erastianism over the church, and exercises such a lustful and arbitrary tyranny over the subjects, seeking again to introduce idolatry and superstition in these lands, contrair to our covenants: And, in a word, that we shall endeavour the extirpation of all the works of darkness, and the relics of idolatry and superstition, (which are both much enlarged and revived in our times,) and execute righteous judgment impartially (according to the word of God, and degree of wickedness) upon the committers of these things, but especially, blasphemy, idolatry, atheism, sorcery, perjury, uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's-day, oppression and malignancy; that being thus zealous for God, he may delight to dwell among us.

IV.

Seriously considering, that the hand of our kings has been against the throne of the Lord, and that now for a long time the succession of our kings, and the most part of our rulers with him, hath been against the purity and power of religion and godliness, and freedom of the church of God, and hath degenerate from the vertue and good government of their predecessors into tyranny, and hath of late so manifestly rejected God, his service and reformation, as a slavery, as they themselves call it in their publick papers, (especially in these last letters to the king and duke of Lauderdale) disclaiming their covenant with God, and blasphemously inacting it to be burnt by the hand of a hangman, governed contrary to all right laws, divine and humane, exercised such tyranny and arbitrary government, opprest men in their consciences and civil rights, used free subjects (christian and reasonable men) with less discretion and justice than their beasts; and so not only frustrate the great end of government, (which is, that men may live godly, holily, and peaceably under them, and might be maintained in their rights and liberties from injury and wrong,) but hath also walked contrary to it; so that it can no more be called a government, but a lustful rage, exercised with as little right reason, and with more cruelty, than in beasts, and they themselves can be no more called governours, but public grassators, and publick judgments, which all men ought as earnestly to labour to be free of, as of sword, famine, or pestilence raging amongst us; and besides, hath stopped (instead of punishing) the course of law and justice against idolaters, blasphemers, atheists, murtherers, incestuous and adulterous, and other malefactors; and, instead of rewarding the good, hath made butcheries and murthers on the Lord's people, sold them as slaves, imprisoned, forfaulted, banished and fined them, upon no other account but for maintaining the Lord's right to rule consciences, against the usurpations of men, for fulfilling their vows, and repelling unjust violence, which innocent nature allows to all; of all which, and more particulars, we can give (we speak as before God) innumerable and sure instances: Neither can it be thought, that there is hope of their returning from these courses, having so often shewed their natures and enmities against God and all righteousness, and so often declared and renewed their purposes and promises of persevering in these courses. And, suppose they should dissemble a repentance of these evils, and profess to return to better courses, being put to straits, or for their own ends, (for upon no other account can we reasonably expect it;) and though it might be thought that there might be pardon for what is done, (which we cannot yet see to be, without the violation of the law of God, and a great guiltiness on the land, from which guiltiness the land can never be free but by executing of God's righteous judgments upon them, for omitting of so greatly deserved and so necessarily requisite a justice;) yet

they cannot be believed after they have violated all tyes that human wisdom can devise to bind men; and beside, there will be something of folly found to think to bind a king that pretends to absoluteness; and our fathers, or rather ourselves, at first judged it not warrantable to receive him without consenting to and swearing of the covenant: And if so, the renouncing and disclaiming thereof, we ought at present to judge to be a just and reasonable ground of rejecting him upon these grounds, being assured of God's approbation and men's, whose hearts are not utterly byassed and their consciences altogether corrupted; and knowing assuredly that the upholding of such is to uphold men, to bear down Christ's kingdom and to uphold Satan's, and the depriving of men of right government and good governours, to the ruining of religion and undoing of humane society. We then, seeing the innumerable sins and snares that are in giving obedience to their acts; on the other hand seeing, if we shall acknowledge their authority, and refuse obedience to their sinful commands, the endless miseries that will follow, and siding with God (who we hope will accept and help us to a liberation from their tyranny) against his stated and declared enemies, do reject that king, and these associate with him, from being our rulers, because standing in the way of our right, free, and peaceable serving of God, propagating his kingdom, and reformation, and overthrowing Satan's kingdom, according to our covenant; and declares them henceforth to be no lawful rulers, as they have first declared us to be no lawful subjects, upon a ground far less warrantable, as men unbyassed may see; and that after this we neither owe nor shall yield any willing obedience to them, but shall rather suffer the outmost of their cruelties and injustice, untill God shall plead our cause, and that upon these accounts; because they have altered and destroyed the Lord's established religion, overturned the fundamental and established laws of the kingdom, taken altogether away Christ's church and government, and changed the civil government of this land (which was by king and free parliaments) into tyranny, where none are associate to be partakers of the government but only those who will be found by justice to be guilty criminals, and all others excluded; even those who by the laws of the land, by birth, had a right to and a share in that government; and that only because not of the same guiltiness and mischievous purposes with themselves: And also all free elections of commissioners for parliaments, and officers for government, are made void by their making those the qualifications of admission to these places, which, by the word of God and the laws of this land, were the cause of their exclusion before; so that none can look upon us or judge us bound in alledgiance to them, unless they say also we are bound in alledgiance to divels, they being his vicegerents, and not God's.

V.

We then being made free, by God and their own doings, He giving the law, and they giving the transgression of that law, which is the cause that we are loosed now from all obligations, both divine and civil, to them; and knowing that no society of men that hath corruption in them (which always is ready to beget disorders, and do injuries, unless restrained and punished by laws and government,) can be without laws and government; and withal, desiring to be governed in the best way that is least lyable to inconveniencies and tyranny: we do declare, that we shall set up over ourselves, and over all that God shall give us power, government and governours according to the word of God, and especially according to that word, Exod. 18. v. 21. "Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness;" and that we shall no more commit the government of ourselves, and the making of laws for us, to any one single person and lineall successor, we not being tyed as the Jews were by God to one family; government not being an inheritance but an office, which must be squared not to the interest and lust of a man, but to the good of the commonwealth; and this kind of government by a single

person, &c. being most liable to inconveniencies, (as sad and long experience may now teach us) and aptest to degenerate into tyranny. Moreover, we declare, that these men whom we shall set over us shall be engaged to govern us principally by that civil or judicial law, given by God to his people of Israel, especially in matters of life and death, and in all other things also, so far as they teach, except only that law (viz. anent slaves) which does not agree with that Christian liberty established in all Christendom, only violated by our tyrants, (and some others of late) and that of divorces and poligamy; the one being not a law, but a permission granted upon the account of the hardness of their hearts, the other being a sinful custom, contrair to the first institution of marriage, crept into the church: We know that men of malignant and perverse spirits, that have not a higher God than a wicked king, which suits only with their lustful licentiousness; and it may be others with them, that seemed to be of better principles, will raise an ignorant clamour upon this, that it is a fifth monarchy, and we fifth-monarchy-men, and will labour to amuse the people with strange terms, and put odious names on good things, to make them hateful, as their way is; but if this be their fifth-monarchy, we both are and ought to be such, and that according to his word.

VI.

It being the work of the ministers of the gospel to preach, propagate, and defend the kingdom of God, and to preserve the doctrine, worship, discipline, government, liberties, and priviledges of the same, from all corruptions and incroachments of rulers and all others; and seeing that the ministers of the church of Scotland (at least the greatest part of them before) not only were defective in preaching and testifying against the acts of these rulers, for overthrowing religion and reformation, abjuring our covenant made with God, establishing a government in the church, which that king calls his own government, (and so not God's) contrair to our covenant; against inacting of that blasphemous (so Calvin calls that supremacy of Henry the Eight, upon which this prerogative is founded, and from which it is derived, and is no less, if not more, injurious to Christ, and inslaving to his church) and sacrilegious prerogative given to a king over the church of God, and against the other acts and incroachments of his church, and hindered others also who were willing and would have testified against them, and censured some that did it, (for which, together with the other causes in their trust and administration, we may say God hath left them to do worse things) but also hath voted in that meeting, (which they are pleased to call an assembly of ministers, but how justly let men judge) an acceptation of that liberty, founded upon and given by vertue of that blasphemously arrogated and usurped power; and hath appeared before their courts to accept of that liberty, and to be enacted and authorized there as ministers, and so hath willingly (for this is an elicit act of the will, and not an act of force and constraint) translated the power of sending out, ordering, censuring (for as they accept of their liberty from them, so they submit to their censures and restraints, at least all of them who were yet tried with it, and others of them appeared and acknowledged before their courts, that they would not have done these things that they were charged with, if they had thought it would have offended them) ministers departing from the court of Christ and subjection to the ministry, to the courts of men, and subjection to the magistrate, (which had been impious and injurious to Christ and his church, though they had been righteous and lawful rulers) and by their changing of courts (according to common law) hath changed their masters, and of the ministers of Christ are become the ministers of men, and bound to answer to them as oft as they will; and as, by the acceptation of this liberty in such manner, they have translated the power, so they have given up and utterly quit the government and a succession

of a presbyterian ministry; for as these were not granted them of their masters, so they exercise their ministry without them, and so by this, as the ecclesiastick government is swallowed up in the civil, (if the rest had followed them) the ministry should have also been extinct with themselves, and the whole work of reformation had been buried in oblivion, not so much as the remembrance of it kept up: These, together with the other of their commissions in preaching, the lawfulness of paying that tribute declared to be imposed for the bearing down of the true worship of God, (which they falsly termed seditious conventicles) and their advising these poor prisoners to subscribe the bond, and consequently could not but so advise all others if put to it; (for the hazard that men were in will not make a real change of the morality of that action;) and beside, the rest may be put to it upon the same hazard, and so if the one should advise, (which consequently they must do,) and the other should subscribe, this would altogether close that door which the Lord hath made use of in all the churches of Europe for casting off the yoke of the whore, and restoring the truth and purity of religion and reformation and freedom of the churches; and should have stopped all ingress for men, when once brought under tyranny, to recover their liberty again. These ministers then, not being followers of Christ, who before Pontius Pilate gave a good confession, which was, that he was a king and no king, if he have not power to order his house and subjects, and they not following him nor his ministers, if not asserting and maintaining of this his kingly power against all incroachers and usurpers of it; and besides, we being commanded, "If any brother walk disorderly, from such to withdraw;" and although, in the capacity we now are in, we neither have nor assume to ourselves authority to give out definite and authoritative sentences of deposition and suspension against these ministers; yet we declare, which is proper for us to do, that we neither can nor will hear preaching, nor receive sacraments from these ministers that have accepted of and voted for that liberty; and declare all who have encouraged and strengthened their hands by hearing and pleading for them, all those who have traffiqued for an union with them, without their renouncing and repenting of these things, all those that do not testifie faithfully against them, and after do not deport themselves suitably to their testimonies, and all who joyn not in publick with their brethren who are testifying against them; we declare, that we shall not hear them preach, nor receive sacraments from them, at least till they stand in judgment before these ministers, and be judged by them who have followed the Lord, and kept themselves free of these defections. And as our hearts have cleaved to these ministers while they were on the Lord's side, and subjected ourselves to them, so we shall still cleave to those that abide following him, and shall be subject to them in the Lord.

VII.

Then we do declare and acknowledge, that a gospel ministry is a standing ordinance of God, appointed by Christ to continue in the church until the end of the world; and that none of us shall take upon him the preaching of the word or administring the sacraments, unless called and ordained thereto by the ministers of the gospel. And as we declare that we are for a standing gospel ministry, rightly chosen and rightly ordained, so we declare that we shall go about this work in time to come with more fasting and praying, and more carefull inspection into the conversation and holiness of these men that shall be chosen and ordained, the want of which formerly hath been a great sin both in ministers and people, which hath not been the least cause of this defection.

The Declaration and Testimony of the True-Presbyterian, Anti-Prelatick, and Anti-Erastian, and Persecuted Party in Scotland.

It is not amongst the smallest of the Lord's mercies to this poor land, that there hath always been some who have given a testimony of every course of defection which we were guilty of, which is a token for good that he does not as yet intend to cast us off altogether, but that he will leave a remnant in whom he will be glorious, if they (through his grace) keep themselves clean still, and walk in his way and method, as it hath been walked in and owned by Him in our predecessors (of truly worthy memory) their time, in their carrying on of our noble work of reformation, in the several steps thereof, from popery and prelacy, and likewise from erastian supremacy, so much usurped by him, who, it is true, (so far as we know) is descended from the race of our kings; yet he hath so far deborded from what he ought to have been, by his perjury and usurpation in church-matters and tyranny in matters civil, as is known by the whole land, that we have just reason to believe that one of the Lord's great controversies against us is, that we have not disowned him and the men of his practices, whether inferiour magistrates or any others, as enemies to our Lord and his crown, and the true protestant and presbyterian interest in their hands, our Lord's espoused bride and church. Therefore, although we be for government and governours, such as the word of God and our covenant allows, yet we for our selves, and all that will adhere to us, as the representatives of the true presbyterian church and covenanted nation of Scotland, considering the great hazard of lying under such a sin, do by these presents disown Charles Stuart, who hath been reigning, or rather (we may say) tyrannizing on the throne of Scotland, or government thereof, (forfaulted several years since by his perjury and breach of covenant with God and his church) and usurpation of his crown and royal prerogatives therein, and many other breaches in matters ecclesiastick, and by his tyranny and breach of the very *leges regnandi* in matters civil; for which reasons we declare, that several years since he should have been denuded of being king, ruler, or magistrate, or having any power to act, or to be obeyed as such: As also, being under the standard of Christ, Captain of Salvation, we declare war against such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of his practices, as enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ, his cause and covenants, and against all such as have strengthened him, sided with him, or any ways acknowledged him in his usurpation and tyranny, civil and ecclesiastick; yea, and against all such as shall strengthen, side with, or any ways acknowledge any other in the like usurpation and tyranny, far more against such as would betray or deliver up our free reformed mother church into the bondage of antichrist, the pope of Rome.

By this we homologat the testimony given at Rutherglen the twenty-ninth of May, 1679, and all the faithful testimonies of these that have gone before us, as of these also that have suffered of late; and we do disclaim that declaration published at Hamiltoun, June, 1667, chiefly because it takes in the king's interest, which we are several years since loosed from, because of the aforesaid reasons and others which may after this (if the Lord will) be published. As also, we disown, and by this resent the reception of the Duke of York, a profest papist, as repugnant to our principles and vows to the Most High God, and as that which is the great (although, alace! too just) reproach of our church and nation: We also, by this, protest against his succeeding to the crown, and whatever hath been done, or any are essaying to do, in this land (given to the Lord) in prejudice to our work of reformation.

And to conclude, we hope none will blame us for, or offend at, our rewarding these that are against us as they have done to us, as the Lord gives the opportunity. This

is not to exclude any that have declined, if they be willing to give satisfaction to the degree of their offence.

Given at Sanquhair, the 22d of June, 1680.

These are the true and exact copies of the fanaticks new covenant and declaration, collationed with the originals, which are kept amongst the records of his majestie's privy council, and attested by

AL. GIBSON, *Cl. Sti. Concilii,*
And WILL. PATERSON, *Cl. Sti. Concilii.*

The Case of present Distresses on Non-conformists, examined in the Execution of an Act, entituled, "An Act against seditious Conventicles" (whereof large Experience hath manifested that no Dissenters are guilty:) This Practice hath been of late taken up, that, upon the Oath of some Informers, Convictions are clancularly made, and Executions granted on the Goods of those informed against, a first, second, third Time, &c. without Notice, Warning, or Summons, or any Intimation of Procedure against them, or Allowance for them to make their own Defence.

As the papers immediately preceding, and those that immediately follow, are intended to illustrate each other, it may not be improper in this place, to remind the reader of such circumstances as have an equal relation to both: And, first, even in the Breda Declaration, which was understood and accepted by all parties as the basis of the new government, the king promises a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and declares that he was ready to consent to an act of parliament for the security of that indulgence. It was natural therefore to expect that such an act would have been one of the first concerns of the convention; more especially as the king, after he was in possession of the throne, continued to make a shew of desiring and promoting an union between the episcopal and presbyterian parties; which appeared, first by his appointing the Savoy conferences, and then by his taking the dispute into his own hands, and setting forth yet another declaration, which contained so happy a temperament as drew addresses of thanks from the presbyterian ministers, and even from both houses of parliament. But, though a bill was actually brought in agreeable to the said healing declaration, no sooner did it appear that the king had changed his mind because the presbyterians refused to suffer the papists to share with them in the intended indulgence, than they let it drop; and, having thus lost this opportunity, were dissolved, that they might never retrieve it any more. His majesty was now induced to pursue quite opposite measures; for, having tried some practices on the presbyterian rabbies by the offers of bishoprics, &c. with very little success, he closed with the episcopal party against them, and applied himself to subdue those by rigor who were not to be mollified by persuasion. Accordingly, the justices of the peace were directed to cause the liturgy to be revived, and to contend for the letter of the laws against his majesty's pleasure, set forth in his declarations: And, under the umbrage of a proceeding, which opened the way for the clergy to take possession of the promised land, and an express proclamation, prohibiting all meetings and conventicles under pretence of religious worship, a new parliament was chose, which proved to be of the same complexion with the ministry that called it; that is to say, they were devotees to episcopacy, and enemies avowed to papists, presbyterians, and sectaries of all sorts: It is no wonder, therefore, that one of their first

performances was to restore the bishops to their seats in the legislature. That, in the next place, they prepared the act of uniformity, and that, both in the said act and the corporation act, they made such a provision by oaths and penalties, as bid fair to render their ascendancy in the government perpetual. But though the king had gone thus far with them, for considerations of his own, among which the hearth-money duty ought not to be forgot, he had other considerations in reserve, which induced him, during the recess, to set forth a declaration of indulgence for the ease of non-conformists, or, as he gave out, to fulfil his promises. This so alarmed and disgusted the commons that, at their next meeting, they not only remonstrated against it, but took upon them to dispense with those promises, which they insisted ought not to be pressed upon him any farther; and, after some little controversy, his majesty thought fit to avail himself of that dispensation, and to barter away his new indulgence for four subsidies. A good understanding between them being thus restored, when they met the fourth time, in exchange for the repeal of the triennial act, and an act to improve the hearth-money tax, his majesty was pleased to gratify them, yet again, at the expence of the non-conformists, by giving the royal assent to a bill which made it penal for any man to frequent conventicles. It is true, by way of salvo, they were called the seed-plots and nurseries of rebellion; and endeavours were used to shew that they were not entitled to the benefit of his majesty's promises, because their doctrines were inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom; but it does not appear that these endeavours were altogether successful, or that those stigmatizing expressions were any otherwise warranted than by such transactions as the act of oblivion had made it criminal to reproach them with. But neither was this all; for, the party not being as yet sufficiently subdued, complaint was made that their teachers had settled themselves in diverse corporations, and took opportunity to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion, to the great danger of the church and kingdom; and, in consequence thereof, it was enacted, that none of said teachers should live within five miles of any corporate town, unless they took the non-resisting oath, on penalty of 40*l.* and six months imprisonment. This was the product of the sixth session held at Oxford; and, in return for this new favour to the church, a new supply was granted to the court of 1,250,000*l.* for carrying on the war against the Dutch, which had cost the nation 2,500,000*l.* granted the session before. But, notwithstanding so many grants on one hand, and concessions on the other, a crisis at last came, when the king once more declared for liberty of conscience, and, in virtue of his supreme power in matters ecclesiastical, such was the language then used, dispensed with all the laws he had made, and authorised his subjects to serve God as they pleased. This indulgence lasted till the ill success of the Dutch war obliged his majesty to truckle once more to his parliament; upon which his declaration was recalled and cancelled; and what was far more extraordinary, the growth of popery being more apprehended than the seditious designs of the protestant non-conformists, the zealots gave way to the bringing in a bill for their relief, (though not to the passing of it into a law) and they were connived at till the court found it once more necessary to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the church against the excluders, who had all the non-conformists for their auxiliaries: But then, though another bill of ease or toleration had again passed the house of commons in their favour, the penal laws were let loose against them with more fury than ever: The sins of their leaders were visited upon the whole party, and under the pressure of this calamity it was that the two following papers were set forth in the year 1682.

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1. THIS practice is as contrary to the original pattern of all government, as unto the execution of law in criminal cases. When Adam sinned by the transgression of a penal law, God was the only governor of the world, and there was a temporal penalty annexed unto that transgression. But yet, to manifest, that personal conviction was to be the natural right of every transgressor, before the execution of punishment, he himself the only judge, though absolutely omniscient, deals with Adam personally, as to the matter of fact, "Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat?" and gave him the liberty of his own defence, (as that which was his right) before he denounced any sentence against him: He is still the supreme governor of the world, and let magistrates take heed how they despise that precedent and pattern of the administration of justice in criminal causes, which he hath given and prescribed unto all mankind.

2. It is contrary to the light of nature, and that in such a principle as hath a great influence in the constitution and preservation of government in the world; and that is, "that every man is obliged unto, and is to be allowed the unblameable defence of himself and his own innocency, against evil and hurt from others." This the law of God and nature require of every man, and the whole figure of human justice doth allow; and that he may do this without force or violence, the injury of others, or disturbance of natural order, is one of the principal benefits of government in the world, and one chief end of its institution. If this be taken away, the law of nature is violated, the chief end of government is destroyed, and all things are reduced to force and confusion. This men are deprived of in this practice, namely, of lawful self-defence before conviction and the execution of penalties. And it is to no purpose to pretend that this is a matter of small moment; so that although there should be a deviation in it from the common rule, yet the law of nature in general may be kept inviolable; for that law being the animating soul of all human government, as the whole in the whole, and the whole in every part, if it be wittingly contravened in any instance it tends to the dissolution of the whole; and where any such thing is admitted, it will sully the beauty and weaken the rightful power of any government.

3. It hath been always rejected in all nations, even among the heathen, who have exercised government according unto the rules of reason and equity. So the laws and usage of the Romans are declared by Festus, Acts xxv. "It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him." It is not of any weight to object, that this was in the case of death; for the reason of the law is universal; namely, That every one who is charged with a crime, in order unto punishment, should have liberty to answer for himself; and it was observed by them in all criminal causes whatever. No instance can be given of their varying in this process, but it is noted as an oppression. And the same practice is secured by the law and usages of all civilized nations: For,

4. This procedure of allowing men charged with any crime, real or pretended, liberty to answer for themselves before judgment and execution, is so manifestly grounded on natural equity, so inseparable from the common presumptions of right and wrong amongst mankind, as that it could never be wrested from them on any pretence whatsoever. It is a contradiction unto common sense, in morality and polity, for a man to be convicted of a crime, exposing him to penalty, and not be allowed to make his own defence before such conviction: Yea, let men call such a sentence and its execution by what name they please, there is no conviction in the case; and it is ridiculous to call it so where a man is not allowed to defend himself, or plead his own innocency, if he be ready so to do. The common saying of *qui statuit aliquid parte inauditâ, altera æquum licet statuerit haud æquus fuit*, is no less owned as unto its natural equity, than that other, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri non feceris;* and both of them sufficiently condemn this practice in the consciences of all men not blinded by prejudice or interest.

5. The general end of penal laws, which alone makes them warrantable in government, is inconsistent with such clancular convictions as are in this case pretended. Their first intention is authority to inquire into offences, whether they are real or no; for the preservation of public good and peace. And if it be found that the complaints concerning them are causeless, the second intention, which respects punishment, is superseded; as God declared in the case of Sodom, unto the inhabitants whereof, after enquiry, he granted a personal conviction, by the angel he sent amongst them, unto whom they openly declared their own guilt. To omit the first intention of law, and to go *per saltu*, unto the latter, is to make that which was designed for the good of all men, to be unto the danger of all, and ruin of many. For,

6. The practice designed takes all security of the goods and estates from many peaceable subjects, even of all unto whom the case extends; for every evil man is enabled hereby, for his own profit and advantage, to take the goods of other men into his own possession, the owner knowing nothing of the cause of it, which possession shall be avowed legal. Now this is utterly contrary unto all good government and the principal end of the law; which is to secure unto every man the possession of his own goods, until he be legally convicted (on the best defence he can make for himself) that they ought by law to be taken from him. But in this case the legal right of one man unto his goods is transferred unto another, and that other enabled by force to take possession of them, before the true owner is once asked why it should not be so. The pretence of allowing him a liberty in some cases to make use of an appeal, and to sue for his own goods when they are in the supposed legal possession of another, and he disenabled for such a suit by the loss of them, (as many have been) is no help in this case, nor gives the least colour of justice to this procedure.

7. To interpret the words in the act, to give countenance unto this way of procedure, is contrary to the known rules of interpreting laws of this nature; and these are, first, That they are not to be made snares to catch and harm men without just cause, and a necessity thereon for public good. To make such engines of them is to divest them of all authority; nor can that reverence that is due unto government be preserved, unless it be manifest that not only the laws, but also the administration of them, are for public good; so as that they are not capable, in their genuine sense, to be made snares for the hurt of men, in denying them their own just defence. Nor can there be a more dangerous inroad made on the security of the subjects, as to their property and liberty, in and by the administration of the law, than a wresting of it in any one instance unto the hurt or wrong of any; and we do know what consequence the interpretation and undue application of penal statutes, with the wresting them unto unwarrantable severities, have had here in England. And it is a rule of the same importance, That in dubious cases, such laws are to be interpreted according to the custom and usage of proceedings in other laws of a like nature, and not be construed unto the interest of severity, especially where it is used unto the gain and profit of other men: And what is the method of conviction in all other laws, towards persons who do not decline a trial, is known.

8. But, besides all that hath been spoken as unto the reason of things in general, this practice is directly contrary to and inconsistent with the plain sense and intention of the law itself, whereof execution is pretended: For there is a gradation in the penalty annexed unto a contrivance in the offence. The first conviction is for twenty pounds, the second for forty. And this will admit of no pretence, but that the person offending must know of the first conviction, that it may be a warning to him to avoid the additional penalty, which is for continuance in the same supposed offence after the first admonition. But in the present practice no such thing is allowed, but convictions are made for the first, second, and third offence, without any tryal of what effect the first would be, which is contrary to the sense of the law, and an open wresting of it unto the ruin of men. And,

Lastly, These convictions are made on the oaths of the informers, who at present are a sort of men so destitute of all reputation on the account of their indigency, contracted by their profligate conversation, as that men of the like qualifications are prohibited by many laws from bearing testimony in any case, though in all other things the process be legal, open, and plain. To admit such persons to give oaths in private, without calling or summoning them to answer who are charged by them, and thereon to put them into actual possession of their goods, unto their own use and advantage, is a practice which England hath had, as yet, no precedent for, nor found out an es-

pecial name whereby to call it. Hereon perjuries have been multiplied (whereof sundry of them have been legally convicted) to the dishonour of God, and great increase of the sin of the land; and whatever becomes of nonconformists, if the same kind of procedure should be applied unto other cases, (as why it may not be so, if, in this instance, the bounds of the law of nature, and the usages of mankind should be broken down) others would find themselves aggrieved as well as they.

And these things are humbly submitted unto the consideration of the judges, justices, and juries, even all that are concerned in the administration or execution of the law.

[*Out of Lord Sommers's Collections, Vol. II.*]

The Form of an Address, expressing the True Sense of the Dissenting Protestants of England.

We are a people diffused through his majesty's kingdom, whom the law doth not otherwise know, than so as to account our very character[1] (by which we must distinguish ourselves) our crime, and animadvert upon us for it; and have not the advantage of being in any formed legal society, whereby, under one common notion, acceptably to apply ourselves to his majesty, as others, to whom their circumstances in these respects are more favourable. That any should, undesired, take upon them to speak unto his majesty the sense of the rest, though it should fall out to be most strictly true, would not be reasonable or satisfying: That it should be allowed us to send delegates from all parts to meet and represent our common sense, were a privilege none will be

[1] The following beautiful character of a non-conforming divine may serve to rescue those clergy from the general reproach cast upon them by the more violent adherents of the church of England:—"Good old Mr Simon Ash was buried the very even of Bartholomew-day, and went seasonably to heaven at the very time when he was to be cast out of the church. He was one of our old nonconformists (of the old strain; for now conforming is quite another thing than it was before the wars.) He was a Christian of the primitive simplicity: not made for controversie nor inclined to disputes, but of a holy life and a cheerful mind, and of a fluent elegancy in prayer, full of matter and excellent words: His ordinary speech was holy and edifying. Being confined much to his house by the gout (and having a good estate, and a good wife, inclined to entertainments and liberality) his house was very much frequented by ministers. He was always cheerful, without profuse laughter, or liberty, or vain words; never troubled with doubtings of his interest in Christ, but tasting the continual love of God, was much disposed to the communicating it to others, and comforting dejected souls. His eminent sincerity made him exceedingly loved and honoured, insomuch as Mr Gataker, Mr Whittaker, and other the most excellent divines of London, when they went to God, desired him to preach their funeral sermons. He was zealous in bringing in the king. Having been chaplain to the Earl of Manchester in the wars, he fell under the obloquy of the Cromwellians for crossing their designs: he wrote to Col. Sanders, Col. Barton, and others in the army when G. Monck came in, to engage them for the king. Having preached his lecture in Cornhill, being heated, he took cold in the vestry, and thinking it would have proved but one of his old fits of the gout, he went to Highgate; but it turned to a fever. He died, as he lived, in great consolation and cheerful exercise of faith, molested with no fears or doubts discernable; exceeding glad of the company of his friends; and greatly encouraging all about him with his joyful expressions in respect of death and his approaching change; so that no man could seem to be more fearless of it. When he had at last lain speechless for some time, as soon as I came to him, gladness so excited his spirits, that he spake joyfully and freely of his going to God to those about him: I stayed with him his last evening till we had long expected his change (being speechless all that day) and in the night he departed."—Baxter's *Life*, *p.* 430.

so little modest as to ask: That any therefore should address themselves in the name of all jointly is impossible; and to do it for themselves singly were inconsiderable and presumptuous. But were it possible, or permitted to us to represent our common sentiments, they would certainly admit to be conceived after this following tenour:

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Representation and Address of your Majesty's Subjects in this your Kingdom of England, who dissent from some Rites of Religion established and commonly practised therein.

May it please your Majesty,

We, your majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, are most deeply sensible of your majesty's heavy displeasure; which, because it so peculiarly falls upon us, and for causes therefore that we must suppose are understood to be peculiar to us, whereof nothing offers itself to our conjecture, but either our different sentiments and practices in the matters of religion, or that we are thought not to be duly affected towards your majesty's authority and government; we do therefore, in all humility, prostrate ourselves at the footstool of your royal throne, and most humbly represent our unfeigned sense concerning both to your most princely consideration and clemency. We do, with ingenuous freedom and sincerity, acknowledge to your majesty, that there are some rites and modes in the public religion and worship, which we sensibly find it is our great temporal infelicity not to be satisfied with; and a greater difference in religion is not to be generally imputed to us, nor can be the cause of a general displeasure towards us. Besides, that hereupon also we have been wont to worship God in such a way as, according to the information of our consciences, we apprehend agreeable to the Divine Will. Nor can it enter unto our minds, that this can be the cause of your majesty's peculiar displeasure towards us. Your majesty's declared aversion to afflict your subjects merely for their consciences in matters of religion, and our own great experience hereof, cannot allow us to admit any such thoughts. Your majesty knows there is such a thing as conscience in man, which he hath it not in his power to command and alter as he pleases; it being its office, under God, to command and govern him. Those of your majesty's subjects, whose practice in religion is more agreeable to your own royal persuasion, cannot, without great uncharitableness, be supposed so generally to have chosen it in design to please your majesty, but from the former disposition of their own minds, apprehending it more pleasing to God. Wherefore, since all mens minds are not of one complexion more than their bodies are, and our minds are irresistably led to apprehend a way of religion somewhat different to be more pleasing to the Divine Majesty, we cannot but conceive ourselves entitled to your majesty's grace and favour herein, on the same common reason with the rest of your subjects: For, since no man did ever account, that religion could have any other proper design than the pleasing of God; and that your majesty well knows, those rites and modes of it from which we dissent are not immediately commanded by God himself, and therefore, that he cannot be displeased by their not being urged upon us; we think ourselves bound to judge, that your majesty (accounting it your part to provide for the pleasing of God in the first place) will be much better pleased with our worshipping him without them, than either with our wholly forbearing any solemn worship of God, or worshipping him with them against our consciences, both which would certainly displease him. If we should thus declare ourselves to your majesty, That it is indeed the settled apprehension of our judgments and consciences, that we should most highly

offend God, if we did, in all things, fall in with the allowed way of worship; (which we generally do, as far as we can apprehend it lawful) but yet, in complaisance to your majesty, we are willing to abandon our consciences, and incur the divine displeasure, we cannot doubt but we should hereby render ourselves justly detestable to your majesty, and to all mankind. And whereas it is acknowledged, not only by all the divines of the church of England, but universally by all Christians, that it is an indispensable duty of natural religion to worship God in assemblies, if it be possible, can we hope to please your majesty, by resolving against such worship of God, when that we ought so to worship him is confessed and agreed on all hands? But as the doing it in the use of the rites and modes, which we scruple, is so doubtful and disputed a thing, and by us feared to be sinful, could we any way more provoke your majesty, than by refusing our natural, rightful homage to the supreme Ruler, whose vicegerent you are? Or, if we should tell the reverend fathers of the church we are ready to come into their communion against our consciences, would that qualify us for their communion? Or can we think dissimulation were more venial, and the professing that to be according to our consciences which is really against them? We cannot therefore but apprehend it were a wrong to your majesty never to be atoned for, if we should ever have allowed ourselves to think our mere dissent in the matter of religion were the thing for which your majesty appears so much offended with us. And,

May it please your Majesty,

As to the matter of our loyalty, we make this sincere profession, that the same conscience which constrains us to dissent from so many of your majesty's subjects in some circumstances of religion, doth most strictly oblige us to agree with the most dutiful and loyal of them in obeying, to our utmost, your majesty's laws in all things else. And not only to obey, but endeavour to preserve your majesty's authority and government with the hazard of all that is dear to us, together with your royal person, your honour, interest, rights and prerogatives; and the substance of the established religion, which is common to your majesty and your kingdom with us. Nor, if all the rest of your majesty's subjects were called, in reference to all these things, to express their duty to your majesty apart from us, (of which exclusion we should have as impatient a sense as to have our limbs torn from us) we should never decline so laudable a contention as to vie with them in all expressions of that noble kind; nor should they ever be able, more zealously to abhor or oppose any whatsoever plots, confederacies, associations, or conspiracies contrary hereunto than we. Neither can we suppose that your majesty's sober-minded subjects will be so unequal as to reproach us with the bloody contests of former days, which happened before, probably, the greater part of us were born; the stated and published occasions whereof had no connection with the matters of our present difference and dissatisfaction; and wherein yet there are some of us still surviving that took part with the crown, and not many that had other participation than in the miseries that from thence descended in common to us with the nation: The reports and histories whereof we never read or hear but with horror, still feeling within ourselves, even at this distance, the convulsions, fears, and dangers of our country, at length returned to its former settled state by your majesty's glorious restitution, whereto considerable numbers of us (as we believe your majesty doth not forget) joyfully contributed their utmost and not useless endeavours. And after the instruction given to all your majesty's subjects, of whatsoever denominations, by the Divine Providence, which restored your majesty to the glorious throne of your ancestors in so peaceable a way, and by your majesty's authority and example, with the prudent determination of the orders and states of your realm for the abolishing the remembrance of those unnatural contentions, we account that both the sense of our duty and our

interest, and even time itself, should dispose all our minds so far to bury them in an everlasting oblivion, as that no seed of future animosity should thence remain among your people: With the entire body of whom, as we are most strictly united, not only in all the affection and duty to your majesty, which both your sacred rights and your royal goodness do claim from us, but also in all the substantials of the best religion that ever any nation enjoyed; so we doubt not but in due time your majesty's great wisdom and goodness will find out proper means of effecting an entire union among all your subjects in those lesser things also, which that they are the occasion of any remaining difference we can but lament, (as we do with very sensible grief and sorrow) but cannot remedy.

In the mean time, we most humbly beseech your majesty, that we may stand right in your majesty's gracious estimation and acceptance, and shall ever continue daily supplicants for all divine blessings upon your royal person, family, and government.

The Character of a True Protestant, 1682.

A church of England and Tory creed of the period.

He is one that professeth the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, as it is established by the laws of the kingdom, and professeth against the contrary. He sticks to the protestation of Augsburg, from whence he had his name. He loves the unity of the church so, that he endeavours, next her verity in faith, her unity and conformity in discipline with that church, not daring to broach any new opinion, nor preach them to disturb the peace of his aged mother! Private interpretations of scripture he approves not; but submits his own, and maintains none against the received and approved doctrine of the church whereof he is a member. He thinks that evangelical counsel is to be observed, and that all things must be done in order and decency. He owns the king to be the head of the church, as it is personal, and hath sworn him God's deputy in government, and trusted with the sword which he must not bear in vain. He dares not question his authority, who is only answerable to God, but in his heart honours him as God's vicegerent, and knows that to resist his power is to resist him that gave it; and, though the penalty be damnation, yet he fears not for that so much as the offence given to God who gave that power. He confesseth an obligation to God's moral laws and man's judicial; and that there must be obedience, active as well as passive, to the one and the other. He knows Christ's spiritual kingdom opposeth not the temporal claim and power of kings; but Cæsar must have his tribute (the badge of conquest) as God must have his acknowledgment of his protection; and dare not call his sovereign the anointed of God, since God called Cyrus an heathen so; not for the holiness of external unction, but the internal character of supreme power. So he can make a difference between types and metaphors; the one being in persons, the other in words. He conceives passive obedience always due to

the king, where active cannot be performed with a good conscience. He believes faith alone cannot justify without works, but both together; the first before God, the second before man. He believes God rewards above merit; yet that there is difference in glory and reward, though all have fullness. Traditions and ceremonies he reverences, as they are antiquities, and stream from the spring of original purity, not to the necessity of doctrine but of discipline. He detesteth parity in church or commonwealth, as tending to anarchy. He dares not swear against his conscience, nor vow implicit obedience to occasional ordinances. He thinks no authority but the same, or greater than that to whom he hath made a judicial vow, can disannull it. He is loyal, for conscience sake, to his sovereign; charitable, for God's sake, to his neighbour; and dares not do that unto another, he cannot be contented should be done unto himself; much less rob his sovereign of his birthright, or deface God's character. He thinks *dixi vos dii estis* belongs supremely to his sovereign, ministerially to his subjects. He dares not distinguish betwixt the king and his person; but thinks those that dare be so bold derive their logick, with the jesuits, from hell. His heart thinks no disloyal thought, much less dares he speak a word to lessen the reverence due to majesty; not for fear of punishment, but the sin. In a word, he is one that dares, in his prince's just quarrel, to meet death with chearfulness, as David met Goliah, or as Daniel went into the lions den; he can serve his God, his king and country, without fear of enemies; and with chearfulness can sing his *Nunc Dimittis*, as Simeon did with Christ in his arms. And this alone is your true protestant.

The Life and Death of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, the first Emperor of the Chaldeans, who was represented by the Golden Head of that Image, Dan. ii. 32. and by the Lion with Eagle's Wings, Dan. vii. 4. Whereby much Light is given to many of the Prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. By Samuel Clarke, sometime Minister of St Bennet Fink, London.

Printed 1664.

NEBUCHADONAZAR, or Nebuchadnezzar, was the son of Nebuchadonazar, or Nabopolaser of Babylon, who was made general of the army by Saraco, king of Assyria and Chaldea; after whose death, Nabopolaser took into his hands the kingdom of Chaldea, which he held by the space of one and twenty years; at the same time Astyages was made governor of Media by Cyaxares his father; and the better to strengthen themselves, they entered into affinity by Astyages his giving his daughter Amytis to Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nabopolasar; and thereupon, joining their forces together, they took Nineveh, together with Saraco the king thereof, placing a viceroy in his stead.

Shortly after, the governor of Cælosyria and Phœnicia revolting from Nabopolaser, he sent against him his son Nebuchadnezzar (having first associated him with himself in the kingdom of Babylon) with a great army, which was in the latter end of the third and the beginning of the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judea; as appears Dan. i. 1. compared with Jer. xxv. 1.

Nebuchadnezzar was no sooner thus associated with his father in the kingdom, but the things which he was to act were presently revealed to the prophet Jeremiah; the

first whereof was the overthrow of the Egyptians, first at the river Euphrates, then in their own country, Jer. xlvi. The first of these came to pass presently, Pharaoh Necho's forces, which he left at Carchemish, being cut off by Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Jer. xlvi. 2. The second was not till after the taking of Tyre, in the seventeenth year of the captivity of Jechonia, Ezek. xxix. 17, 18, 19.

In the third year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar the Second, his father being yet alive, entered Judea with a great army, who, besieging and forcing Jerusalem, made Jehoiakim his vassal in despight of Pharaoh Necho, who had made him king, and took with him to Babylon, for pledges, Daniel, who was yet a child, with Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. He took also part of the treasures belonging to the temple, but stayed not to search thoroughly for all; for Necho hasted with his army to the relief of Jehoiakim, hoping to find Nebuchadnezzar in Judea. But this great Babylonian had no mind to hazard himself and his army against the Egyptian, Judea being so ill affected towards him, and himself far from all succour, or sure place of retreat. If he had (as may be supposed) any great strength of Scythian horsemen, it was wisely done of him to fall back out of that rough, mountainous, and hot country, into places that were more even and temperate. And, besides these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home and take possession of his own kingdom, before he proceeded in the second care of adding more unto it.

And this he did at reasonable good leisure; for the Egyptian was not provided to follow him so far, and to bid him battle, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of Jehoiakim, the first of Nebuchadnezzar, and the last of Necho. In this year the Babylonian, lying upon the banks of the Euphrates (his own territories bounding it on the north side) attended the coming of Necho; there, after a cruel battel fought betwixt them, Necho was slain, and his army forced to save itself by a violent retreat, wherein it suffered great loss.

This victory was so well pursued by Nebuchadnezzar that he recovered all Syria, and whatsoever the Egyptians held out of their proper territories towards the north. The Egyptians being thus beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, Jehoiakim held himself quiet, as being in heart a friend to the Egyptians; yet having made his peace with the Chaldeans the year before, and Nebuchadnezzar was contented with such profit as he could there readily make; he had forborn to lay any tribute upon the Jews.

But this cool reservedness of Jehoiakim was, on both sides, taken in ill part; whereupon the Egyptian king Palmnis, who succeeded Necho, began to think of restoring Jehoahaz (who had been taken prisoner by his father, and carried into Egypt) and of setting him up as a domestical enemy against his ungrateful brother. But, to anticipate all such accidents, the Judean had put in practice the usual remedy which his forefathers used; for he had made his own son Jechonia king with him long before,[1] in the second year of his own reign, when the boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of Jehoahaz his return, the prophet Jeremiah foretold that it should prove to be a vain attempt, saying, "He shall not return thither, but he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more." Jer. xxii. 11, 12.

The Egyptians having lost all their mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at Carchemish, had more gold than sharp steel remaining, which is of small force without the others help. Besides, the valour of Necho was not in Psamnis Apries, who, reigning after Palmnis, did indeed once adventure to shew his face in Syria; but after a big look he was glad to retire without adventuring the hazard of a battel. Wherefore this declining nation fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous

[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

tales, as men that mean to do nothing use, boasting of their former glorious acts against Josias and Jehoahaz. And truly, in such a time and case, it was easy for Jehoiakim to give them satisfaction by letting them understand the sincerity of his affections towards them, which appeared in time following.

But Nebuchadnezzar went more roundly to work; for he sent a peremptory message to Jehoiakim, requiring him not to stand upon any nice points, but presently to acknowledge himself his subject, and to pay him tribute; adding thereunto such terrible threatnings as made the poor Judean lay aside all thoughts of adhering under Pharaoh, and to yield to do as the more powerful would have him.

Thus he continued in obedience to Nebuchadnezzar three years; during which time the prophet Jeremiah cried out against the impiety of the Jews, putting them in mind that he had now for three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance; but because they had stopped their ears against him and the rest of the prophets, he now foretold that their captivity was at hand, and that they should bear the yoke of bondage for seventy years.[1] The same calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumæans, and the rest;[2] foretelling that they should all drink out of the Babylonian cup the wine of his fury whom they had forsaken; and that after the seventy years should be expired, the Babylonians themselves should taste of the same cup, and be utterly subverted by the Medes and Persians; by which means the Jews should be permitted to return into their own country and cities. The first imprisonment of the prophet Jeremiah[3] seems to have been in the fourth year of this Jehoiakim; at which time Baruch the scribe wrote all his prophesies from his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the people, and afterwards to the princes, who presented them to the king: But, fearing the king's fury, they had first set Jeremiah at liberty, and advised him and Baruch to hide themselves, Jer. xxxvi. 19, &c.

Jehoiakim having heard part of it read to him, and perceiving the ill news contained therein, he made no more ado but cut the book in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which Jeremiah caused to be new written, with this addition, "That the dead body of Jehoiakim should be cast out, being exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost; and that there should be none of his seed to sit upon the throne of David.

Time thus running on, Jehoiakim thought himself secure from all danger, as being tributary to the Babylonian, and yet withal well thought on by the Egyptian: About which time the mighty city of Tyre opposed itself against Nebuchadnezzar; and, upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparations that could be made against her. Now, for as much as the term of seventy years was prescribed for the desolation, as well of Tyre as of Jerusalem and other places and countries, it is apparent that they that refer the winning of this city to the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, have good ground and warrant for it; for the siege thereof began in the seventh year of his reign, and lasted thirteen years.

Here it will not be amiss to insert a brief note concerning the beginning of this great prince's rule; the third year of Jehoiakim was the last of Nabulasser, who, being freed from other cares and businesses, took notice of such as had revolted from him to Pharaoh Necho, and sent this noble prince his son with an army into Syria to reclaim them. In this expedition was Daniel carried to Babylon, who therefore makes mention of it, Dan. i. 1. The year next following, being the fourth of Jehoiakim, was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, which Jeremiah affirmeth in express words, Jer. xxv. 1. And from this, we must reckon all his time and actions which follow to be spoken of. In his three and twentieth year he conquered Egypt, and then began his great empire, there being none left that durst offend or oppose him. The second

[1] Jer. xxv. 25, &c. [2] Jer. xxvii. [3] Jer. xxv. 12, &c.

from this year it was wherein Daniel saw that vision of the image consisting of sundry metals, which prefigured the succession of great kingdoms that should rule the world before the coming of Christ. But to return to the siege of Tyre, which began in the seventh year of his reign.

The stately city of Tyre covered all the ground of an island, that was divided from the continent by a deep and broad channel of the sea. The Chaldeans had no fleet of ships, neither were they seamen: the Tyrians excelled all other nations in multitude of goodly ships and skill to use them; and every wind, from one part or other, brought in all needful provisions to the city: Wherefore neither force nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof, nevertheless, the judgments of God (denounced against it by Isaiah,[1] Jeremiah,[2] and Ezekiel,[3]) had threatned the destruction, and the obstinate resolution of Nebuchadnezzar had fully determined to accomplish it.

This haughty king, impatient of resistance, undertook a vast piece of work, which was, to fill up that part of the sea which divided the island from the continent. The city of old Tyre, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm land, and the mountain of Libanus near adjoyning, that was loaden with stately cedars, and abundance of other trees, furnished him with materials to effect it. Thirteen years were spent in this difficult and hopeless undertaking, which need not seem strange, if we consider that Alexander, working upon that foundation which was remaining of Nebuchadnezzar's pier, and being withal assisted with a strong fleet, was yet seven months ere he could make way into the city. Wherefore, if the raging of the sea was able to carry away that wherewith Alexander laboured to cover a shelve, with much more violence could it overturn, and, as it were, consume the work of Nebuchadnezzar, who laid his foundation in the bottom of the deep; striving, as it were, to fill the empty belly of this greedy cormorant, whereas the Macedonian did only stop the throat of it. All may know that God could easily have accomplished his own threatnings against this place (though it had not pleased him to use either a miracle, or such of his more immediate engines, as are earthquakes, &c.) by making at least the seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oft-times, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man, even the hand of man, striving, as it may seem, against all resistance of nature and providence. So that by this excessive labour of the Chaldeans, that scripture was fulfilled, that "every head should be made bald, and every shoulder should be made bare," Ezek. xxix. 18. Yet would not Nebuchadnezzar give over till he was master of the town.

When he was entred upon this desperate undertaking, whether it were by some losses received, or some mutiny in his army, or some glorious rumour of the Egyptians strength, his evil willers took courage to rebel against him; and amongst them Jehoiakim renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary, which soon after fell out: For Nebuchadnezzar gave him no leisure to do much hurt; but with part of his army he marched strait into Judea, where the amazed king made so little resistance (the Egyptians having left him as it were in a dream,) that Nebuchadnezzar entred Jerusalem, laid hands on Jehoiakim, whom at first he bound, [4] intending to send him to Babylon, but his mind changing, he caused him to be slain in that place, and gave him the burial of an ass, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former prophecy; leaving in his place his son, Jehoiakim, or Jeconias; whom yet, after three months and ten days, he deposed, and sent him prisoner to Babylon, together with Ezekiel, Mordecai, and Josedech the high priest.

The mother of Jeconias, [5] together with his servants, eunuchs, and all the ablest men,

[1] Isaiah xxiii. [2] Jer. xxv. [3] Ezek. xxvi. [4] Jer. xxii. 18, 19, and xxxvi. 30.
[5] Jer. xxix. 2. 2 King. xxviii. 8, 16. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. Jer. xxiv. 1. xxix 1, 2. Ezek. xvii. 12. 2 King. xxvi. 17.

and best artificers in the land, were also then carried away captives. This Jeconias, following the counsel of the prophet Jeremiah, made no resistance, but submitted himself to the king's will, wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was most profitable for himself, though at the present it might seem otherwise to such as considered the evil that befel him rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded in scripture which was good: But it seems that he was at least a partaker in his father's sins, if not a provoker, which was the cause, that though he submitted himself to God's will, yet did he not preserve his estate: For so it is said, "That he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done." In his stead Nebuchadnezzar set up Mattania, his uncle, making him King of Judea, and called him Zedekiah. For like as Necho, King of Egypt, had formerly displaced Jehoahaz, after he had slain his father Josias, [1] and set up Jehoiakim, the son by another mother; so Nebuchadnezzar slew Jehoiakim, who depended on the Egyptians, and, carrying his son Jeconias prisoner to Babylon, he gave the kingdom to this Zedekiah, who was whole brother to that Jehoahaz, whom Necho took with him into Egypt; and from Zedekiah he required an oath for his loyalty and faithful subjection, which Zedekiah gave him, and called the living God to witness in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of Chaldea, 2. Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 13, 14, 18.

In the first year of Zedekiah Jeremiah saw [2] and expounded the vision of ripe and rotten figs, the one signifying those that were already carried away captives, the other signifying those Jews that yet remained, and were afterwards destroyed, Jer. xxix. 17.

In the fourth year of Zedekiah, Jeremiah wrote in a book all the evil which should fall upon Babylon, which book or roll he gave to Seriah, when he went with King Zedekiah to Babylon to visit Nebuchadnezzar, willing him first to read it to the captive Jews, and then to bind a stone to it, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words: "Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the evil which I will bring upon her." This journey of Zedekiah to Babylon is probably thought to be in way of a visit, and to carry some presents to Nebuchadnezzar; [3] but yet it's likely he had some suit to make, which his lordly master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering princes sent messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses from which the prophet Jeremiah [4] dehorted both him and them. About which time the prophet, by God's appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by those messengers which came to visit Zedekiah, making them know, that if they and the King of Juda continued in subjection to Babylon, they should then possess and enjoy their own countries, if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence.

He also foretold them that those vessels which yet remained in Jerusalem should be carried after the others to Babylon, yet at length should be restored again.

The same year Ananias, the false prophet, took off the wooden yoke which Jeremiah did wear, as a sign of the captivity of the Jews, and brake it; vaunting, that in like manner, after two years, [5] God would break the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he laid on all nations: and that he would restore Jeconias and all the Jews, with the vessels and riches of the temple, and put an end to all these troubles. But Jeremiah, instead of his wooden yoke, wore a collar of iron; and in sign that Ananias had given a false and deceitful hope to the people, he foretold the death of this false prophet, [6] which accordingly came to pass in the seventh month.

After this, when Zedekiah had wavered long between faith and passion, [7] in the

[1] Jer. xxxvii. 1. [2] Jer. xxiv. 2. [3] Jer. li. 59. [4] Jer. xxvii. 8.
[5] Jer. xxviii. [6] Jer. xxviii. 15. [7] Ezek. xvii. 15, 17.

eighth year of his reign, he practised more seriously against Nebuchadnezzar with his neighbours the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others who were promised great aids by the Egyptians, in confidence of whose assistance he resolved to shake off the Babylonian yoke, whereof when Nebuchadnezzar was informed, he marched with his army in the dead of winter towards Jerusalem, and besieged it. Jeremiah perswaded Zedekiah to render the city and himself to him: But Zedekiah, being confident of help from Egypt, and being perswaded by his princes and false prophets, that it was impossible that the kingdom of Judah should be extirpated until the coming of Shilo, according to Jacob's prophecy, Gen. xlix. 10. he despised the counsel of Jeremiah, and imprisoned him. For Jeremiah [1] had told the king that the city should be taken and burnt; that the king should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of Nebuchadnezzar: That he should not perish by the sword, but, being carried to Babel, should there die a natural death.

[2] The following year Jerusalem was surrounded, and more strictly besieged by Nebuchadnezzar's army; whereupon the King of Egypt, Pharaoh Hophra entered into Judea with his army to succour Zedekiah, of whose revolt he had been the principal author. But Jeremiah [3] gave the Jews faithful counsel, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of Egypt: for he assured them that they should return back again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly; for when the Chaldeans removed from Jerusalem to encounter the Egyptians, these bragging patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking Gaza in their way homewards, returned into Egypt as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor people in Jerusalem to their destined miseries, Jeremiah xxxiv. 11. 22.

In the meanwhile the Jews, [4] who, in the time of their extremity, had released their Hebrew bondmen and bondwomen, according to the law in the year of jubilee, and made them free, thereby to encourage them to fight, did now, upon the breaking up of the Chaldean army, repent of what they had done, and, thinking that all danger had been past, they held them by force to their former slavery. But the Chaldeans being returned to the siege, the prophet Jeremiah, [5] when the state of Jerusalem began now to grow to extremity, counselled Zedekiah to render himself to the Babylonians, [6] assuring him of his own life, and of the safety of the city, if he would do so. But his obstinate heart led him on to that wretched end which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty months the Chaldean army lay before Jerusalem, [7] and held it exceeding straitly besieged; for they built forts against it round about, 2 King. xxv. 1. or they surrounded the city with wooden towers, so as the besieged could neither sally out nor receive into the city any supplies of men or victuals. Josephus saith, [8] that they over-topped the walls with their high towers which they erected upon mounts, from which, with their engines, they did so beat upon the walls, that the defendants were forced to forsake their stations. And though the besieged also raised counter-buildings like unto these, yet the great Nebuchadnezzar, who commanded all the regions thereabouts, and had the woods and rivers at his command, found out means to disappoint and overthrow all the citizens endeavours, and to beat down their towers as fast as they raised them: For his own works were guarded by the walls of Jerusalem, whereas theirs within lay open to his batteries. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompany men straitly besieged) grew fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the Jews failed, the Chaldeans made a breach, and forcing an entry, their princes did seat themselves as lords of the town in the middle gate, 2 King. xxvi. 2, 3, 4. Jer. xxxix. 2, 3. and lii. 5, &c.

[1] Jer. xxxii. and xxxiv. [2] Jer. xliv. [3] Jer. xlvii. 3, 10. [4] Lev. xxv. 39, 40, &c.
[5] Jer. xxxiv. [6] Jer. xxxix. [7] Jer. xxxix. 1. and lii. 4. [8] Jer. xxxix.

Zedekiah, beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no other means to escape the present danger, lost both his courage and hope at once, and shifted himself, together with his wives, children, princes, and principal servants, out of the city by a way under-ground, leaving his amazed and now headless subjects to the merciless swords of their enraged enemies. Thus he, who, when the prophet Jeremiah perswaded him to render himself, despised both the counsel of God and the army and force of Nebuchadnezzar, used now the remedy which one calls, A woeful, shameful, and unfortunate shift.

By this secret subterranean vault Zedekiah stole away, and by the help of the dark night, recovered the plains or desarts of Jericho. But by reason of the train that followed him and his, (every one leading with him those whom he loved best) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended him, yet certain it is, that they, on whose fidelity he most relied, no sooner beheld the Chaldeans to draw near, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted for themselves in the desarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken no man regarded. And thus Zedekiah was taken by the ministers of God's vengeance, and being made a prisoner, together with his children and princes, he was carried to Riblah, in the tribe of Nepthalim, where Nebuchadnezzar then lay, as a place indifferent between Jerusalem and Tyre, with both which places he had at one time to do.

Now when Nebuchadnezzar had laid before Zedekiah the many graces and favours which he had conferred upon him,[1] together with the notable falsehood and perjury wherewith he had requited him, he commanded his children, princes, and friends, to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in this world, he caused his eyes to be put out, and so carried him like a slave to Babylon, where he consumed the rest of his life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein was that marvellous prophecy of Ezekiel fulfilled: "I will bring him to Babylon, and he shall not see it," Ezek. xii. 13.

Thus in the eleventh and last year of Zedekiah, which was the eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldeans entred Jerusalem by force, where, sparing neither sex nor age, they put all to the sword that they found therein.

In the year next following, Nebuzaradan,[2] the general of the Babylonish army, burnt the king's palace, and the whole city of Jerusalem, and after the fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the temple of God to the ground, the richest and most magnificent place that ever the sun saw, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a second search,[3] Nebuzaradan (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slain, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief and the second priest, two commanders of Zedekiah his men of war, five of houshold servants, and some others, carrying away to Babylon the ablest of the people through all Judea, and leaving the poorest labouring people, with some that followed the party of Nebuchadnezzar, to till the ground,[4] over whom he placed Gedaliah, the nephew of that Saphan whom Josias had formerly employed in the reformation of religion. This Gedaliah, a Jew by nation, left Zedekiah, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the war, and, by Jeremiah's desire to live with him, it's probable had embraced the same advice which the prophet gave to Zedekiah, which was, to submit himself to the Babylonian king, who being ordained of God for them, as an instrument of his justice, was therefore irresistible.

The prophet Jeremiah, being left to his own choice to live where he pleased, chose

[1] Jer. xxxiv. 3, &c. 2 King. xxv. 4, 7. Jer. xxxix. 4, 7. and xxii. 7, 11.
2 King. xxv. 8. [3] Jer. lii. 13. with xxxix. 8. [4] Jer. xl. 6.

to go to Gedaliah, to whom he was commended by Nebuzaradan,[1] and he not only entertained him kindly,[2] but comforted him and all the other Jews that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty so long as they remained obedient subjects to Nebuchadnezzar, by whom he was established provincial governour over his own nation.

But ere the year was expired, a prince of the late king's family, (who, during the siege of Jerusalem, had sheltered himself from the storm with Baalis king of the Ammonites) being attended by ten other chosen men, whilst Gedaliah feasted them in Mitspah, the city of his residence, they traiterously slew him, together with diverse Chaldeans and Jews that accompanied him.[3] This done they escaped, in their way encountering with eighty persons repairing toward Gedaliah with presents; they slew most of them, and only spared some who promised to discover to them some treasures that were hidden in the fields during the war. They took with them also a daughter of Zedekiah, committed to the care of Gedaliah by Nebuchadnezzar. This treachery of Ismael had been formerly discovered to Gedaliah by Johanan, one of the captains of the few remaining Jews, but he would not believe it.

Judea being now without a governour, (for Ismael durst not take it upon him, but fled as fast as he could to the Ammonites) the residue of the Jews, fearing the revenge of the Chaldeans, resolved to fly into Egypt, and besought Jeremiah to ask counsel of God for them, who returned answer, "That, if they remained in Judea, God would provide for them and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in Egypt,[4] they should then undoubtedly perish." Nothwithstanding which advice, the Jews held their determination, and despised the oracle of God; and, constraining Jeremiah and Baruch to accompany them, they went into Egypt, and by the permission of Pharaoh they dwelt in Taphnes; where, when Jeremiah often reproved them for their idolatry, foretelling the destruction of themselves and the Egyptians, he was, by these his own hard-hearted and ingrateful countrymen, stoned to death; and by the Egyptians, who greatly reverenced him, buried near the sepulchre of their kings, Jer. xlii. and xliii.

The nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign it was, when, destroying utterly the great and mighty city of Jerusalem, he exceedingly enriched himself with the spoils of it and the temple, and by that dreadful example terrified all those that should dare to resist him. From that time forward, he, to his three and twentieth year, laboured in the conquest of those adjoining countries, which God hath exposed unto his sword, and commanded to wear his yoke, namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sidonians, and Egyptians; though some of these were already become his followers, and served under him when Jerusalem was taken and burnt. But the Tyrians, whose city was built upon an island, and therefore secure from the invasion of any land army, and whose fleet was so strong that they needed not to fear any enemy at sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour city, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty king, employing all his wit and power to work their subversion.

That the city of Tyre was rather well pleased than any way discouraged with the destruction of Jerusalem, it appeareth by the words which Ezekiel condemneth as the common voice of Tyrus, Ezek. xxvi. 2. "Aha! the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished." Yet, at length, that great work before-mentioned began to appear above water, and so to threaten them with inevitable mischief.

Nebuchadnezzar still follows his work hard, notwithstanding all discouragements,

[1] 2 King. xxv. 18. Jer. xxxix. 8, 9. and lii. 14, 23. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 18, &c.
[2] Jer. xl. 6. [3] Jer. xli. 2. 2 King. xxv. 25. [4] Jer. xliii.

and in the thirteenth year of the siege, and the nineteenth of his reign, he had brought it to such perfection, that now the citizens despaired of holding out against him; whereupon all the chiefest of them embarked themselves, their families, and treasures in their fleet, and escaped to the isle of Cyprus; but the poorer sort were left to the fury of the enemy, who, being enraged for being put to so much pains, slew with the sword, not only such people of Tyre as dwelt on the continent, (who are called her daughters in the field) but the like execution was done in the street, into which, with excessive labour, the Chaldeans made way for his horses and chariots. "Thus Nebuchadnezzar made his army serve a great service against Tyrus, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare; yet had he no wages, nor his army," Ezek. xxix. 18. but was fain to rest contented with the honour of having destroyed that city, which in all mens judgments had been held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerful cities having made the name of the Chaldeans dreadful in the ears of all the nations round about, Nebuchadnezzar used this advantage of that reputation, which he had obtained by his victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable with less pains. The kingdom of Egypt was the mark which he chiefly aimed at; a country so abounding in riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any prince, finding himself strong enough, to pick occasion of quarrel against it. Besides, it was so far an enemy to the crown of Babylon, that, had it been far poorer, yet it must have been subdued, or the conquest of Syria could not have been secured.

Yet it was needful, that, before he entered upon this business, the countries adjacent should be reduced into such terms that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or, at least, be able not to work him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred (as in all prosperous enterprizes) with reason of state; for the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazor, and other adjoining regions, whom God, for their sins, had condemned to fall under the Babylonian yoke, were such as, regarding only their own gain, had, some of them like ravens, followed the Chaldean army to feed upon the carcasses that fell by the cruelty thereof. Others taking advantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the countries which, by his victories, belonged to Nebuchadnezzar; all of them thinking, that when the Babylonian had satisfied his fury, he would be forced to forsake those desolate countries, and leave the possession of them to those who could first seize upon them. Particularly the Edomites and Philistines had shewed much malice against the Jews when their city was taken, Ezek. xxv. 12, 15. Whether they had done any good service to the Chaldeans it appears not; if they did any, it is like to have been in reference to their own advantage, wherein yet they were deceived. The Ammonites were not contented to rejoice only at the fall of Jerusalem, but presently they entered upon the country of Gad, and took possession of it, as if, not the Chaldeans but they had subdued Israel, Ezek. xxv. 3. Jer. xlix. 1. Neither can it be imagined what other design Baalis, king of the Ammonites, had when he sent Ismael, a prince of the blood of Judah, to murther Gedaliah, whom the king of Babel had made governour over those that remained in Israel, and to carry captive into the Ammonites country the people that abode in Mizpah, than a desire of entangling Nebuchadnezzar with so many labours at once as should force him to retire into his own country, and abandon those wasted lands to himself and others for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the Moabites also did exercise, whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned as not doing right, Jer. xl. 14. and xli. 2. and x. and xxviii. 27, &c.

All these nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as either live in or that border upon desarts: and now the time ministred occasion to them to shew the uttermost cunning of their thievish wits. But Nebuchadnezzar made void all their

devices by sharp and sudden war upon them, overwhelming them with unexpected ruin, as it were in one night, according to the prophecies of [1] Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, who all foretold, with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the misery that should come upon them. It appears not with which of them he first began, but it seems that Moab was the last that felt his heavy hand; for so many interpret that prophecy of Isaiah, threatning Moab with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the destruction of Jerusalem, the next year after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition. This is evident, that all the principal towns in these countries were burnt, and the people either slain or made captives, few excepted, who saved themselves by flight, and had not courage to return to their habitations too hastily, much less to attempt any thing against Nebuchadnezzar, but lived as miserable outlaws until the end of the seventy years which God had appointed for the desolation of the countries, as well as of the land of Judea.

When, by a long course of victory, Nebuchadnezzar had brought into subjection all the nations of Syria and the bordering Arabians, in such wise as that no enemy to himself, or friend to the Egyptians, was left at his back, that might either impede his proceedings or take advantage of any misfortune that might befall him, then did he forthwith apply himself to the conquest of Egypt, upon which those other nations had formerly been dependants. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, have written so plainly that it's altogether needless to seek after any other authority to confirm the same. It was long before prophesied by Isaiah, that the king of Assyria, or Babylon, should lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even with their buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt, Isaiah, xx. 4.

But Ezekiel and Jeremiah, as their prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more plainly and precisely; for Ezekiel tells us clearly, that Egypt should be given to Nebuchadnezzar as wages for his great service which he had done against Tyre, Ezek. xxix. 18, 19, 20. He recounteth also in particular all the chief cities in Egypt, saying, "that these by name should be destroyed, and go into captivity: yea, and that Pharaoh and all his army should be slain by the sword," Ezek. xxx. 4, 10, &c. chap. xxxii. 2, &c. And the prophet Jeremiah saith thus, "Behold I will visit the common people of Noe, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods and their kings, even Pharaoh and all that trust in him; and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babel, and into the hands of his servants," Jer. xlvi. 25, 26. Josephus accordingly saith, "That Nebuchadnezzar, in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and in the fifteenth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, did conquer Egypt and kill the king thereof, appointing a viceroy to govern it." And it is evident that his victories, which followed his conquest of Syria, were such as did more enlarge his dominions, than all his former wars had done; for Ezekiel in his xxxth chapter, reckoneth up (besides the whole country of Egypt) Phut and Lud, with other nations that may seem to have reached as far as into Mauritania, which were conquered by him and added to his empire. And truly it is worth observation, how Pharaoh king of Egypt was infatuated by God, who thought himself most safe in his own country by reason of the well-defenced situation thereof; and therefore very unwisely suffered his enemies to make a clear way to his own doors by the conquest of all his friends and allies in Syria. For as the labour of this business did more harden than weary the Chaldean army, so the confidence and vain security of the Egyptians, relying upon the difficulty of the passages which the enemy were to make through the Arabian desarts; and the great advantage which the river Nilus afforded, did little avail them

[1] Isaiah xvi. 14.

when the war came on, yea it did much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution,—it being usually seen, that the hearts of men fail when those helps deceive them in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own virtue and valour.

Until this time the kingdom of Egypt had flourished under the rule and government of the Pharoahs for above the space of one thousand four hundred and eighty years. But from this time forward it remained forty years without a king, under the subjection of the Babylonians; and then at length it began to recover, by little and little, the former greatness: Yet so, that it never was dreadful unto others as it had been, God having said of that people, "At the end of forty years I will gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered; and I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return again into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be yet a base kingdom. It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them that they shall no more rule over the nations, and it shall be no more the confidence of the house of Israel," Ezek. xxix. 13, 14, 15, 16. For whereas it had been said of Pharaoh, "I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings," Isa. xix. 11. and whereas they had vaunted, "The river is mine, and I have made it," Ezek. xxix. 9. The princes of Egypt now became fools, the river failed them, the king himself was now taken and slain, and that ancient lineage was quite extinguished.

Of any wars made by Nebuchadnezzar after such time as he returned from the conquest of Egypt we read not, except that against Nineveh, the destruction whereof was foretold by the prophet. Nineveh, indeed, had been taken long before by Merodoch, and, together with the rest of Assyria, made subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a peculiar king, who, rebelling against Nebuchadnezzar, as Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, tributary kings of Judah, had done, was made partaker also of the same ruin. That the destruction of Nineveh followed the conquest of Egypt is clear by the comparison which Nahum the prophet made between this city that was to fall and the city of Noe in Egypt, which was fallen already, Nahum iii. 8, &c. "Art thou better than populous Noe, that was situate amongst the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea. Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite: Put and Lubim were her helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets, and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains. Thou also shalt be drunken; thou shalt be hid; thou also shalt seek strength because of the enemy," &c.

This great monarch having thus spent his younger days in enlarging his dominions, he betook himself to rest, that he might reap the fruit of his former labours; and the first thing that he applied himself to was to beautify his imperial city of Babylon, adding a new city to the old, which he compassed about with three walls, and made in them stately gates. And near the former palace he built a new one, more stately than it, wherein he raised stone-works like unto mountains, which he planted with all manner of trees. He made also pensile gardens (one of the world's wonders) borne upon arches, four square, each square being four hundred feet long, filled above with earth, whereon grew all sorts of trees and plants. The arches were built one above another in a convenient height, still increasing as they ascended. The highest, which did bear the walls on the top, were fifty cubits high, so that they equalized the highest mountains. He made also aquæducts for the watering of this garden, which seemed to hang in the air. This most sumptuous frame, which outlasted all the remainder of the Assyrian and all the Persian empire, is said to have been reared and finished in fifteen days. He erected also an image of gold in the plain of Dura, sixty cubits high and

six broad, commanding all his servants and subjects to fall down and worship it, Dan. iii. 1, &c.

But of all this, and of other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, save that which indeed is most profitable for us to consider, to wit, his overvaluing of his own greatness, which abased him to a condition inferior to the poorest of men. For, whereas God had honoured him, not only with many great and glorious victories, and much happiness in his own life, but with a rare discovery of things that were to come after him; yea, and had manifested the certainty of his dreams, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and given him the interpretation thereof by the prophet Daniel:[1] *He*, notwithstanding, became so forgetful of God, whose wonderful power he had seen and acknowledged, that he caused that golden image to be set up and worshipped, appointing a cruel death for them that should dare to disobey him, which was utterly unlawful and repugnant to the law of him that is King of kings; and thus he who so lately had worshipped Daniel, the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, now commanded a statue to be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God: From this impiety it pleased God to recall and reclaim him, by the wonderful and miraculous delivery of those three blessed saints[2] out of the fiery furnace, who, being thrown bound into the midst of it for refusing to commit that abominable idolatry, were preserved from all hurt of the fire, loosened from their bonds, accompanied by an angel, and at last called out by the king, and restored to their former honour.

Nebuchadnezzar, being amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, whom, by the erection of his image,[3] he had dishonoured. Yet was not this devotion so rooted in him, that he could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeal: Therefore was he forewarned of God in a dream, of a terrible judgment which hung over his head, which Daniel expounding, withal counselled him to break off his sin by righteousness, and his iniquities hy shewing mercy to the poor, that there might be a lengthening of his tranquillity, Dan. iv.; whence it seems, that injustice and cruelty were his faults for which he was thus threatned: But neither did the dream nor advice of Daniel so prevail; for probably he believed it not, but looked upon it as an idle dream; for that it seemed altogether unlikely that so great a monarch should be driven from amongst men, yea, compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eat grass as the oxen; this was altogether incredible in man's judgment, and therefore giving so little heed to it, it's no marvel that he had forgotten it at the year's end.

One whole year was given to this haughty prince wherein to repent, which respiting of the execution may seem to have bred in him forgetfulness of God's sentence. For at the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his royal palace of Babel, he was so overjoyed and transported with a vain contemplation of his own seeming happiness, that, without all fear of God's heavy judgment pronounced against him, he uttered these proud words: "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"

But his proud speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heaven told him, that his kingdom was departed from him, &c. And the same hour the thing was fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar, and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hair was grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like birds claws, Dan. iv. 33, &c.

This his punishment was singular and unexpected. For he ran amongst beasts in the fields and woods, where, for seven years he lived, not only as a savage man, but as a savage beast: for a beast he thought himself to be, and therefore fed himself in the same manner, and with the same food that beasts do. Not that he was changed in

[1] Dan. ii. 31, &c. [2] Dan. iii. 26. [3] Dan. iii. 29.

his external shape from a man to a beast: For, as St Jerome well expounds it, when he saith, ver. 34. that his understanding was restored unto him, he shewed that he had not lost his human shape, but his understanding, being stricken with a frenzy or deep melancholy, which made him think himself a beast.

Seven years being expired, Nebuchadnezzar was restored both to his understanding and to his kingdom; and (saith he) "I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation; and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing, and he doth according to his will in the army of heaven, and amongst the inhabitants of the earth: And none can stay his hand, or say unto him, what doth thou? At the same time my reason returned unto me; and for the glory of my kingdom, my honour and brightness returned unto me, and my counsellers and my lords sought unto me, and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent majesty was added unto me. Now therefore I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and extol and honour the King of Heaven, all whose works are truth, and his way is judgment, and those that walk in pride he is able to abase," Dan. iv. 34, 35, 36, 37.

How long he lived after this is uncertain, but all agree that he reigned about twenty months co-partner with his father in the kingdom, and about three and forty years by himself alone.

Whilst Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, raged in Judea, God prepared a worm, which in due time should eat out this spreading tree, by reason of the cry of his poor people which entred into his ears: According to that of the psalmist, Psal. cxxxvii. 8, 9. "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed: Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee, as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." For in this very year was Cyrus, the Perso-Median, born; whose father was a Persian, and his mother a Mede; of whom this very Nebuchadnezzar, at the hour of his death, uttered this prophecy: "There shall come a Persian mule, who shall make use of your devils, as his fellow-soldiers, to bring you into bondage." He calls Cyrus a mule, because he was to be born of a father and mother of two diverse nations.

The Life and Death of Cyrus the Great, the first Founder of the Empire of the Medes and Persians; represented by the Breast and Arms of Silver, in that Image, Dan. ii. 32. *and by a Bear,* Dan. vii. 5. *and by a Ram with two Horns,* Dan. viii. 3, 20. *and the Deliverer of the Israelites out of Babylon, the Seventy Years of their Captivity being expired. Whereby much Light is given to many of the Prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. By Samuel Clarke, sometime Minister in St Bennet Fink, London.*

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Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, King of Persia, by Mandanes, the daughter of Astyages, King of Media; he was so named by the prophet Isaiah, almost two hundred

years before he was born, Isa. xlv. 1, 4. "Thus saith the Lord unto Cyrus his anointed," &c.

Cyrus's first education was under his father Cambyses, with whom he lived till he was twelve years old, and somewhat more; at which time he was sent for, together with his mother Mandanes, by his grandfather Astyages, into Media.

In Media he served Astyages, first as one of his halberdiers, and then as one of his armour-bearers, till he was called home into Persia by his father Cambyses, when as yet he had one year to spend at school; and when he had spent sixteen years at school amongst boys, he spent ten years more amongst youths.

When Cyrus was now almost sixteen years old, Evilmerodach, the King of Assyria, being about to marry a wife, called Nicotris, made an inroad with a great army of horse and foot into the borders of Media, there to take his pleasure in hunting and harassing of the country: against whom Astyages, and Cyaxares his son, and Cyrus his grandchild, who then first began to bear arms, being but about fifteen or sixteen years old, marched out, met with him, and in a great battle, overthrew him, and drove him out of his borders. Indeed the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the father of Evilmerodach, gave courage to those that found him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prouder terms with the Babylonians, than in his flourishing estate they durst have used.

But Evilmerodach, being too proud to digest this loss which he had received by the Medes and their allies the Persians under Cyrus, he drew unto his party the Lydians, and all the people of the Lesser Asia, with great gifts and strong persuasions, hoping by their assistance to overwhelm his enemies with a strong invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out by a lingering war.

The issue of these great preparations made by Evilmerodach against the Medes was such as opened the way to the fulfilling divers prophecies, which were many years before uttered against Babel, by Isaiah and Jeremiah. For the Babylonians and their confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the Medes and Persians under their thick showers of arrows and darts, were encountered with an army of stout and well trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in a great battle, wherein Evilmerodach was slain. After which, that great empire, that was raised and upheld by Nebuchadnezzar, was grievously shaken and enfeebled under his unprosperous son, and left to be sustained by his grandchild Belshazzar,—a man more like to have overthrown it when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it when it was in a way of falling.

Xenophon relates the matter thus: "When the Babylonian had enlarged his empire with many victories, and was become lord of all Syria and many other countries, he began to hope, that if the Medes could be brought under his subjection, there would not then be left any nation adjoining able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field sixty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being joined, made an exceeding great army."

Considering therefore the strength of such a neighbour, he invited Crœsus, King of Lydia, a prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with other lords of Asia the Less, to his assistance, alledging that those eastern nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoined by league and many alliances, that it would not be easy, no nor possible, for any one nation to resist them.

With these suggestions, backed with rich presents, he drew to himself so many adherents, as he compounded an army of two hundred thousand foot and sixty thousand horse: of which ten thousand horse and forty thousand foot were brought by Crœsus, who had great cause of enmity against the Medes, for that they had made great wars against his father Allyattes. Whereupon Cyrus was, by his father Cambyses and the council of the kingdom, made general of the Persian army, and sent away into Media with thirty thousand soldiers and one thousand commanders, all of equal authority un-

der him; and, when he came thither, he was also made by his uncle Cyaxares, who had sent for him, general of the Median forces, and the management of the war against the Babylonian was wholly committed to him. With this army he marched against Evilmerodach and his associates, and, in a very bloody battle, overthrew them. In which defeat, Evilmerodach, king of Babylon, being slain, so many of his subjects revolted that Babylon itself could no longer be secured, but by the help of mercenaries, paid with great sums of money out of Asia the Less, Egypt, and other countries; which new levied forces were also defeated and scattered by Cyrus, who, following his advantage, possessed himself of a great part of the Lesser Asia. Those Persians which followed Cyrus, and were by him levied, are reckoned to be thirty thousand foot, of which one thousand were armed gentlemen; the rest of the common sort were archers, and such as used the dart or sling.

Crœsus, notwithstanding the men lost and the treasure spent in the quarrel of the Babylonians, yet did he conquer Æolis, Doris, and Ionia, provinces possessed by the Greeks in Asia the Less, adjoining to his kingdom of Lydia. He gave laws also to the Phrygians, Bithynians, Carians, Cysians, Paphlagonians, and other nations. He also enforced the Ephesians to acknowledge him for their lord. He also obtained a signal victory against the Sacæans, a nation of the Scythians: all which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident by reason of his good successes, and withal, envious at Cyrus's fame and prosperity; doubting also that his great victories might in the end grow perilous to himself, he consulted with the oracle of Apollo, whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts, what success he might hope for in his undertakings against Cyrus: from whom he received this ambiguous answer: "*Crœsus Halym penetrans, magnam pervetet opum vim.*" Crœsus passing over the river Halys, shall dissolve a great dominion. For the devil, being doubtful of his success, gave him this riddle, which might be construed either way, to the ruin of Persia or of his own Lydia.

Hereupon Crœsus (interpreting it as he most desired) resolved to stop the course of Cyrus's progress, and, therefore, despised all the arguments used by Sandanes to the contrary, who desired him to consider afore-hand, that he provoked a nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous region,—a people not covered with the soft silk of worms, but with the hard skins of beasts; not fed with meat to their fancies, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, and not of wine; and, in a word, a nation warlike, patient, valiant, and prosperous: over whom, if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled; and if by them he should be beaten and subdued, so great would his loss appear of all things which the world makes account of, that the same could neither be hastily recounted, nor easily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid and seasonable counsel, Crœsus having prepared a powerful army, advanced with the same toward Media; but in his passage he was retarded at Pterium, a city of Cappadocia, of great strength, which, whilst he attempted both by power and policy to take and conquer, Cyrus came on, and found the Lydians encamped before it. Neither of these champions were inferior to the other, either in strength or opinion. For out of doubt, Crœsus, as he excelled any prince of that age in riches and ability, so was he not inferior unto any in territories and fame that then lived. But kingdoms and commonwealths have their increase and periods from divine ordinance. This time was the winter of Crœsus's prosperity, the leaves of his flourishing estate being ready to fall, and that of Cyrus but in the first spring and flower; the God of all Power had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two armies were in view of each other, after diverse skirmishes had passed between them, the Persians and Lydians began to join together, and to encoun-

ter each other in gross bodies; and as either of them began to retreat, fresh supplies were sent in from both their kings. And as the Persians had somewhat the better of the day, so when the dark veil of night had hidden each army from the others view, Crœsus, doubting what success the rising sun might bring with it, quitted the field to Cyrus, and, with all speed possible, retreated towards his own country; and taking the next way thither, he recovered Sardis, the first city of Lydia, and his regal seat, without any pursuit made by Cyrus to retard him; where, being arrived, and nothing suspecting Cyrus's approach, or any other war for that winter, he dismissed his army, and sent the troops of his sundry nations to their own provinces, appointing them to reassemble at the end of five months, acquainting his commanders with his intent of renewing the war at the time appointed.

The morning being come, Cyrus, finding that the Lydians were departed, put his army in order to pursue after them, yet not so hastily, and at their heels, as to be discovered. But getting good intelligence of Crœsus's proceedings, he so ordered the matter that he presented not himself before Sardis till such time as Crœsus had disposed of his army and sent them to their winter-quarters. His coming being altogether unlooked for and unfeared, he had opportunity enough to surround Sardis with his army, wherein Crœsus had no other companies than the citizens and his ordinary guards, insomuch as, after fourteen days siege, Cyrus took the city by storm, and put all to the sword that made resistance.

Crœsus now having neither arms to fight, nor wings to fly, in this common calamity, he thrust himself into the heap and multitude of his miserable subjects, and had undergone the same lot with the rest of the vanquished persons had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life before, (by the extremity of passion and fear) cried out to a common soldier, who was with a drawn sword pursuing his father, that he should not kill Crœsus. Hereupon he was taken and imprisoned, and despoiled of all things, but only the expectation of death. Shortly after he was bound with fetters, and placed upon a large and high pile of wood, to be burnt to ashes thereon; to which, when fire was set and kindled, Crœsus remembering the discourse which long before he had with Solon the Athenian lawgiver, he thrice cried out, "O Solon, Solon, Solon;" and being demanded what he meant by the invocation of Solon, he at first used silence; but, being urged again, he told them that now he found that true which wise Solon had long since told him, That many men in the race and course of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himself to be happy indeed till his end.

Of this his answer, Cyrus being speedily informed, and thereby being put in mind of the mutability of fortune and of his own mortality, he commanded his ministers of justice speedily to withdraw the fire and to save Crœsus, and bring him to his presence; which being done, Cyrus demanded of him, Who it was that had persuaded him, or what reason had instigated him, to invade his territories, and to make him, of a friend, an enemy? To which Crœsus thus answered: "It was thy prosperous and my unprosperous destiny, (the Grecian gods withall flattering my ambition) that were the inventors and conductors of Crœsus's war against Cyrus.

Cyrus being much affected with this answer of Crœsus, and bewailing his estate, though he was victorious over him, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a king and his companion. Thus Herodotus relates it. But Xenophon saith, that Cyrus did entertain Crœsus friendly at the first sight, and makes no mention of any such cruel intent of burning him alive; and this may seem the more probable, because Crœsus was his grandmother's brother, and it's very likely that nearness of alliance might withhold Cyrus (if he had been vicious, which he was not) from so cruel a purpose as to have burnt him alive.

When Cyrus afterwards passed with his army over Araxes into Scythia, he left Crœ-

sus to be a companion and counsellor to his son Cambyses, whom he made governor over his empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the reign of Cyrus, and did afterwards accompany Cambyses in his expedition into Egypt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hands. At this time the races of three of the greatest kings in that part of the world came to an end; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medians, and Lydians, in Balthazzar, Xiaxares, or Darius Medus, and Crœsus.

After this Lydian war ensued the great conquest of Babylon, which gave unto Cyrus an empire so large and mighty, that he was justly reputed the greatest monarch then living upon the earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up is uncertain, only it seems that ten whole years did pass between his taking of those two cities of Sardis and Babylon; which time was not wholly spent in providing for the Assyrian war, but much of it in settling the estates which he had already purchased. Ctesias also tells us that, during this time Cyrus invaded Scythia, and being victorious over that nation, he took Amorges, their king, prisoner; but being in a second battle overthrown by Sparetha, the wife of Amorges, himself was taken prisoner, and so one king was released for the other. Gobrias about this time, (a nobleman, whose only son, the King of Babylon, in his father's life-time, had, in a hunting match, villainously slain) together with his friends, revolted to Cyrus.

It is very probable also, that no small part of those troubles which sprang up in the Lower Asia grew soon after Cyrus's departure with his victorious army, before the conquest was fully established. For after Cyrus was returned out of Asia the Less, many nations which were formerly conquered by Crœsus, and now by Cyrus, revolted from him; against whom he employed Pactias, and then Harpagus, who first reduced the Phocians under their former obedience, and then the rest of the Greeks that inhabited Asia the Less, as the Ionians, Carians, Æolians, and Lycians, who very resolutely (according to the strength that they had) defended themselves; but in the attempt upon Babylon itself, it is not to be questioned but Cyrus employed all his forces, having taken order beforehand that nothing should be able to divert him, or to raise that siege, or to frustrate that work upon which he did set all his rest.

And great reason there was that he should improve all his policy and strength unto the taking of that city, which, besides the fame and reputation that it held, as being the head of an empire, which depended thereupon, was so strongly fortified with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with the waters of Euphrates, that were unfordable, and so plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from fear and doubt of their estate, but through their confidence they derided and despised all the projects and power of their besiegers.

For not long before, Nicotris, the mother of Belshazzar, a witty and active woman, foreseeing the storm that was ready to fall upon Babylon from the Medes, to hinder their passing the river by boats into Babylon, she turned the river Euphrates, which before ran with a strait and swift course, drawing it through many winding channels which she had cut for that purpose, whereby she made it to run more slowly than formerly it did; and then she raised a huge dam upon each side of the river, and up the river, from the city-ward, she digged a vast pond, which was every way three or four hundred furlongs wide, into which she turned the river, thereby leaving the old channel of the river dry; which done, she fell to work and fenced the banks within the city with brick-walls, and raised the water-gates, answerable in every point to the rest of the walls, which were made on the farther side of the channel, round about the city. She built also a stately and magnificent bridge of stone in the midst of the city, which joined to the king's houses that stood on each side the river; and, having finished all her works and fortifications, she turned the river out of the pond into its right channel again.

And now came Cyrus to invade the country of Babylon, and appeared before the wall of the city, and there challenged the king to a duel or single combat, but he refused it. At this time Gadatis, a nobleman of Babylon, whom Belshazzar had gelt, upon a jealousy that he had of him with his wife, fell over to Cyrus, in revenge whereof the Babylonians sallied out and fell upon his lands, but Cyrus set upon them and routed them; at which time the Cadusii, whom Cyrus had appointed to bring up the rear of his army, unknown to Cyrus, set upon a country lying near to the city, but the King of Babylon falling out upon them, cut them all off. Yet Cyrus quickly revenged the death of his men, and then came to an agreement with Belshazzar to hold truce with the ploughmen on both sides, and the war to go on between the soldiers only. After which, passing beyond the city, he took in three of their forts, and so returned into the confines of Assyria and Media, and thither, upon his invitation, came his uncle Cyaxares, and was by him honourably received and entertained in a pavilion that had been the King of Assyria's: and winter now approaching, they entered into consultation to provide things necessary to maintain the siege.

The only hope of Cyrus with his Medes and Persians (who despaired of carrying by assault a city so well and strongly fortified and manned) was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessaries; whereof, though the town was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be imagined, that, amongst such a world of people as dwelt within those walls, one great want or other would soon appear amongst them, and vanquish the resolution of that unwarlike multitude. Yet in expecting that success of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much hardship and travel, and that all in vain, if they did not keep strict watch and sure guards upon all the avenues and quarters of it.

Which that he might the better do, he caused presently a vast trench, both for breadth and depth, to be cast round about the walls of the city, casting the earth ever towards his own army, and made store of bulworks all along upon it for his guards to be upon; and then, dividing his whole army into twelve parts, he ordered that each of them should watch his month by turn.

And yet this was a very hard work, considering the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, having neither men enough, nor yet sufficiently assured to their commander; the consideration whereof ministred unto the Babylonians matter of good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and others, quartered about their city to keep them in, who, having been their ancient friends and allies, were more like to join with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much diligence on the behalf of Cyrus, who had, as it were but yesterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoke of servitude.

Whilst the besieged were thus pleasing themselves with this foolish fancy and vain mirth, (the ordinary forerunners of sudden calamity) Cyrus, who, by God, that set him on work, was made strong, valiant, constant, and inventive, devised, and, by the labour of his men, digged so many channels as were capable of receiving the waters of Euphrates, and so to draw the same from the walls of Babylon, that thereby he might make his approaches the more facile and assured; which, when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he waited for a fit time wherein to put in execution what he had designed; for he had left in each of the trenches, towards the river, certain banks or heads uncut till he saw his opportunity.

Now Belshazzar finding neither any want or weakness within the city, nor any possibility for his enemies without to approach the walls, by reason of the great river that surrounded them, he prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publick plays, and other pastimes, and thereto invited a thousand of his princes or nobles, besides his wives, courtezans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know that his provisions were sufficient, not only for all needful uses, but even for superfluity and

excess; or because he hoped that his enemies by this time were discouraged, and even broken under their manifold disasters; or else he made this feast in honour of Bell, his most adored idol; or, lastly, because it was his birth or coronation day; or for many or most of these reasons.

Yea, he was not contented to use and shew such magnificence as no prince else could equal, but he lifted up himself against the God of heaven, Dan. v. 23. for he, his princes, his wives, and his concubines, made carousing cups of the golden and silver vessels which his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was at Jerusalem; and in contempt of the Lord of Heaven, he praised his own puppets made of gold, and silver, and brass, and iron, and wood, and stone. Whilst Belshazzar was thus triumphing, and had his brains well filled with vapours, he beheld a hand, which, by divine power, wrote upon the wall that was opposite to him, certain words which he understood not; wherewith so great a fear and amazement seized upon him, that the joints of his loins were loosed and his knees smote one against another; which passion, when he had in some measure recovered, he cried aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the southsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in his kingdom, to him that could read and expound the writing; but it exceeded their art and skill.

In this disturbance and astonishment, the queen, hearing what had passed, came in, and observing what distraction the king was in, after reverence done, she used this speech: "O king, live for ever; let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed; there is a man in thy kingdom in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father,[1] light, and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him, whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, [2] the king, I say, thy father, made master of the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the southsayers; for as much as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, in interpreting dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar. Now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation."

This queen was either the grandmother or the mother of Belshazzar; for it appears that she was not any of the king's wives, because she was absent from the feast, and, in regard of her age, past banquetting and dancing; yet, upon the report of the miracle, she came in to comfort and chear up the king; and whereas Daniel was forgotten and neglected by others of younger years and latter times, this old queen remembred well what Daniel had done in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, grandfather to this Belshazzar, and kept in mind both his religion and divine gifts.

When Daniel was brought into the king's presence, he said unto him, "Art thou that Daniel which art of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father [3] brought out of Jewry? I have heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods is in thee, and that light, and understanding, and excellent wisdom is found in thee; and now the wise men and the astrologers have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, but they could not do it: And I have heard of thee that thou canst make interpretations and dissolve doubts: Now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be third ruler in the kingdom."

But Daniel made answer in a far different stile from that which he had used to his grandfather; for the evil which he had foretold to Nebuchadnezzar he wished that it might befall his enemies; but to this king (whose contempt of God and vicious life he hated) he answered in these words, "Let thy gifts be to thy self, and give thy re-

[1] Or grandfather. [2] Or grandfather. [3] Or grandfather.

wards to another: Yet I will read the writing to the king, and make known to him the interpretation;" which yet before he did, he shewed him the cause of God's judgments against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the king and all his wise men were utterly ignorant; the substance whereof is this, That Belshazzar, forgetting God's goodness to his father, whom all nations feared and obeyed, and yet for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he had deprived him of his estate and understanding, so, upon the acknowledgement of God's infinite power, he restored him to both again: "And thou his son," said he "O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thy heart, though thou knowest all this, but hast lifted up thy self against the Lord of Heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drank wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, &c. and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified: Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written, *mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*; whereof this is the interpretation: *Mene*, God hath numbred thy kingdom, and finished it: *Tekel*, Thou art weighed in the ballances, and art found wanting: *Peres*, Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians."

The very evening or night of this day, wherein Belshazzar thus feasted, and wherein these things were done, Cyrus, either by his espeials, or being inspired by God himself, whose ensign he followed in these wars, finding the time and opportunity fit for him, even whilst the king's head and the heads of his nobility were no less distempered with the vapours of wine than their hearts were with the fear of God's judgments, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with all speed and diligence, whereby that great river Euphrates was quickly drawn dry, and himself with his army passing through the channel, which was now dry, without any opposition, they easily made their entrance into the city, finding none to disturb them; *invadunt urbem somno, vinoque sepultam.* All the town lay buried in wine and sleep, and such as came in the Persians way were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filled the streets with an uncertain tumult.

Such of the Assyrian lords as had formerly revolted from Belshazzar to Cyrus, did now conduct a selected company to the king's palace, which being easily forced by them, they rushed strait into the chamber where the king and his princes were banqueting, and there slew both him and them without mercy, who strove in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatned to take away. Now was that prophecy fulfilled, Jer. li. 30, 31, 32. "The mighty men of Babylon have forborn to fight; they have remained in their holds, their might hath failed, they became as women; they burnt her dwelling places, her bars are broken. One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end; and that the passages are stopped (viz. of the river Euphrates) and the reeds they have burnt with fire, and the men of war are affrighted." The prophet Isaiah also, two hundred years before this subversion of Babylon, in his forty-seventh chapter, elsewhere, describeth this destruction so feelingly and lively as if he had been present at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject; which prophecy he begins with these words: "Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground; there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: For thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate, &c." And though it cannot be doubted that God used Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans as his instruments to punish the idolatry and wickedness of the Jews, yet did he not forget that, in the execution of God's judgments, they had used much rigour and extremity, as we see Isaiah xlvii.

6. "I was wroth with my people; I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand; thou didst shew them no mercy: upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid the yoke;" and again, "I will rise up against them, says the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name, and the remnant, and the son, and the nephew:" Meaning Evilmerodach and Belshazzar. And again, Isaiah xiii. 15, &c. "Every one that is found shall be thrust through, and every one that is joined to them shall be slain with the sword; their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Mede against them, which shall not regard silver, and as for gold they shall not delight in it; their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children. And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah," &c.: Read also chapter fourteenth. No historian that was either present at this victory of Cyrus, or that received the report from others truly as it was, could better describe, and leave the same to posterity after it was acted, than Isaiah hath done in many parts of his prophecy, which were written two hundred years before any of these things were attempted.

The greatness and magnificence of Babylon, were it not by diverse grave authors recorded, might seem altogether fabulous; for it is reported for truth, that one part of the city knew not that the other was taken three days after; which is not impossible, if we consider the vast circumference of it. Diodorus Siculus saith, that it was in compass three hundred and sixty furlongs, which make forty-five miles. The walls were so thick that six chariots might pass in front thereon, and they were three hundred and sixty-five foot high, adorned and beautified with one hundred and fifty towers. Strabo gives a greater circuit, reckoning it at three hundred eighty-five furlongs, which makes forty-eight miles and one furlong. Herodotus finds the compass yet to be greater, namely four hundred and eighty furlongs in circuit; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal cubits. For entrance it had a hundred gates of brass, with posts and hooks to hang them on of the same metal; and therefore did the prophet Isaiah rightly entitle Babylon the princess and glory of kingdoms, Isaiah xlvii. 5. and xiii. 19.

But when Cyrus had won her, he stript her out of her princely robes and made her a slave, dividing, not only her goodly houses and her whole territory, with all the riches therein contained amongst his soldiers, but also bestowed the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves, upon those that had taken possession of the goods.

Cyrus having obtained this great and signal victory, the glory of which was a reward for his service done for him, who was the author of it, and of all goodness, and thereby translated the empire of the Chaldeans to himself, according to the prophecies which went afore of him; in the first year of his empire, he made a decree that the captive Jews should return again into their own country of Judea, and that they should build again the house of God in Jerusalem, having now endured and finished the seventy years captivity foretold by the prophet Jeremiah. The tenor of which decree was thus:

Thus saith Cyrus King of Persia, "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? Let his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is God) which is at Jerusalem: And whoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver and with gold, and with goods and with beasts, besides the free will offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem," Ezra i. 2, 3, 4. He also brought forth and restored the vessels of the

house of the lord which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of the temple at Jerusaem, and had put them into the house of his gods; these were brought forth and numbered unto Shesbazzar, the Prince of Judah; and this is the number of them; thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, nine and twenty knives, thirty basons of gold, silver basons of a second sort four hundred and ten, and of other vessels a thousand; all the vessels of gold and silver were five thousand and four hundred.

The number of Jews that then returned out of Chaldea, under their leader Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, and nephew to King Jeconias, and Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, were about fifty thousand: And as soon as they arrived at Jerusalem, they built an altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon according to their law, and afterwards bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the building of the temple.

Cyrus having set all things in order at Babylon, returned through Media into Persia, to his father Cambyses and his mother Mandanes, who were yet living; and from thence returning again into Media, he married the only daughter and heir of Cyaxares, and for dowry, had the whole kingdom of Media given him with her; and when the marriage was finished, he presently went his way, and took her with him; and coming to Babylon, from thence he sent governors into all his dominions; into Arabia he sent Megabyzus; into Phrygia the Greater, Artacaman; into Lydia and Ionia, Chrysantas; into Caria, Adusius; into Phrygia Hellespontiaca, or the Less, Pharmichas; but into Cilicia, and Cyprus, and Paphlagonia, he sent no Persians to govern them, because they voluntarily and of their own accord took his part against the King of Babylon; yet he caused even them also to pay him tribute.

Cyrus having spent one whole year with his wife in Babylon, gathered thither his whole army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, and two thousand iron chariots, and six hundred thousand footmen, and, having furnished himself with all necessary provisions, he undertook that journey wherein he subdued all the nations inhabiting from Syria to the Red Sea.

The time that Cyrus enjoyed in rest and pleasure after these great victories, and the attainment of his empire, is generally agreed upon by all chronologers to have lasted only seven years; in which time he made such laws and constitutions, as differ little from the ordinances of all wise kings, that are desirous to establish a royal power to themselves and their posterity, which are recorded by Xenophon.

The last war, and the end of this great King Cyrus, is diversly written by historians: Herodotus and Justin say, that after these conquests, Cyrus invaded the Massagetes, a very warlike nation of the Scythians governed by Tomyris their queen; and that in an encounter between the Persians and these northern Nomades, Tomyris lost her army, together with her son Spargabises, that was the general of it. In revenge whereof this queen making new levies of men of war, and prosecuting the war against Cyrus, in a second sore battle, the Persians were beaten, and Cyrus was taken prisoner, and that Tomyris cut off his head from his body, and threw it into a bowl of blood, using these words: "Thou that hast all thy time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill, and satiate thyself with it." This war, which Metasthenes calls Tomyrique, lasted about six years.

But more probably this Scythian war was that which is mentioned before, Cyrus made against the Scythians after the conquest of Lydia, according to Ctesias, who calleth Tomyris, Sparetha, and makes the end of it otherwise, as you may see before.

The same Ctesias also recordeth, that the last war which Cyrus made was against Amarhæus, King of the Derbitians, another nation of the Scythians, whom, though he overcame in battle, yet there he received a wound whereof he died three days after.

Strabo also affirmeth, that he was buried in his own city of Pasagardes which him-

self had built, and where his epitaph was to be read in Strabo's time, which he saith was this:

O, vir, quicunque es, et undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego sum Cyrus, qui Persis imperium constitui; pusillum hoc terræ, quo meum tegitur corpus, mihi ne invideas. O thou man, whosoever thou art, and whensoever thou cometh, for I was not ignorant that thou shouldest come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian empire: Do not envy unto me this little earth with which my body is covered.

When Alexander the Great returned from his Indian conquests, he visited Pazagardes, and caused this tomb of Cyrus to be opened, either upon hope of great treasure supposed to have been buried with him, or upon a desire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies; when the sepulchre was opened there was found nothing in it, save an old rotten target, two scythian bows, and a sword. The coffin wherein his body lay, Alexander caused to be covered with his own garment, and a crown of gold to be set upon it.

Cyrus finding in himself that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his nobility, with his two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis, and after a long oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others, about the immortality of the soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the ill, and good deservings of every man in this life, he exhorted his sons, by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which makes it probable that he received the knowledge of the true God from Daniel, whilst he governed Susa in Persia; and that Cyrus himself had read the prophecy of Isaiah, wherein he was expressly named, and by God pre-ordained for the delivery of his people out of captivity; which act of delivering the Jews, and of restoring of the holy temple, and the city of Jerusalem, was, in true consideration, the noblest work that ever Cyrus performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of God's power, used for chastising of many nations, and the establishing of a government in those parts of the world, which yet was not to continue long: But herein he had the favour to be an instrument of God's goodness, and a willing advancer of his kingdom upon earth, which must last for ever.

Cyrus had issue two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis, and three daughters, Atossa, Meroe, and Artistona. At his death he bequeathed his empire to his eldest son Cambyses, and appointed Smerdis his younger son to be Satrapa, or Lieutenant of Media, Armenia, and Cadusia. He reigned about one and thirty years, and died aged seventy.

The Greek historians wholly ascribe the conquest of Babylon to Cyrus, because that he commanded the army in chief; yet the scriptures attribute it to Darius, King of the Medes, whose general Cyrus was: For when Babylon was taken, and Belshazzar slain, it is said, Dan. v. 31. that Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about sixty-two years old. It was Darius also that placed officers over the several provinces thereof, as we read, Dan. vi. 1, 2. "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom a hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom, and over these three presidents, of whom Daniel was the first," &c. And thus was it prophesied by Isaiah long before; Behold! I will stir up the Medes against them, &c. and by the prophet Jeremiah, the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the King of the Medes: For his device is against Babylon, &c. Jer lv. 11. And again, verse 28. "Prepare against her the nations, with the King of the Medes, the captains thereof, and all the rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion."

But certain it is, that the honour of that great victory over Babylon was wholly given to Cyrus, who was the instrument pre-ordained and fore-named by God himself, not only for this action, but also for the delivery of his church: Yet Daniel makes it plain, that himself not only lived a great officer under King Darius, but that he continued in that estate to the first year of Cyrus, which was not long after, which also was the year of Daniel's death.

As for the age of Cyrus, we are beholden to Tully for it; who, in his first book *de Divinatione*, cites it out of one Dionysius, a Persian writer, in this manner: "The sun" (said Dionysius) "appeared unto Cyrus in his sleep, standing at his feet, which, when Cyrus thrice endeavoured to take in his hands, the sun still turned aside, and went away: and the Magi, who were the learned men amongst the Persians, said that by his thrice offering to take hold of the sun, was portended to him that he should reign thirty years; which came to pass accordingly: For he lived to the age of seventy years, and began not to reign till he was forty.

In the first year of Belshazzar, Daniel had the vision shewed him of the four beasts, signifying the four monarchies; and of God delivering over all power and sovereignty to the son of man, Dan. vii.

In the third year of Belshazzar, the vision of the ram and goat, foreshewing the destruction of the Persian monarchy by Alexander the Great, and the great misery which Antiochus should bring upon the people of God was shewed to Daniel, living then at Susa, in the province of Elam, upon the bank of the river Ulai, which environed the castle of Susa, and parted the provinces of Susa and Elemais, Dan. viii.; whence we may collect, that at that time the province of Susa was not in the hands of the Medes and Persians, but of the Babylonians, under whom Daniel then lived.

Darius the Mede, son of Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus, the son of Astyages, took upon him the kingdom, which was delivered over to him by Cyrus the conqueror, Dan. v. 31, and ix. 1. The angel, in this first year of his reign, is said to have confirmed and strengthened him in his kingdom, Dan. xi. 1. After which he reigned two years.

Towards the end of the first year of Darius the Mede, the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity expired, which began under Jehoiakim, in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, at which time God promised they should return into their own country, Jer. xxix. 10. Thus saith the Lord, "that after the seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you, in causing you to return to this place. Upon consideration of which very time, now so near approaching, it was, that Daniel poured out that most fervent prayer for the remission of his own sins, and of his people's; and for that promised deliverance out of their captivity. Whereupon the angel Gabriel brought him an answer, not only concerning this, but also the spiritual deliverance of the church to be wrought at last by the death of the Messiah, uttering that most famous and memorable prophecy of the seventy weeks, Dan. ix. 16.

The Samaritans, by the means of some courtiers about Cyrus, whom they had bribed for that purpose, disturbed the Jews in their building of the temple, Ezra iv. 5. Whence proceeded that three weeks mourning of the prophet Daniel, which fast he begun about the third day of the first month, in the third year of Cyrus, Dan. x. 1, 4. After which, upon the four and twentieth day of the first month, that vision of the Kings of Persia, of Alexander the Great, and his successors, and their kingdoms, was shewed and revealed unto Daniel as he stood upon the bank of Hiddikel, or Tygris; all which is contained in the three last chapters of Daniel; which (as may be collected out of the close thereof) was the last vision that ever he had, and that but a little before his death.

The Last Sayings, or Dying Legacy of Mr Thomas Hobbs of Malmsbury, who departed this Life on Thursday, December 4th, 1679.

Printed for the Author's Executors, 1680.

Of Hobbs and his writings so much is known, that nothing need be said; and, lest any objection should be thought to lie against the contents of the following paper, (which is indeed a curiosity, though no more than a brief of the system diffused through his works) the editor has annexed to it one of the most full and solemn recantations that ever was made, by one of his pupils. To these remarks, by the original editor of the Somers Tracts, it may be added, that this tract, which appeared as a broad-side in December 1679, was compiled from the writings of the philosopher of Malmesbury, by Charles Blount, son of Sir Henry Blount, for the purpose of exposing the deistical doctrines of Hobbes, by concentrating them into one focus.

——*Quid mihi curæ erit Transfuga?*—SENEC.

FEAR of power invisible, feigned by the mind, or imagined from tales publicly allowed, is religion; not allowed, is superstition.

It is with the mysteries of religion as with wholesome pills for the sick; which, swallowed whole, have the virtue to cure; but chewed, are for the most part cast up again without effect.

To say that God hath spoken to a man in a dream, is no more than to say, he dreamt that God spake to him.

To say he hath seen a vision, or heard a voice, is to say that he hath dreamt between sleeping and waking.

To say he speaks by supernatural inspiration, is to say he finds an ardent desire to speak, or some strong opinion of himself, for the which he can alledge no natural reason.

In matters of right or interest, where reason is against a man, a man will be against reason.

Evil men, under the pretext that God can do any thing, are so bold as to say, he does every thing that may serve their turns.

As for witches, I think not that their witchcraft is any real power; but yet that they are justly punished for the false belief they have, that they can do such mischief, joined with a purpose to do it if they could.

For fairies and walking ghosts, I think that opinion is taught only to keep in credit the use of exorcisms, crosses, and holy water, to lay those spirits which were never raised.[1]

The best prophet naturally is the best guesser; and the best guesser he that is most versed and studied in the matter he guesses at.

[1] Hobbes' enemies asserted that he was himself afraid of apparitions.

Whatsoever we imagine is finite; therefore there is no idea or conception of any thing we call infinite.

When we believe another man's revelation, not from the reason of the thing revealed, but from the authority and good opinion of him to whom it was so revealed, then is the speaker or enthusiast the only object of our faith, and the honour done in believing is done to him only, and not to him that revealed it: So, on the contrary, if Livy says the gods once made a cow speak, and we believe it not, herein we distrust not God but Livy.

There is no greater argument of madness than the arrogating to one's self inspiration; for if some man in Bedlam, after he had made a long sober discourse, should at last tell you he was God the Father, I think you need expect no further argument for his madness.

He that believes a thing only because it may be so, may as well doubt of it, because it may be otherwise.

A certainty of error in any part of a thing implies a possibility of error in the whole.

Nil fuit in intellectu, quod non fuit prius in sensu.

When a pope excommunicates a kingdom, he may rather be said to excommunicate himself; the pope being the only loser thereby.

That demoniacks were no other than mad-men, appears from Job x. 20. "He hath a devil, and is mad."

As a man that is born blind, hearing men talk of warming themselves by the fire, and being brought to warm himself by the same, may easily conceive there is somewhat there which men call fire, and is the cause of the heat he feels, but can have no idea of it in his mind, such as they have that see it: So also, by the visible things of this world, and their admirable order, a man may conceive there is a cause of them which men call God, and yet not have an idea or image of him in his mind.

No persons ought so justly to die for religion as those that get their living by it.

To measure good or evil by the reward or punishment assigned by the laws of our own country, is like little children who have no other measure of good or ill but from the correction of their parents.

The church is a mother-in-law to the laity, but an own mother to the clergy.

That the popish consecration is no other than conjuration or incantation; for when the priests in the sacrament pretend to turn the bread into Christ's body, wherein differ they from the Egyptian conjurers, who are said to have turned the rods into serpents, and the water into blood? However, if (as in the sacrament the bread remained bread still) the rods had also remained rods still, and they had nevertheless faced down the king, contrary to his own eye-sight, that they were serpents, what impudent rogues had these been? That had been both enchantment and lying; and so is it in transubstantiation.

That we might not give too much credit to all pretended miracles, let us examine the many impostures wrought by confederacy, wherein we shall find, that there is nothing, how impossible soever to be done, that is impossible to be believed: For two men conspiring, one to seem lame, and the other to cure him with a charm, will deceive many; but many conspiring, one to seem lame, another to cure him, and all the rest to bear witness, will deceive more.

In these four things, viz. opinion of ghosts, ignorance of second causes, devotion towards what men fear, and taking of things casual for prognostics, consisteth the natural seed of religion; which, by reason of different fancies, passions, and judgments of several men, hath grown up into ceremonies so different, that those which are used by one man, are, for the most part, ridiculous to another.

That law which is absolutely necessary to mankind's future happiness, ought (if the

law-giver be just) to be generally made known unto all men: No one revealed law was ever made known unto all men; *ergo*, no one revealed law is absolutely necessary to mankind's future happiness.

That God is almighty matter.

That the prime law of nature in the soul of man is that of self-preservation.

That the law of the civil magistrate is the only obliging rule of just and unjust.

Dreams are the reverse of our waking imaginations; the motion when we are awake beginning at one end, and when we dream at the other.

The Recantation of Daniel Scargill, publicly made before the University of Cambridge, in Great St Mary's, July the 26th, 1669.

Hobbes wrote a defence against the accusations brought in this Recantation, but it was never printed.

WHEREAS I Daniel Scargill, late batchelor of arts, and fellow of Corpus Christi College in the University of Cambridge, being, through the instigation of the devil, possessed with a foolish proud conceit of my own wit, and not having the fear of God before my eyes, have lately vented and publicly asserted in the said university, diverse wicked, blasphemous, and atheistical positions, (particularly, that all right of dominion is founded only in power; that if the devil be omnipotent he ought to be obeyed; that all moral righteousness is founded in the positive law of the civil magistrate only; that the scriptures of God are not law, farther than they are enjoined by the civil magistrate; that the civil magistrate is to be obeyed though he should forbid the worship of God, or command theft, murder, and adultery) professing, that I gloried to be an Hobbist and an atheist; and vaunting that Hobbes should be maintained by Daniel, that is by me. Agreeably unto which principles and positions, I have lived in great licentiousness; swearing rashly, drinking intemperately, boasting myself insolently, corrupting others by my pernicious principles and example; to the high dishonour of God, the reproach of the university, the scandal of Christianity, and the just offence of mankind. And whereas the vice-chancellor and heads of the said university, upon notice of these my foul enormities, upon a full examination and clear conviction of these premised offences, after suspension from my degree, did expell me out of the said university. Now, I the said Daniel Scargill, after frequent consideration, strict examination, and serious review of the said positions, do find, by the grace of that God whom I had denied, that they are not only of dangerous and mischievous consequence, inconsistent with the being of God, and destructive to human society, but that they are utterly false, the suggestions of a lying spirit wholly, against my own judgment resolved upon better consideration, as well as against the common sense of mankind. And I do freely acknowledge the proceedings and sentence of my governors, the vice-chancellor and heads of the university, to be just and equal, agree

able to the duty of their place and the trust reposed in them; that they could not have done less to vindicate the divine honour, and suppress that mischief growing up in this age which no former hath known.

And now I adore and bless the highest majesty of God, in his infinite mercy to me, that he hath not suffered me to go on unreclaimed in my enormous principles and practices, but hath made my face to be ashamed that I may seek his name. "Righteousness belongeth unto thee, O Lord; but unto me," and to those who have seduced me, and to those who have been seduced by me, "shame and confusion of face." Oh, what height of wickedness had I arrived unto! For I must confess myself guilty of impleading the divine Majesty at the tribunal of human wit, making men judge whether God should be God or no. Nay, whereas the devil, my tempter, to whom I had hearkned, doth believe and tremble, I, vile wretch! have been void of the faith and fear of God, in the manifold manifestations of him. Wherefore, I humbly ask pardon of God above all, whom I have blasphemed; of my governors in the university, whom I have disturbed; of all Christians, and all men, for the great offence I have given unto all; more especially of so many as have been misled into any error or vice by me. And I do also humbly and earnestly beseech all men, especially so many of the younger scholars as have been seduced by me, (who now abhor what I formerly boasted to assert) that they beware, by my example, of the most subtle insinuations of the devil, in the vain ostentation of their own wit. "That they lean not to their own understanding, but consult the holy scriptures, the lively oracles of God; that from thence they may learn φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, "to be wise unto sobriety," as the holy apostle, with great wisdom, requires. And now I humbly hope and trust in the infinite mercy of that God against whom I had audaciously opened my unhallowed mouth, that He, who hath promised that all sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men (excepting only that resolved malicious blasphemy against the Holy Ghost) will be graciously pleased to glorify his mercy in the forgiveness of my most detestable errors and abominable sins. And I thank God that he hath awakened me in good measure to a just detestation of the accursed positions asserted by me, and of all other like wicked principles.

Wherefore I do here, in the presence of God, angels, and men, cast myself down in a deep dread of the just judgments and vengeance of God upon the accursed atheism of this age; acknowledging myself to be highly guilty of the growth and spreading thereof, having contributed what my profane wit could devise, or my foul mouth express, to instil it into others, or confirm them therein. And I do profess I believe, (and judge it most reasonable so to believe) that the openly professed atheism of some, and the secret atheism of others, is the accursed root of all that abounding wickedness, perjury, sacrilege, debauchery, and uncleanness in this present age: That, in a deep sense of that wretched part I have acted in the propagating thereof, I do now abhor myself in dust and ashes; and that, from the bottom of my heart, I do disclaim, renounce, detest, and abhor those execrable positions asserted by me or any other: Particularly,

I. That all right of dominion is founded only in power.

II. That all moral righteousness is founded only in the law of the civil magistrate.

III. That the holy scriptures are made law only by civil authority.

IV. That whatsoever the civil magistrate commands is to be obeyed, notwithstanding contrary to divine moral laws.

V. That there is a desirable glory in being, and being reputed, an atheist; which I implied when I expressly affirmed that I gloried to be an Hobbist and an atheist.

For these unhallowed assertions and expressions I now find such inward contrition and remorse, that I pray God in his mercy may withhold me from relapse, or his judgments prevent it. But do I think that a bare recantation can satisfy for my prodigious

offences? No, let me do penance all my days, submitting myself to God's will, and the charity of pious minds. And whatsoever my portion may be in this world, let me live and die in the fear of God and faith of Christ! Amen.

Now, lest any one should mistake or suspect this confession and unfeigned renunciation of my sinful and accursed errors, for an act of civil obedience or submission in me, performed, according to my former principles, at the command of my superiors, in outward expression of words, though contrary to my judgment and inward thoughts of my heart; or that I have not now expressed the sincere and secret sense of my soul; I call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, that I loath and abhor such practices as the basest and most damnable hypocrisy. That, from my heart and soul, I detest such principles in all persons as worse than the basest villanies and reservations which the jesuits are said to practise or allow. And I openly avow, that I do acknowledge that all persons so principled ought to be held by all mankind as the most dangerous and declared enemies of the common faith amongst men: That they are not to be trusted upon any obligation of their faith, or pretensions to piety, loyalty, or common honesty, in any corporation, college, university, city, commonwealth or kingdom; but that, by those principles, destructive to all society and commerce amongst men, they may and do delude and defeat all oaths and protestations, all faith given to God or man. That they may and will comply, if their own interest or advantage prompt them to it, with any invader or usurper; with any faction or growing sect, however destructive to all order and the very being of human society in the world. I believe also, and openly avouch, that no power on earth, no persuasion or imagination about natural right, no opinion in pretended philosophy concerning self-preservation, can free me from the obligation that is now upon me, in this my open profession of repentance for my accursed errors and grievous sins, to speak the truth in sincerity before God and man.

This recantation and sincere profession I make willingly and freely, of my own mind and choice, not in compliance with the command or will of any other, not upon design to gain a better opinion amongst men in the world, not for any worldly advantage, profit, or self-end of my own; but out of a hearty detestation of my foul errors and sins: And I am glad of this opportunity to disburden my soul, oppressed with the weight of the same.

So help me God,

DANIEL SCARGILL.

[Out of Sir Thomas Webster's Collection.]

An Historical Narration concerning Heresy, and the Punishment thereof. By Thomas Hobbes of Malmsbury,

Anno 1680.

In 1666, the House of Commons entertained a bill to punish atheism and profaneness, the penalties of which were distinctly understood to be levelled against Hobbes, whose book of the Leviathan and Treatise De Cive had excited great and just reprehension. In considerable alarm at these circumstances, the philosopher composed and published this treatise, for the purpose of shewing that the cognisance of heresy was vested by law in the high commission court, abolished before the civil war; and that his book could not be made the subject of indictment under any subsequent statute, *ex post facto*. Among the various treatises of this celebrated character, there is none in which he has displayed more ingenuity, learning, and address.

THE word heresy is Greek, and signifies a taking of any thing, and particularly the taking of an opinion. After the study of philosophy began in Greece, the philosophers, disagreeing among themselves, had started many questions, not only about things natural, but also moral and civil; because every man took what opinion he pleased, each several opinion was called a heresy; which signified no more than a private opinion, without reference to truth or falsehood. The beginners of these heresies were chiefly Pythagoras, Epicurus, Zeno, Plato, and Aristotle; men who as they held many errors, so also found they out many true and useful doctrines in all kinds of learning; and for that cause were well esteemed of by the greatest personages of their own times; and so also were some few of their followers.

But the rest, ignorant men, and very often needy knaves, having learned by heart the tenets, some of Pythagoras, some of Epicurus, some of Zeno, some of Plato, some of Aristotle; and, pretending to take after them, made use thereof to get their living by the teaching of rich mens children that happened to be in love with these famous names. But by their ignorant discourse, sordid and ridiculous manners, they were generally despised, of what sect or heresy soever they were, whether they were Pythagoreans, or Epicureans, or stoicks, (who followed Zeno) or academicks, (followers of Plato) or peripateticks, (followers of Aristotle;) for these were the names of heresies, or, as the Latins call them, *sects, à sequendo;* so much talked of from after the time of Alexander till this present day, and that have perpetually troubled or deceived the people with whom they lived, and were never more numerous than in the time of the primitive church.

But the heresy of Aristotle was more predominant than any, or perhaps than all the rest: Nor was the name of heresy then a disgrace, nor the word heretick at all in use, though the several sects, especially the Epicureans and the stoicks, hated one another; and the stoicks being the fiercer men, used to revile those that differed from them with the most despightful words they could invent.

It cannot be doubted, but, that by the preaching of the apostles and disciples of Christ in Greece and other parts of the Roman empire, full of these philosophers, many thousands of men were converted to the Christian faith, some really and some feignedly, for factious ends, or for need; (for Christians lived then in common, and were charitable:) And because most of these philosophers had better skill in disputing and oratory than the common people, and thereby were better qualified both to defend and propagate the gospel, there is no doubt (I say) but most of the pastors of the primitive church were for that reason chosen out of the number of these philosophers; who retaining still many doctrines, which they had taken up on the authority of their former masters, whom they had in reverence, endeavoured many of them to draw the scriptures every one to his own heresy; and thus at first entered heresy into the church of Christ. Yet these men were all of them Christians, as they were when they were first baptized; nor did they deny the authority of those writings which were left them by the apostles and evangelists, but interpreted them many times with a bias to their former philosophy. And this dissention amongst themselves was a great scandal to the unbelievers, and which not only obstructed the way of the gospel, but also drew scorn and greater persecution upon the church.

For remedy whereof, the chief pastors of churches did use, at the rising of any new opinion, to assemble themselves for the examining and determining of the same; wherein, if the author of the opinion was convinced of his error, and subscribed to the sentence of the church assembled, then all was well again; but if he still persisted in it, they laid him aside, and considered him but as an heathen man; which, to an unfeigned Christian, was a great ignominy, and of force to make him consider better of his own doctrine; and sometimes brought him to the acknowledgment of the truth. But other punishment they could inflict none, that being a right appropriated to the civil power. So that all the punishment the church could inflict was only ignominy; and that among the faithful, consisting in this, that his company was by all the godly avoided, and he himself branded with the name of heretick in opposition to the whole church that condemned his doctrine: So that catholick and heretick were terms relative; and here it was that heretick became to be a name, and a name of disgrace, both together.

The first and most troublesome heresies in the primitive church were about the Trinity; for (according to the usual curiosity of natural philosophers) they could not abstain from disputing the very principles of Christianity, into which they were baptized "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Some there were that made them allegorical; others would make one creator of good, and another of evil; which was in effect to set up two Gods, one contrary to another; supposing that causation of evil could not be attributed to God without impiety. From which doctrine they are not far distant, that now make the first cause of sinful actions to be every man as to his own sin. Others there were that would have God to be a body with parts organical, as face, hands, fore-parts and back-parts. Others, that Christ had no real body, but was a meer phantasm: (for phantasms were taken then, and have been ever since, by unlearned and superstitious men, for things real and subsistent.) Others denied the divinity of Christ. Others, that Christ, being God and man, was two persons. Others confessed he was one person, and withal that he had but one nature. And a great many other heresies arose from the too much adherence to the philosophy of those times, whereof some were supprest for a time by St John's publishing his gospel, and some by their own unreasonableness vanished, and some lasted till the time of Constantine the Great, and after.

When Constantine the Great (made so by the assistance and valour of the Christian soldiers) had attained to be the only Roman emperor, he also himself became a Christian, and caused the temples of the heathen gods to be demolished, and authorized

Christian religion only to be publick. But in the latter end of his time there arose a dispute in the city of Alexandria between Alexander the bishop and Arius a presbyter of the same city; wherein Arius maintained, first, that Christ was inferior to the Father; and afterwards, that he was no God, alledging the words of Christ, "My Father is greater than I." The bishop on the contrary alledging the words of St John, "And the word was God;" and the words of St Thomas, "My Lord and my God." This controversy presently, amongst the inhabitants and soldiers of Alexandria, became a quarrel, and was the cause of much bloodshed in and about the city; and was likely then to spread further, as afterwards it did. This so far concerned the emperor's civil government, that he thought it necessary to call a general council of all the bishops and other eminent divines throughout the Roman empire, to meet at the city of Nice. When they were assembled, they presented the emperor with libels of accusation one against another. When he had received these libels into his hands, he made an oration to the fathers assembled, exhorting them to agree, and to fall in hand with the settlement of the articles of faith, for which cause he had assembled them, saying, "Whatsoever they should decree therein, he would cause to be observed." This may perhaps seem a greater indifferency than would in these days be approved of; but so it is in history; and the articles of faith necessary to salvation were not thought then to be so many as afterwards they were defined to be by the church of Rome.

When Constantine had ended his oration, he caused the aforesaid libels to be cast into the fire, as became a wise king and a charitable Christian. This done, the fathers fell in hand with their business, and following the method of a former creed, called now the Apostles Creed, made a confession of faith, viz. "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, (in which is condemned the polytheism of the Gentiles.) And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, (against the many sons of the many gods of the Heathens.) Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, (against the Arians) very God of very God, (against the Valentinians, and against the heresy of Apelles, and others, who made Christ a mere phantasm.) Light of Light, [this was put in for explication, and used before to that purpose by Tertullian.] Begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father." In this again they condemn the doctrine of Arius; for this word "of one substance," in Latin *consubstantialis*, but in Greek ὁμοούσιος, that is of one essence, was put as a touchstone to discern an Arian from a catholick: And much ado there was about it. Constantine himself, at the passing of this creed, took notice of it for a hard word; but yet approved of it, saying, "That in a divine mystery, it was fit to use *divina et arcana verba*;" that is, divine words, and hidden from human understanding; calling that word ὁμούσιος divine, not because it was in the divine scripture, (for it is not there) but because it was to him *arcanum*, that is, not sufficiently understood. And in this again appeared the indifferency of the emperor, and that he had for his end, in the calling of the synod, not so much the truth as the uniformity of the doctrine, and peace of his people that depended on it. The cause of the obscurity of this word ὁμούσιος proceeded chiefly from the difference between the Greek and Roman dialect in the philosophy of the Peripateticks. The first principle of religion in all nations is, that God is, that is to say, that God really is something, and not a meer fancy; but that which is really something is considerable alone by itself, as being somewhere. In which sense a man is a thing real; for I can consider him to be without considering any other thing to be besides him. And for the same reason, the earth, the air, the stars, heaven, and their parts, are all of them things real. And because whatsoever is real here, or there, or in any place, has dimensions, that is to say, magnitude; and that which hath magnitude, whether it be visible or invisible, is called by all the learned a body, if it be finite; and body or corporeal, if it be infinite: It followeth that all real things, in that they are somewhere, are corporeal. On the con-

trary; essence, deity, humanity, and such-like names, signify nothing that can be considered, without first considering there is an *ens*, a God, a man, &c. So also, if there be any real thing that is white or black, hot or cold, the same may be considered by itself; but whiteness, blackness, heat, coldness, cannot be considered, unless it be first supposed that there is some real thing to which they are attributed. These real things are called by the Latin philosophers, *entia subjecta, substantiæ*; and by the Greek philosophers, τὰ ὄντα, ὑποκείμενα ὑποστάμενα. The other, which are incorporeal, are called by the Greek philosophers, ἰδέαι συμβεβηκότα, φαντάσματα; but most of the Latin philosophers use to convert ἰδέα into *substantia*, and so confound real and corporeal things with incorporeal, which is not well; for essence and substance signify divers things. And this mistake is received, and continues still in these parts, in all disputes both of philosophy and divinity; for, in truth, *essentia* signifies no more than if we should talk ridiculously of the isness of the thing that is. [By whom all things were made.] This is proved out of St John, cap. i. ver. 1, 2, 3. and Heb. cap. i. ver. 3. and that again out of Gen. i. where God is said to create every thing by his sole word, as when he said, "Let there be light, and there was light." And then, that Christ was that word, and in the beginning with God, may be gathered out of divers places of Moses, David, and others of the prophets. Nor was it ever questioned amongst Christians (except by the Arians) but that Christ was God eternal, and his incarnation eternally decreed. But the fathers, all that write expositions on this creed, could not forbear to philosophize upon it, and most of them out of the principles of Aristotle: Which are the same the school-men now use, as may partly appear by this, that many of them, amongst their treatises of religion, have affected to publish logick and physick principles according to the sense of Aristotle; as Athanasius and Damascene. And so some later divines of note, as Zanchius, still confounding the concrete with the abstract, *Deus* with *Deitas*, *ens* with *essentia*, *sapiens* with *sapientia*, *æternus* with *æternitas*. If it be for exact and rigid truth-sake, why do they not say also, that holiness is a holy man, covetousness a covetous man, hypocrisy an hypocrite, and drunkenness a drunkard, and the like, but that it is an error? The fathers agree that the wisdom of God is the eternal Son of God, by whom all things were made, and that he was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, if they meant it in the abstract; for if *Deitas* abstracted be *Deus*, we make two Gods of one. This was well understood by Damascene, in his treatise *De Fide Orthodoxa*, (which is an exposition of the Nicene creed) where he denies absolutely that *Deitas* is *Deus*, lest (seeing God was made man) it should follow, the Deity was made man; which is contrary to the doctrine of all the Nicene fathers. The attributes therefore of God in the abstract, when they are put for God, are put metonymically; which is a common thing in scripture; for example, Prov. viii. 28. where it is said, "Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth;" the wisdom there spoken of being the wisdom of God, signifies the same with the wise God. This kind of speaking is also ordinary in all languages: This considered, such abstracted words ought not to be used in arguing, and especially in the deducing the articles of our faith; though in the language of God's eternal worship, and in all godly discourses, they cannot be avoided; and the creed itself is less difficult to be assented to in its own words, than in all such expositions of the fathers. "Who for us men and our salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man." I have not read of any exception to this; for where Athanasius in his creed says of the Son, "He was not made, but begotten," it is to be understood of the Son as he was God eternal; whereas here it is spoken of the Son as he is man. And of the Son also as he was man, it may be said he was begotten of the Holy Ghost; for a woman conceiveth not but of him that begetteth; which is also confirmed, Matt. i. 20. "That which is begotten in her (γέννηθεν) is of the Holy Ghost. And was also crucified for us under Pontius Pilate: he suffered and was

buried; and the third day he rose again according to the scriptures, and ascended into heaven; and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead. Whose kingdom shall have no end." [Of this part of the Creed I have not met with any doubt made by any Christian.] Hither the council of Nice proceeded in their general confession of faith, and no further.

This finished, some of the bishops present at the council, (seventeen or eighteen, whereof Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, was one,) not sufficiently satisfied, refused to subscribe till this doctrine of ὁμούσιος should be better explained. Thereupon the council decreed, whosoever shall say that God hath parts shall be anathematized; to which the said bishops subscribed. And Eusebius, by order of the council, wrote a letter, the copies whereof were sent to every absent bishop, that, being satisfied with the reason of their subscribing, they also should subscribe. The reason they gave of their subscription was this, that they had now a form of words prescribed, by which, as a rule, they might guide themselves so as not to violate the peace of the church. By this it is manifest that no man was an heretick but he that in plain and direct words contradicted that form by the church prescribed; and that no man could be made an heretick by consequence. And because the said form was not put into the body of the creed, but directed only to the bishops, there was no reason to punish any lay-person that should speak to the contrary.

But what was the meaning of this doctrine, that God has no parts? Was it made heresy to say that God, who is a real substance, cannot be considered or spoken of as here, or there, or any where, which are parts of places? Or that there is any real thing without length every way; that is to say, which hath no magnitude at all, finite or infinite? Or is there any whole substance whose two halves, or three thirds, are not the same with that whole? Or did they mean to condemn the argument of Tertullian, by which he confuted Apelles and other hereticks of his time, namely, whatsoever was not corporeal, was nothing but fantasm, and not corporeal, for heretical? No, certainly, no divines say that. They went to establish the doctrine of one individual God in Trinity; to abolish the diversity of species in God, not the distinction of here and there in substance. When St Paul asked the Corinthians, Is Christ divided? he did not think they thought him impossible to be considered as having hands and feet, but that they might think him (according to the manner of the Gentiles) one of the sons of God, as Arius did; but not the only begotten son of God. And thus also it is expounded in the creed of Athanasius, who was present in that council, by these words, Not confounding the persons, nor dividing the substances; that is to say, that God is not divided into three persons, as man is divided into Peter, James, and John; nor are the three persons one and the same person. But Aristotle, and from him all the Greek fathers and other learned men, when they distinguish the general latitude of a word, they call it division; as when they divide *animal* into man and beast, they call these εἴδη, species; and when they again divide the species, man, into Peter and John, they call these μέρη, *partes individuæ*. And by thus confounding the division of the substance with the distinction of words, divers men have been led into error of attributing to God a name, which is not the name of any substance at all, viz. Incorporeal.

By these words, "God has no parts," thus explained, together with the part of the Creed, which was at that time agreed on, many of those heresies which were antecedent to that first general council were condemned; as that of Menes, who appeared about thirty years before the reign of Constantine, by the first article, I believe in one God; though, in other words, it seems to me to remain still in the doctrine of the church of Rome, which so ascribeth a liberty of the will to men, as that their will and purpose to commit sin should not proceed from the cause of all things, God, but originally from themselves, or from the devil. It may seem perhaps to some, that by the same words the Anthropomorphites also were then condemned: And certainly, if by parts

were meant not persons individual, but pieces, they were condemned; for face, arms, feet, and the like, are pieces. But this cannot be, for the Anthropomorphites appeared not till the time of Valens the emperor, which was after the council of Nice between forty and fifty years, and was not condemned till the second general council at Constantinople.

Now for the punishment of hereticks ordained by Constantine, we read of none; but that ecclesiastical officers, bishops, and other preachers, if they refused to subscribe to this faith, or taught the contrary doctrine, were, for the first fault, deprived of their officers, and for the second banished. And thus did heresy, which, at first, was the name of private opinion, and no crime, by vertue of a law of the emperor, made only for the peace of the church, become a crime in a pastor, and punishable with deprivation first, and next banishment.

After this part of the Creed was thus established, there arose presently many new heresies, partly about the interpretation of it, and partly about the Holy Ghost, of which the Nicean council had not determined. Concerning the part established, there arose disputes about the nature of Christ, and the word *hypostasis, id est*, substance; for of persons there was yet no mention made, the Creed being written in Greek, in which language there is no word that answereth to the Latin word *persona*. And the union, as the fathers called it, of the human and divine nature in Christ, hypostatical, caused Eutyches, and after him Dioscorus, to affirm there was but one nature in Christ; thinking that, whensoever two things are united, they are one; and this was condemned as Arianism in the councils of Constantinople and Ephesus. Others, because they thought two living and rational substances, such as are God and man, must needs be also two hypostases: But these were two heresies condemned together. Then, concerning the Holy Ghost, Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, and some others, denied the divinity thereof. And whereas, about seventy years before the Nicene council, there had been holden a provincial council at Carthage, wherein it was decreed, that those Christians which in the persecutions had denied the faith of Christ, should not be received again into the church, unless they were again baptized: This also was condemned, though the president in that council was that most sincere and pious Christian, Cyprian. But at last the Creed was made up entire as we have it, in the Calcedonian council, by addition of these words, "And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father and Son. Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified. Who spake by the prophets. And I believe one catholick and apostolick church. I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life to come." In this addition are condemned, first, the Nestorians and others, in these words, "Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified;" and, secondly, the doctrine of the council of Carthage, in these words, "I believe one baptism for the remission of sins:" For one baptism is not there put as opposite to several sorts or manners of baptism, but to the iteration of it. St Cyprian was a better Christian than to allow any baptism that was not in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In the general confession of faith contained in the Creed, called the Nicene creed, there is no mention of hypostasis, nor of hypostatical union, nor of corporeal, nor of incorporeal, nor of parts; the understanding of which words being not required of the vulgar, but only of the pastors, whose disagreement else might trouble the church; nor were such points necessary to salvation, but set abroach for ostentation of learning, or else to dazzle men, with design to lead them towards some ends of their own. The changes of prevalence in the empire between the Catholicks and the Arians, and how the great Athanasius, the most fierce of the Catholicks, was banished by Constantine, and afterwards restored, and again banished, I let pass; only it is to be remembered, that Athanasius composed his creed then, when (banished) he was in

Rome, Liberius being pope, by whom, it is most likely, the word hypostasis, as it was in Athanasius's creed, was disliked: For the Roman church could never be brought to receive it, but instead thereof used their own word *persona*. But the first and last words of that creed the church of Rome refused not; for they make every article, not only those of the body of the creed, but all the definitions of the Nicene fathers, to be such as a man cannot be saved unless he believes them all stedfastly; though made only for peace-sake, and to unite the minds of the clergy, whose disputes were like to trouble the peace of the empire. After these four first general councils, the power of the Roman church grew up apace; and either by the negligence or weakness of the succeeding emperors, the pope did what he pleased in religion. There was no doctrine which tended to the power ecclesiastical, or to the reverence of the clergy, the contradiction whereof was not by one council or another made heresy, and punished arbitrarily by the emperors with banishment or death. And at last kings themselves, and commonwealths, unless they purged their dominions of hereticks, were excommunicated, interdicted, and their subjects let loose upon them by the pope; insomuch as, to an ingenuous and serious Christian, there was nothing so dangerous as to enquire concerning his own salvation of the Holy Scripture; the careless cold Christian was safe, and the skilful hypocrite a saint. But this is a story so well known, as I need not insist upon it any longer, but proceed to the hereticks here in England, and what punishments were ordained for them by acts of parliament. All this while the penal laws against hereticks were such as the several princes and states, in their own dominions, thought fit to enact. The edicts of the emperors made their punishments capital; but for the manner of the execution, left it to the prefects of provinces: And when other kings and states intended (according to the laws of the Roman church) to extirpate hereticks, they ordained such punishment as they pleased. And the first law that was here made for the punishments of hereticks, called Lollards, and mentioned in the statutes, was in the fifth year of the reign of Richard the Second, occasioned by the doctrine of John Wickliff and his followers; which Wickliff, because no law was yet ordained for his punishment in parliament, by the favour of John of Gaunt, the king's son, escaped. But in the fifth year of the next king, which was Richard the Second, there passed an act of parliament to this effect, That sheriffs and some others should have commissions to apprehend such as were certified by the prelates to be preachers of heresy, their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, and to hold them in strong prison till they should justify themselves, according to the law of holy church. So that hitherto there was no law in England by which a heretick could be put to death, or otherways punished, than by imprisoning him till he was reconciled to the church. After this, in the next king's reign, which was Henry the Fourth, son of John of Gaunt, by whom Wickliff had been favoured, and who, in his aspiring to the crown, had needed the good-will of the bishops, was made a law, in the second year of his reign, wherein it was enacted, That every ordinary may convene before him, and imprison any person suspected of heresy; and that an obstinate heretick shall be burnt before the people.

In the next king's reign, which was Henry the Fifth, in his second year, was made an act of parliament, wherein it is declared, that the intent of the hereticks, called Lollards, was to subvert the Christian faith, the law of God, the church, and the realm: And that an heretick convict should forfeit all his fee-simple lands, goods, and chattels, besides the punishment of burning. Again, in the five and twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth, it was enacted, That an heretick convict should abjure his heresies, and refusing so to do, or relapsing, shall be burnt in open place, for example of others. This act was made after the putting down of the pope's authority: And by this it appears, that King Henry the Eighth intended no farther alteration in religion than the recovering of his own right ecclesiastical. But in the first year of his

son, King Edward the Sixth, was made an act, by which were repealed not only this act, but also all former acts concerning doctrines, or matters of religion; so that at this time there was no law at all for the punishment of hereticks.

Again, in the parliament of the first and second year of Queen Mary, this act of 1 Edw. 6. was not repealed, but made useless by reviving the statute of 25 Hen. 8. and freely put it to execution, insomuch as it was debated, Whether or no they should proceed upon that statute against the Lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister.

The Lady Elizabeth, not long after (by the death of Queen Mary) coming to the crown, in the fifth year of her reign, by act of parliament, repealed, in the first place, all the laws ecclesiastical of Queen Mary, with all other former laws concerning the punishments of hereticks, nor did she exact any other punishments in their place. In the second place it was enacted, That the queen, by her letters patent, should give a commission to the bishops, with certain other persons, in her majesty's name, to execute the power ecclesiastical; in which commission the commissioners were forbidden to adjudge any thing to be heresy which was not declared to be heresy by some of the first four general councils: But there was no mention made of general councils, but only in that branch of the act which authorized that commission, commonly called The High Commission; nor was there in that commission any thing concerning how hereticks were to be punished, but it was granted to them, that they might declare or not declare, as they pleased, to be heresy or not heresy, any of those doctrines which had been condemned for heresy in the first four general councils. So that during the time that the said High Commission was in being, there was no statute by which a heretick could be punished otherways than by the ordinary censures of the church, nor doctrine accounted heresy, unless the commissioners had actually declared and published, That all that which was made heresy by those four councils, should be heresy also now: But I never heard that any such declaration was made, either by proclamation, or by recording it in churches, or by publick printing, as in penal laws is necessary; the breachers of it are excused by ignorance; besides, if heresy had been made capital, or otherwise civilly punishable, either the four general councils themselves, or at least the points condemned in them, ought to have been printed, or put into parish-churches in English, because without it no man could know how to beware of offending against them.

Some man may perhaps ask, whether no body were condemned and burnt for heresy during the time of the High Commission?

I have heard there were; but they which approve such executions may peradventure know better grounds for them than I do; but those grounds are very well worthy to be enquired after.

Lastly, in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Charles the First, shortly after that the Scots had rebelliously put down the episcopal government in Scotland, the presbyterians of England endeavoured the same here. The king, though he saw the rebels ready to take the field, would not condescend to that; but yet, in hope to appease them, was content to pass an act of parliament for the abolishing the High Commission. But though the High Commission were taken away, yet the parliament, having other ends besides the setting up of the presbyterate, pursued the rebellion, and put down both episcopacy and monarchy, erecting a power by them called the Commonwealth, by others the Rump, which men obeyed not out of duty, but for fear; nor was there any human laws left in force to restrain any man from preaching or writing any doctrine concerning religion that he pleased; and in this heat of the war it was impossible to disturb the peace of the state, which then was none.

And in this time it was that a book, called Leviathan, was written in defence of the king's power, temporal and spiritual, without any word against episcopacy, or against any bishop, or against the publick doctrine of the church. It pleased God, about

twelve years after the usurpation of this Rump, to restore his most gracious majesty that now is, to his father's throne, and presently his majesty restored the bishops, and pardoned the presbyterians; but then both the one and the other accused in parliament this book of heresy, when neither the bishops before the war had declared what was heresy, when, if they had, it had been made void by the putting down of the High Commission at the importunity of the presbyterians: So fierce are men, for the most part, in dispute where either their learning or power is debated, that they never think of the laws, but as soon as they are offended they cry out, "Crucifige," forgetting what St Paul saith, even in cause of obstinate holding of an error, 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men; apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose, if God peradventure may give them repentance, to the acknowledging of the truth." Of which counsel such fierceness as hath appeared in the disputation of divines, down from before the council of Nice to this present time, is a violation.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES II.

SECOND CLASS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS

KING CHARLES II.

SECOND CLASS.

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

The Three Royal Cedars, or Great Britain's glorious Diamonds; being a Royal Court Narrative of the Proceedings, Travels, Letters, Conferences, Speeches, and conspicuous Resolutions of the most High and Renowned King Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, his Highness Prince James, Duke of York, and the most Illustrious Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester. With a brief History of their memorable Transactions, Results, and judicious Councels, since their too-much lamented Exile in Flanders, and the Lord Chancellor Hyde, the Marquess of Ormond, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Digby, and many other Nobles and Gentlemen created Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council. Also, the resplendent Vertues appearing in these Princely Pearls, to the great Joy of all Loyal Subjects, who have for their Sovereign a just King to govern, a valiant Duke to defend, and a wise Counsellor to advise. 1660. *By E. Sanders, Esq. a Lover of his Country's Liberty, and a Loyal Subject and Servant to his Sacred Majesty.*

This is one of the pamphlets industriously circulated to enforce a favourable impression of the character of the monarch, who was now about to resume the throne of his ancestors. Charles II. really deserved much of the praise here bestowed upon his disposition and talents, but unfortunately his disposition to profligate pleasures prevented his subjects from profiting much by them. Baxter has given us an account of the doubts entertained by the presbyterians on the subject of Charles's religious principles, and the pains taken to remove them by those disposed to the royal cause.

"For many gentlemen, who had been with the king in Scotland, especially the Earl of Lauderdaile, and Colonel Greaves, who was of reputation with the people, did spread abroad mighty commendations of the king, both as to his temper and piety; whereby the fears of many at that time were much quieted.

"And for the quieting people's minds, that were in no small commotion through clandestine rumours, he [the Earl of Lauderdale] by means of Sir Robert Murray, and the Countess of Balcares, then in France, procured several letters to be written from thence, full of high eulogiums of the king, and assurances of his firmness in the protestant religion, which he got translated and publisht. Among others, one was sent to me from Monsieur Gaches, a famous pious

preacher at Charenton, wherein, after an high strain of complements to myself, he gave a pompous character of the king, and assured me that, during his exile, he never forebore the publick profession of the protestant religion, no not even in those places where it seemed to be prejudicial to his affairs. That he was present at divine worship in the French churches at Roan and Rochel, though not at Charenton, during his stay at Paris; and earnestly pressed me to use my utmost interest, that the king might be restored by means of the presbyterians, &c."—*Life of* BAXTER, p. 215.

DIVINE Providence having been pleased to return the subject to his due allegiance, and to give encouragement to those who have constantly continued loyal, that they may at length once more enjoy happiness, and every man sit under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, which the God of Heaven be praised we have now greater hopes of than ever: Moderation and impartiality are the chiefest virtues of a loyal pen; 'tis such a task I chiefly aim at, no less than the difficult travels of our most high and renowned king, with his exiled nobles, Charles the Second, heir apparent to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, and crowned King of Scots, touching whom I intend to treat. He was born on the 29th of May, 1630, to the great joy of the king, queen, and indeed the whole kingdom; for never yet had England a prince born of so noble an extract and grand alliance; his father, by lineal right and descent, King of Great Britain and Ireland; his mother, daughter to that thrice illustrious prince Henry IV., King of France, and worthily surnamed the Great, and Isabella, Infanta of Spain. By his grandmother's side was he nearly allied to the kings of Denmark, by the marriage of his aunt, the noble Princess Elizabeth, to the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and King of Bohemia; and afterwards, by the marriage of his royal sister the Princess Mary, to the Prince of Orange. Thus was he allied to most of the potent princes in Christendom. And happy might this nation have been under his government, if we may believe the vogue of that wisest of men, Solomon, who pronounces that kingdom blessed, whose prince is the son of nobles.

But to return to his majesty in Flanders; of whose itinerary life we have already given you a particular account, it will not be impertinent to say somewhat of his sedentary and retired living, that by his œconomy we may judge of his monarchy, and of the government of those few subjects in his family, of that of his three kingdoms.

His majesty hath spent most of his time, wherein he hath been out of his dominions, in Flanders, under the protection of the catholick King of Spain, nor had he ever any where else so settled a court and habitation as here, where his chief attendants are the Lord Chancellor Hide, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Digby, and many others, nobles and gentlemen, whose loyalty to his sacred majesty and his royal father hath made exiles to their country; a particular number of which he makes use of for his council, doing nothing without serious and mature advice; and yet being of so sagacious a judgment, that whatever he says is seldom contradicted by the most judicious of his councellors, not out of fear or flattery, but out of a real assent to and concurrence with his judgment.

And indeed those great opportunities which he hath had, by his so long being abroad, of diving into the great counsels of foreign princes and states, must necessarily make him a person of a very perspicuous understanding, endow him with all those qualities which may deservedly attain the name of great, and render him as well an able statist, as a king; he having during his expulsion travelled through and lived in the countries of three the most potent princes in Christendom, *viz.* the emperors of Germany, and the kings of Spain and France; and so to the German resolution added the Spaniard's prudence and the Frenchman's expedition.

To these extraordinary helps, which never prince in Christendom can boast of, we may yet add those more than ordinary gifts wherewith Nature hath been pleased to endow him, which being so extremely improved, we can hardly now discern; but that it may be known what they were, take the character of an honourable lord upon his death-bed, who, speaking of him when about fifteen or sixteen years of age, hath these words: "Truly I never saw greater hopes of virtue in any young person, than in him: Great judgment, great understanding, strong apprehension, much of honour in his inclinations." So that both nature and industry have seemed to use their utmost endeavours to make him a perfect prince, his very affliction turning in this benefit, and making him in knowledge and sufferings (the refiner of knowledge) unparallel'd. Some foreign princes as well envying as pitying his expulsion.

This perfect knowledge of his he hath indeed had but small occasion to practise, except a little in Scotland; where, I think, he demonstrated himself a person so prudent and careful in his affairs, that it is beyond my pen's expression.

His subjects good was his only care; nor did he ever act any thing but what might tend more to theirs than his own interest; still consulting whether it might benefit them, not himself.

His letter to Col. Mackworth, the governor of Shrewsbury, sufficiently demonstrates his affection to his very enemies; he would win, not conquer the hearts of those, who though they have broke their allegiance to him, yet he would esteem still his subjects.

He would not conquer with blood, lest he should be thought a tyrant. He endeavours by fair means to attain the love of his subjects, that (whatever his very enemies think of him) he may approve himself to be a just prince.

And did fortune give him power, yet would he rather attempt blandishments than force. He knows that whilst he kills a subject he weakens his kingdom. Rebels themselves may be found useful, and though justice cannot, yet his majesty's clemency will admit their pardon; but if they resist to the utmost, their blood is on their own heads. What man is not willing to destroy him who he knows would be his murderer?

Thus is his justice and his clemency mix'd together; he would not kill, where he might with safety save. Nor does his unspotted innocency raise fancies or fears in him. As he is guilty of nothing, so there's nothing he fears. Whilst he endeavours to be true to his subjects, those endeavours force a belief in him that his subjects will be true to him.

His very nature inclines him to compassion. He pities those that will not pity themselves; and whilst they are conspiring his destruction, his prayers procure their safety. Nor can the utmost of their injuries provoke him to a retaliation. He hath learned not only of God, but of the king his father, to forgive his enemies.

Nor is it his desire to obtain his kingdoms that makes him willing to forgive his enemies, but his desire to forgive his enemies that makes him willing to obtain his kingdoms: He counts the possession of his royalties but as a transitory dignity, the pardon of his enemies a divine and lasting one.

Neither is his pity less than his justice; they are both in the superlative degree; he hates wickedness, not because the world should see him glory, (that would make him an hypocrite) but becauses God abhors it; 'tis love, not fear, makes him religious; he fears God only because he loves him.

He hates not the vicious, but abominates their vices, his hatred extends not to persons, but to things: He dislikes not the swearer, 'tis his oaths he abhors; he hates not the drunkard, but his drunkenness.

Yet does his mercy extend beyond their sins, as he is a king, so he is a god, he is gracious to pardon, as well as just to punish; nor can a submission or reformation but overtake his remission.

His constant service of God excites others to live by his example; he sleeps not without invoking the blessing of the Almighty, nor do his eyes open without a returned thanks. He knows 'tis God alone which can restore and protect him; nor can the wickedness of man prevail against him.

Nor does his publick devotion shew him less zealous than his private; the one demonstrates him full of zeal, the other void of hypocrisy; he would have others holy as well as himself; he knows that saying concerns him, being a king, above all private men, *Non nobis solis nati sumus.*

Private persons are not alone born for themselves, much less kings, the publick concern is their duty: 'Tis not enough for the master of the house that he be godly, whilst his family is wicked. There must be precept as well as example; and, if need be, correction as well as instruction.

This makes his majesty deservedly famous; he counts it as great a fault to suffer a sin in another, whilst he hath power to correct it, as to commit it himself. He knows that what crimes soever a magistrate suffers willingly to be committed, he brings upon his own head.

He is therefore above all things careful not to farther vice, lest he should be accounted vicious; he detests that in another which did he commit, he knows he might justly detest himself for; and endeavours by example to reform that in others, which he knows were it in him would seem odious.

He abhors vice, as well because it is so, as because God abhors it. His nature inclines him to vertue, and as he cannot admit it contrary in himself, so he cannot endure it in another.

His constancy in religion is no less conspicuous than his piety. His discerning judgment knows what is truth, and that truth is followed by his settled will: Yet he hates not the popish religion, but their idolatry; he abhors not them, but their false worship. He loves all that know Christ at all, but wishes that they might know him more.

His stedfastness in religion proceeds not from self-interest; he sticks not so much to the true protestants, because he knows the English to be addicted to that religion, because he thinks it for his benefit, because he imagines that it would prove very difficil to obtain his crown and leave it, but because he knows it to be true.

He knows the prince is born for the people, as well as the people for the prince. He knows their interests to be interwoven. He knows that without them he cannot stand; yet will he sooner lose them than relinquish verity.

He is the perfect pattern of piety, but more of patience; his afflictions have not made him repine, he knows God to be just: He believes that as God restored Job twofold, so will he likewise restore unto him his kingdoms: Yet he thinks it just in God to suffer them to be detained from him.

He laments more his subjects slavery than his own exile; he grieves that they have been so long blind, yet rejoices for their sakes that they have now a glimmering; he constantly prays for the restoring of their sight, not so much because they should restore his, as their own rights and privileges.

He is inwardly troubled and perplexed at the many schisms, sects, and heresies, that are raised in the church of England; he is sorry that their rise is from some men's envy towards him; he pities, and his pity produces his prayers for them: He is willing that though they will not obey him, yet that they may serve God.

He was never heard to curse his enemies, many times to pray for them, and desire God to forgive even his father's murtherers; his good will surpasses their cruelty; and whilst they are conspiring his destruction, he is praying for their salvation.

He is a perfect enemy to all debauchedness; he is sorry those who pretend themselves his friends in England are so great a scandal to him; he wishes that they would so carry themselves, that he might adventure to own them as his friends; for he un-

derstands not the good will of those who drink his health for the liquor's sake, nor wishes for their help, who over their sack only swear they will fight for him.

He is no greater a hater of vice than a cherisher of vertuous actions; he loves them in his very enemies, and oft he grieves when he finds occasion to think that many of them will rise up in judgment against his most pretended friends.

He is most exactly just in all his commands, and faithful in performance of all his promises. Take the character given him by the dying Marquess of Montrose: For his majesty now living (saith he) never people I believe may be more happy in a king; his commands to me were most just; in nothing that he promiseth will he fail: He deals justly with all men, &c. So punctual is he, that when a word is once gone out of his mouth, he will rather suffer by it than break it.

To conclude, he is the pattern of patience and piety; the most righteous and justest of kings; the most knowing and experienced of princes; the holiest and the best of men; the severest punisher of vice; the strictest rewarder of virtue; the constantest perseverer in religion; and the truest lover of his subjects.

This is a short character of his illustrious majesty, which I fear those that know him will rather think to come short of, than reach his due praise; so sweetly vertuous is he in all his carriages, so affable in his discourse, so void of passion and anger, that he was never yet heard or seen in choler; the utmost extent of any passion that ever was discerned in him being towards one of his menial servants, who, justifying himself in what he had done amiss, his majesty with some motion told him, that he was an insolent fellow.

Yet this is that prince whose virtues we have given leave to foreign nations to admire, whilst we ourselves have rested as well ignorant of his deserts, as destitute of our own liberty; whilst, either infatuated or blinded by those who have tyrannically usurped governments over us, we have been contented to sit still, and see him expulsed and exiled from his due rights and royalties, and ourselves from our freedom and privileges.

Nor hath God alone been merciful to us in endowing his sacred majesty with such heroick virtues, but he hath given us a stock of noble princes, who seem to emulate virtue in one another, and grow up like royal oaks, to maintain the honour and glory of this nation, but are yet, and have a long time been the disgrace of it, all the nations in Europe laughing at the English folly, who slight that happiness which they might enjoy.

As for the illustrious duke of York, his fame is spread so far over the world, that myself have heard the very Turks commend and applaud his valour, which was so esteemed among the French, that before he arrived at twenty-one years of age he was by that king thought worthy the command of lieutenant-general of his armies; which he managed with such care and prudence, that seldom an affair he took in hand produced not its desired success; and since his being in requital of his services complemented out of that kingdom of France, though he hath not had such eminent commands conferr'd on him by the Spaniard, yet they have always thought him worth the highest employment and respect.

As for the Duke of Glocester, he is esteemed by most to be fitter for a counsellor than a soldier. His carriage is grave, and somewhat severe; of a sagace genius and understanding, and very much prying into state affairs, which have made most judge him fitter for a council-board.

These three princes are like three diamonds or pearls, which we have ignorantly cast away, and not come to know the worth of them till we come to want them: Their virtues having made them resplendent throughout all the world, and render'd them, if we justly consider it, the only means whereby we can attain to happiness; for what nation can be more blessed than that which hath for her prince a just king to govern, a valiant duke to defend, and a wise counsellor to advise.

News from Brussels: In a Letter from a near Attendant on His Majesty's Person, to a Person of Honour here; which casually became thus publick. 1660.

This singular tract was one of the last efforts of the expiring commonwealth interest. It is a supposed letter from the exiled court of Charles to a cavalier in London, which is calculated to press upon the key most likely to interrupt the general disposition in favour of the restoration. It represents the temper of Charles and his little court, as exasperated by the long injuries they had sustained, and preparing themselves to avenge them on the present opportunity. It is calculated also to excite the terrors of the presbyterians, who were at this time anxious to co-operate in the restoration, by representing the cavaliers as equally profligate and unforgiving. But the purpose of this stratagem was counter-acted by the public declarations of the leading royalists, that they reflected upon their past sufferings, as coming from the hand of God, and entertained no thoughts of revenge against the immediate agents, but were satisfied to bury all past injuries in the joy of the happy restoration of the king, laws, and constitution.—See the subsequent Tract.

Honest Jack,

THINE, by T. L. our true post pigeon, and (I would I could not say) only expeditious person, was mine before the morning; and our masters the same minute, who took no small delight therein: For he read it thrice, and is resolved, (and swore to boot) thou art the first shall kneel under his sacred sword. Sir C. C. has his heart, and at first view he thought of wafting thither, lest he should think his loyalty was slighted; but H. I. and I advised otherwise, and with some ado diverted that intent, and got him to signify his royal pleasure in the inclosed; which instantly dispatch by Minyard way: F. H. has always passage ready. Sir M. M. two hours after brought good news from his cold country, but Calvin smells too rank for us to venture thither; they first betrayed his royal father, and after that his sacred self: Nor are our fortunes now at that low ebb, to reimbark our all in that old leaky bottom. Prithee perswade Sam. to be silent, tell him it is our master's pleasure. Thinkest thou none knows as well as he who first conjured up this devil, and cursed them that would not curse and fight against his majesty, in Meroz name: yes, we can look, tho' through our fingers: This rebellion first bubbled up in presbyterian pulpits; yet it's impolitick to say so much: We also know, 'tis more for fear of the fanaticks, than for love to us, they now are loyal; so also it is our necessity, not choice, that makes us court them: Hug them you cannot hang, at least until you can: Would Lall. had longer lips; I hate to shew the teeth before we bite: We choak our dogs with crusts as well as pins; no cur will eat a pin alone: A blue ribbon and a star we know will unbecome a rebel's shoulder, but fishes bite at baits; he is an ass that angles, and hides not his hook: How most unhappy is my sovereign lord, that the impatience of his friends should be as perilous to his fortunes as the pikes of his enemies! we never yet well minded our next work; he's a fool that thinks when the needle's in the thread won't follow: Set then your helping hand to this, let that alone; procure the cause, and 'tis impossible to separate the effect. But he comes in on terms? and is bound up? Tush! remember that bless-

ed line I marked in Machiavel; he's an oafe that thinks an oath, or any tender, can tame a prince beyond his pleasure. Zeruiah's sons lived to David's great dislike, but 'twas but till he could kill them more conveniently; and prithee what did Shimei's pardon do but planch him up? They can't abide to see his house a round-head hive; 'tis true, 'tis much that any can: Are you yet to learn to make necessity a virtue? Who doubts but that C. Borgia did his business better, by lulling Vitelloz asleep, than to have hazarded all by the uncertain chance of fortune? 'Tis a romance to think revenge can sleep, but like a dog, to wake at will: 'Tis true, served we a prince that needed spurs, this humour might be cherished; but alas, we rather use all the art and arguments we can to rein him in: Hadst thou but seen his passion when Ms. Pedigree came over, thou wouldest have said he had steel enough——Seal, Rob. lips, I pray thee, for fear it may disserve him at dinner; 'twas, and in some degree is, too publick. There need no record for a rival; yet is it laid (by strict command) next Murrye's manuscript, and will one day be reviewed; till then Plantaganet's in pickle.[1] But I'll retain our (most absolutely necessary) discourse for thy farther satisfaction: Canst fancy that our master can forget he had a father, how he liv'd and dy'd, how he lost both crown and life, and who the cause thereof? Never monarch yet had a memory half so bad. Ne'er fear it, there's fire enough in his father's ashes, (though yet invisible) to burn up every adversary; only our clamorous impatience would have all at once: Give time, he ascends most safe that does it *gradatim;* overstraining not only spends the strength too fast, but does endanger falling more: Remember our dread liege lord (if ever guilty of an error) miscarried here; from what a hope fell he and we, for want of following S. S. advice: All or none is a game not for a prince to play, but desperadoes, whose fortunes rise and set with every sun. The presbyter will give up the fanatick, a handsome bone to pick at first: I like it better far than all at once; excess brings surfeits: Thus half the beard they shave themselves, let us alone with t'other: Drown first the kitlings, let the dam that littered them alone a little longer: They glory they are orthodox; hear, and hold still thy head, let us alone to find out fresh fanaticks, and beat them back into King Harry's codpiece. We know the sectaries had a sire, and whose spurious brood they are; even as the puritan was the off-set of the protestant: Spain's attack revive as oft as well thou canst; 'tis a good blind, and propagates our master's interest. Wat came since my last, and will not let our lord alone, till he sees a lecture up in court, and chaplains preach before him, ordained by the presbytery; and one Waldense is come already. O Jesu! Jack, I want an iron hoop to keep my sides from splitting, to see my poor prince bite's lips for half an hour long, while that Dulmano begs a blessing, (as he calls it) as our mech-beggars do their bacon at the farmer's doors: G. got behind him yesterday, and made mouths, which the puppy by an unhappy turn of his head perceived; but his majesty seeing all, prudently anticipated his complaint, and with a royal gravity, not only rebuked G., but immediately dismissed him his service.[2]

We all made application to the parson, to mediate to our master for G. his restoration, which he did; and after much intreaty, his request was graciously granted; but not for G. his sake, but for his; and but on future good behaviour neither: M. H. and I were in the presence at night, but I thought we should have split our spleens with laughing: But by these means all was healed; and henceforward we are all commanded to be plaguy godly. H. bid me hand his service to thee; he swears he hath horn'd

[1] Monk seems to be meant, who was flattered at this period with a pedigree, deriving his birth from the royal family of Plantagenet. The intimation is obvious, that the king intended to regard him rather as a rival than benefactor.

[2] Reynolds, Calamy, Manton, and eight or ten of the presbyterian clergy, came to wait upon Charles at Breda, and were received with distinguished civility. It is not improbable that something of the kind here hinted may have actually taken place, at least it is much in the spirit of the merry monarch and his courtiers.

15 cuckolds within these 14 days.—Mind the militia most, talk not of disbanding, one pin naturally drives out another. A. B. at parting swore he would see that execrable exit rased out; whom so assist he may not suffer. Let Th. continue his caresses, and bid him not jeopard such broad jokes no more; he says she stinks of piss and horse-spice. D. F. C. and —— court upon all occasions: If M. M. and —— stand right, we ask no more; city, land, and sea is our own: That reformation likes us rarely well, though we wonder he would hazard all upon such a rash adventure. Bid Phil. and his brother both be close, they now may list and none the wiser: we dared not let the Nuntio see the sun. We hope our friends droop still, and curse him whom most they covet. —Let not thy lady know our Italian tye: The devil can't track us if we three keep our tongue within our teeth. Fret not, nor afflict thyself nor friend, for we resolve the rogues that left the Rump shall feel the scourge that loyal hearts lash rebels with, as well as others; a roundhead is a roundhead; black and white devils all alike to us. —Thinkest thou that we can breathe in peace while we see a little finger left alive that hath been dipt in royal blood? or his adherents? No, a thought of mercy more hateful is than hell: But cooks may be conquerors, and a plate perform equal execution with a pistol, and with less report. Be quiet then, let's use all art to make them take the halter tamely. Press the speedy raising of the city regiments—and out the rogue at stern; what folly is't to think we can safely ferry while the fleet's fanatick! This done, let our cause miscarry if it can. Maz. met Wat, and gave him sound advice.—Get arms, but buy them not in such suspicious numbers; that if all fails, we may repair to them, and cut our passage to the throne through traitors blood. Farewell.

Brussels, O. S. March 10, 1659.

A Declaration of the Nobility, Knights, and Gentry of the County of Oxon, which have adhered to the late King.

Printed in the Year 1660.

The evil consequences of such apprehensions as the foregoing tract was calculated to excite, were immediately seen by the royalists, the chief of whom, in order to avert them, published such declarations as that which follows, disowning all purposes of private revenge in case of the king's restoration.

SINCE, after a bloody war, followed by its worst effects, confusion, violence, and fanatic fury, it hath pleased Almighty God, by unexpected methods, to bring us not only within hope, but even in view of settlement: And that his excellency the Lord General Monck, the glorious and immediate instrument of Providence in this great work, through his heroic courage, conduct, and moderation, hath brought affairs to that pass that there is scarce any thing left for other hands but to lay hold of, and receive their happiness: Unless we had been misrepresented as bars to this felicity by

false apprehensions, we should not, at this instant, have appeared in public: So that the enemies of this nation's peace, traducing us as persons implacable and studious of revenge, have at once laid an obligation upon us to vindicate ourselves by renouncing so unworthy a suggestion, and an opportunity of serving the public, by removing those pretensions for diffidence and jealousy, which (as things now stand) are the only hinderance of that perfect union which cannot fail to bring the nation to a happy settlement.

Upon which ground we have thought it fitting to declare, that we do disclaim, and with perfect detestation disown all purpose of revenge, or partial remembrance of things past.

Likewise we desire, that in whatsoever any of us have disobliged either the public, or any private person, we may partake from them that oblivion which we so readily dispense.

Moreover, we promise and engage to acquiesce in the determinations of ensuing parliaments; resolving, in our several stations, to compose ourselves thereunto with chearful vigorous obedience.

Lastly, we are resolved perfectly to forget all names of difference, excepting those which the more active endeavours of charity and peace shall give unto us, who have this strife alone to manage, the being outdone by none in friendship, love, and condescension.

Subscribed by

Earl of Lyndsey,
Earl of Downe,
Lord John Lovelace,
Sir Baniham Throgmorton, Knight and Baronet,
Thomas Pope, Knight,
William Walter, Baronet,
Sir Chichester Wrey, Knight,
Sir Timothy Tyrril, Knight,
Samuel Sandys, Colonel,
Brome Whorwood, Esquire,
Thomas Whorwood, Esquire,
Captain William Whorwood,
Colonel Francis Lovelace,
Colonel Henry Heylyn,
William Sheappard, Esquire,
Major Francis Moore,
Captain John Peacocke,
Captain Peter Langston,
Francis Langston, Esquire,
Samuel Walbanck, Esquire,
Captain William Gannocke,
Richard Baily, D. D.
Richard Gardner, D. D.
Thomas James, Gent.
H. H. Corney, Gent.
Richard Powel, Esquire,
William Hopton, Gent.
Captain James Aston,
Samuel Jackson, M. D.
John Fell, M. A.
John Machin, Gent.
Thomas Lodge, Gent.
John Lamphire, M. D.
Captain John Smith,
William Wickham, Esquire,
William Knowles, Esquire,
John Dolben, Gent.
John Parsons, Gent.
Captain Walter Jones.

King Charles II. his Declaration to all his loving Subjects of the Kingdom of England, dated from his Court at Breda, in Holland, the ⅘ of April, 1660, *and read in Parliament May* 1, 1660. *Together with his Majesty's Letter, of the same Date, to his Excellence the Lord General Monck, to be communicated to the Lord President of the Council of State, and to the Officers of the Army under his Command.*

When Monk opened his negociation with Charles II., he dispatched Sir John Greenvill and Mr Mordaunt to the court of the exiled monarch, with hints and directions for drawing up an address to the people of England, and a letter to the general himself. Clarendon gives the following account of the principles upon which these celebrated papers were drawn up:—

"When Sir John Greenvil had at large informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the general's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his majesty was very glad that the general had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done, some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, or Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the crown and church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents, and had their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies thought fit. Then the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be apprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary; but he thought it neither consistent with his honour nor his conscience, that those who had sate as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that act of parliament: yet it was advised that there might be no exception, or that not above four might be excepted; because it was alledged, that some of them had facilitated the general's march by falling from Lambert, and others had barefaced advanced the king's service very much.

"After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the general's advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declarations to be prepared as should be in a good degree suitable to the wishes and counsel of the general, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like the effect of the parliament, rather than of his majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who he heard were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself to the wisdom of the parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to, since he well knew that whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of parliament to confirm all that was done by them, without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged."—CLARENDON, III. p. 576.

The Declaration.

CHARLES, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith. To all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever,

greeting. If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that these wounds, which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto. And that as we can never give over hope in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, (after so long misery and sufferings,) remit us, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible: Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanting and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country in the restoration both of king, peers, and people, to their just ancient and fundamental rights: We do by these presents declare, That we do grant a full and general pardon, which we are ready to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publication hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any publick act declare their doing so; and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects, excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament, those only excepted: Let our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, That no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least indamagement either in their lives, liberties, or estate; or (as far forth lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputation, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects. We desiring and ordaining that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we unite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves under our protection, for the re-settlement of our just rights and theirs in a free parliament; by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood: We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom: And that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence:[1] And, because in the continued distractions

[1] Charles was too justly accused of breaking this promise, in his conduct to the presbyterians, who had reason to have expected a greater measure of royal favour at the Restoration than it was their fortune to meet with. The king's declaration from Breda held out the hope of unlimited toleration at least, if not of some such modification of the ceremonies of the church of England, as might enable many of the presbyterian clergy to enter her pale. The celebrated conference at the Savoy, between the leading divines on each side, soon shewed the impossibility of any comprehensive model; and at length the act of uniformity was passed, which destroyed the presbyterians' hopes even of a toleration.—By the act of uniformity every minister was obliged, on pain of losing all his ecclesiastical preferments, to conform to the worship of the church of England, according to the new book of Common Prayer, before the feast of St Bartholomew next, from which it was called the Bartholomew-Act. Every minister was also obliged to sign the following declaration:—'I do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled the Book of Common Prayer,' &c. Besides this, every person was obliged to sign a declaration contained in the Militia

of so many years, and so many great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to, and by, many officers and soldiers, and others who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, We are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchasers, shall be determined in parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, That we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army, under the command of General Monck: And that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our sign manual and privy signet, at our court at Breda, this fourteenth day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

Received the first of May, 1660.

His Majesty's Letter to his Excellency General Monck.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: It cannot be believed but that we have been, are, and ever must be as solicitous as we can, by all endeavours, to improve the affections of our good subjects at home, and to procure the assistance of our friends and allies abroad for the recovery of that right which, by the laws of God and man, is unquestionable; and of which we have been so long dispossessed by such force, and with those circumstances as we do not desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions, but rather wish, That the memory of what is passed may be buried to the world. That we have more endeavoured to prepare and to improve the affections of our subjects at home for our restoration, than to procure assistance from abroad to invade either of our kingdoms, is as manifest to the world: And we cannot give a better evidence that we are still of the same mind than in this conjuncture, when common reason must satisfy all men that we cannot be without assistance from abroad, We chuse rather to send to you, who have it in your own power to prevent that ruin and desolation which a war would bring upon the nation, and to make the whole kingdom owe the peace, happiness, security, and glory it shall enjoy to your virtue; and to acknowledge that your armies have complied with their obligations for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the protestant religion, the honour and dignity of the king, the privileges of parliament, the liberty and property of the subject, and the fundamental laws of the land; and that you have vindicated that trust which others most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How much we desire and resolve to contribute to those good ends will appear to you by our inclosed Declaration, which we desire you to cause to be published for the information and satisfaction of all good subjects who do not desire a further effusion of precious Christian blood, but to have their

Act, in which declaration he was not only to promise to conform to the liturgy of the church of England, but likewise to renounce the solemn League and Covenant, declaring it to be an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom. The penalties annexed to this act were many, particularly—No person should be capable of any benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before he be ordained priest by episcopal ordination, upon pain to forfeit for every offence the sum of one hundred pounds.

It is saying too little to affirm, that in this severe measure the share which the presbyterians had in exciting the civil war in 1641, was vindictively remembered; while their merits in forwarding the Restoration in 1660, were ungenerously forgotten. Two thousand ministers are said to have been ejected in consequence of the Non-Conformity Act. The number is however probably exaggerated, and many of them afterwards conformed.

peace and security founded upon that which can only support it—an unity of affections amongst our selves, an equal administration of justice to men, restoring parliaments to a full capacity of providing for all that is amiss, and the laws of the land to their due veneration. You have been yourselves witnesses of so many revolutions, and have had so much experience how far any power and authority that is only assumed by passion and appetite, and not supported by justice, is from providing for the happiness and peace of the people, or from receiving any obedience from them, without which no government can provide for them, that you may very reasonably believe that God hath not been well pleased with the attempts that have been made, since he hath usually increased the confusion by giving all the success that hath been desired, and brought that to pass without effect which the designers have proposed, as the best means to settle and compose the nation; and therefore we cannot but hope and believe that you will concur with us in the remedy we have applied, which to human understanding is only proper for the ills we all groan under; and that you will make yourselves the blessed instruments to bring this blessing of peace and reconciliation upon king and people, it being the usual method in which Divine Providence delighteth it self to use and sanctify those very means which ill men design for the satisfaction of private and particular ends and ambition, and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and publick ends, and to establish that good which is most contrary to the designers; which is the greatest manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a nation that can be given in this world. How far we resolve to preserve your interests, and reward your services, we refer to our Declaration; and we hope God will inspire you to perform your duty to us and to your native country, whose happiness cannot be separated from each other.

We have entrusted our well-beloved servant, Sir John Greenville, one of the gentlemen of our bed-chamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an account of your reception of it, and to desire you in our name that it may be published. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Breda, $\frac{1}{4}$th of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

Received May 1, 1660.

To our trusty and well-beloved General Monck, to be by him communicated to the president and council of state, and to the officers of the army under his command.

A scandalous, libellous, and seditious Pamphlet, entituled, The Valley of Baca; or, The Army's Interest pleaded, the Purchasers seconded, the Danger of the Nation demonstrated in Thirty-four Quæries, answered: And the present State of Affairs briefly vindicated. 1660. *By a true Lover to the Peace and Welfare of his Country.*

The first steps of the government, after the king's restoration, were gradually and by degrees to remove from their command the officers whom they suspected, and to disband that army which had accomplished such wonderful revolutions in the state. The presbyterians seemed to have been alarmed by the advances towards these measures, for they foresaw that their own influence rested entirely on the army's continuing embodied, and that, if the militia were to pass into the

hands of cavalier officers, the power of the sword would be entirely with the king, who might then no longer see any reason for temporising with a party whom, notwithstanding their recent exertions in his behalf, he had some reasons both to dread and dislike. "The Valley of Baca" seems to have been composed for the purpose of exciting the jealousy and fears of this powerful sect. It harped upon the danger of bringing in the king without conditions; and notwithstanding the triumphant manner in which the thirty-six quæries of the pamphleteer are answered by the following treatise, it may be noticed that many of them proved to be prophetic.

1. WHETHER, seeing it was the parliament's army that brought in his majesty, when his own party and armies could not do it, they deserve not all due respect and tenderness? And whether proportionable encouragement ought not to be given to such who shall be found to merit it, according to his majesty's late declarations?

Answ. His majesty hath given assurance to confer a character of favour upon those persons of the army who were instrumental in his restauration; and in order thereunto there is care taken that those lands purchased by them, or received for service, in their possession, to be secured to them and their posterity.

2. Whether it can be called tenderness or encouragement to turn out so many of the old officers and soldiers of the army and garrisons, contrary to the known laws martial, and contrary to his majesty's royal promise and engagement, not paying their arrears before disbanding, nor letting them know any cause for which they are outed, only to make way for such who have been known enemies to parliament and army, not having left above one commissioned officer in many regiments? And whether the rest of the army, who engaged for the parliament, are not like speedily to follow, if not prevented? And whether the nations are not insensibly brought hereby to ruin and slavery before they see it.

Answ. To the second, let the querist inform himself aright, and he shall find those only of the old army divested of their employments that have been instruments actively or passively under all changes, and are persons tempered fit for the swallowing down of any change whatsoever: And those continued are either persons that have given testimony of their dislike of those grand inconveniences that were daily practised upon these nations by a giddy, unconstant, proud, insolent, ignorant, and unprincipled generation; or else such who were wearied out with the often changes, abhorred to be instruments longer in using their arms to defend faction, and therefore they did readily adhere to that noble northern conductor. The querist, in these words, viz. "Turning out many of the officers of the army, to make way for known enemies," discovereth his spirit to be turbulent and factious, to keep up distinctions of parties; a thing dangerous and unprofitable, and not permitted by any wise princes or states. But as the case now standeth, it is the most wise and adviseable course that can be taken, to put arms in the hands of such persons of both parties as really deserve settlement. If the arms of the nation were not so disposed of, there would be new matter for jealousy, which is endeavoured to be fomented by the author of these queries.

3. Whether the justice of the Long Parliament's cause hath not been sufficiently owned by the late king his concessions at the Isle of Wight? And by the solemn covenant and declaration of this king, made and taken at his coronation in Scotland.

Answ. No doubt but what publick or sacred act or thing was done either by his late majesty, or his now majesty, due respect will be had thereunto. However, the scene of affairs are altered; his late majesty was under restraint, and a powerful army in being; his majesty present had a crown offered him upon terms; it is not to be believed or supposed (otherwise than enviously) that what his father did, or what he did himself, will be by him disowned; although peradventure not in the sense of the author of these queries. His majesty now was called in out of a perfect necessity to bring the

nation to some kind of settlement, and the security the nation hath is his own interest; that is, it is his interest to do all, or more than what justly or legally could have been expected by the undertakers of the late war: It is evident, for that by any thing his majesty hath already done; and will be led by his principles of just preserving policy, his deep judgment and skill in government, that he will be a king of virtue, a rectifier of abuses, a ballance to justice, a prevention of exorbitancies in ministers of state and justice, an expeller of bad and grievous laws, a discountenancer of debauchery and vice, an encourager of those that do well; by which he will find favour of God and man.

4. Whether this convention now sitting are not like to endanger the cause of the Long Parliament, our religion and liberties, by bringing the guilt of the blood-shed in the late war upon their heads, and all who adhered to them, if the bold and saucy encroachments of prelatical and other intruders be not timely prevented?

Answ. I shall answer this quære with another, Whether that the Long Parliament did not suffer their cause to be overthrown by Cromwell the usurper and his accomplices, in the secluding of members, putting to death of the king, and other actions that made the nation to loath them, and weeded them out of an interest to back them in carrying on of what they undertook.

5. Whether the old parliament may not yet have another resurrection, seeing they could not be dissolved without the joint consent of both houses, which hitherto hath not been done according to the legal intent of the act for that purpose?

Answ. To the first part I answer, Yes, 19,000 years hence, if the doctrine of that philosopher be true, that once in 19,000 years all beings shall act the same part over again they have already acted here upon earth. In this age it is not likely they shall have a resurrection, in regard they preserved not their authority free from those violations and alterations that passed upon them. To the other, or last part of this quære, I answer, as the sailor cannot sail by the compass in a storm, and that it is convenient to restrain the sick from food, and to give him physick, laws that are made to respect such and such reasons of state are in force as long as the occasion lasteth. Affairs have changed themselves into many forms and shapes, since insomuch that that act will not at all fit or sort with affairs now; it is become null and void of it self. If they had continued without those vicissitudes and changes, and the same reasons of state on foot, and the same interest able to support it self, in that case the act had been pleadable. Bracton, Fleta, Horn, and Littleton agree, that if the Lord shall fail to protect his vassal, the vassal's oaths dissolved, for that the law intendeth a condition, and the law freeth him from his obedience: Even so is it that parliament ceased to be a parliament, by being not able to protect the people from those frequent violations and outrages, irregularities and disorders that were daily committed upon the subject; and as the vassal's service in the aforementioned case, and the like cases might be atturned and assigned to another Lord, so doubtless the subject may be atturned and assigned to sit under the council and determinations of another parliament.

6. Whether, seeing there is like to be so great a difference in the complexion of parliaments, one being ready to give away that which the other hath obtained by conquest, and the next succeeding ready to condemn the former for so doing, it be not most safe for his majesty and this convention to grant and confirm his father's concessions in the Isle of Wight?

Answ. To this let the author look back, and he shall find that parliaments speak the language of the interest of state, that is most predominate at the time of their sitting: If the factions of the people be predominate, it speaketh loudest in their behalf; and so of the prince, the like of the nobility or clergy. So that if it were necessary for the beginning of the Long Parliament, to adhere to the people, it is now more necessary for this parliament to adhere to his majesty, to ballance the extremity of the humour of state, that did swell itself up to inconsistency on the behalf of the people, insomuch,

that nothing but ruin and confusion could have been expected. Who is it that doth not see, that if this parliament should, out of their affection to his majesty, give away all the people's rights, that his majesty himself, out of his wisdom, and justness, and nobleness of mind, will be a good allay, he knowing, like a good physician of state, that it is necessary, in the constitution of a body, to keep the humours equal by proportion, that one do not predominate over the other, which produceth a healthy constitution; the contrary, diseases? As for his granting of the concessions of the Isle of Wight, as the case now standeth, it would not be safe to posterity to insist upon that, but rather, as it is said before, to account it sufficient to receive no other security than what his majesty's interest will produce, the which, by the operations of time, will reduce all other interests to a condition of security.

7. Whether any thing done by this convention can be obliging to the nation, seeing they have not the right constitution of a parliament, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom: And whether any parliament can be so called for the future, till the Long Parliament, consisting of lords and commons, be actually dissolved by joint consent?

Answ. That which they do is obliging to the nation. If the nation submit to it, a part discontented in the nation is not to be taken for the nation; but the interest that is uppermost is to be taken for the nation: So it is where there is factions in states; as in Italy, the Gulfes, and Gibeleons. If one state should have two factions in it, another state sendeth embassage, they send to the uppermost, who are able to give laws; and not to that which must receive laws. Besides, what this parliament doth must needs oblige, because what they do suiteth and agreeth with the minds of most of the nation. And as Sir Edward Cooke saith, part 4. Instit. Chap. of high courts of parliament, that in some cases the members may answer, that they must go and consult with their counties for which they serve. The original of all law and power rise from the people actively or passively, let them be just or unjust. A good prince that is absolute, respects what will best suit, secure, and content the people: A tyrant consults what he may (having opportunity) inforce upon them. If these three nations should be consulted, there would, no doubt, be three to one to give their approbation of what is done; therefore it must be obliging to the nation. In such times, rules by mode and figure cannot be observed. You cannot sail by the compass in a storm, as is said before. For dissolution of the Long Parliament by joint consent, that need not to be, unless that the Long Parliament had kept their interest and themselves in the same form, without alteration, and power to be able to give laws together with the king, as they did at the time of passing that act. If that parliament, at the time of sitting down of this, had undertaken to deal in the government as formerly, I pray what obedience would the nation have given to them? So that the act in that case became void of itself. There be many acts of parliament that become void by time, and need no other repealing than that which they provide against, growing up to use. As for example, there is an act yet unrepealed, that no hops shall be brewed in beer; and another, that no sea-coal shall be burned in London; is there any need of repealing these acts? None surely. The case is the same in the matter in hand: For there is now no interest that is able to strengthen it to be observed; nor is there need to repeal it, for that it is repealed by several concurring accidents and affairs of state, that are considerable in opposition of that, able to render it useless and void, as it is.

8. Whether if the king, by his power, can make this a legal parliament, before such a dissolution of the other, his father could not do the like? And whether the mungrel parliament, which he chose at Oxford, was not as just and legal as this?

Answ. This parliament had a legal being and power from the people, as is before expressed: Their election demonstrated the people's consent and approbation, which is a sufficient stamp of authority. His majesty's consent being added thereunto, ma-

keth it unquestionable. If the king by his arms, and if that parliament at Oxford by their counsel, had prevailed, their success had given it a sufficient sanction for its legality.

9. Whether by the late vote past by this convention, to dispossess all soldiers and purchasers, of their interests in crown land, when they might by long leases have secured his majesty's title, increased his revenue beyond his predecessors, and have also satisfied thousands of families that are now undone, it doth not evidently appear, that they have designed and resolved to ruin and destroy all those that ever served and adhered to the interest of the Long Parliament?

Answ. If the counsel, arms, or interest of the possessors of these lands, had been able to have held them, their title had been made good by the same means they held by, so long as it lasted; but that failing, their title is void; and now it must be in his majesty's royal breast what he will do in that case: No doubt but he will be moderate, because he will not leave too great an impression of discontent upon so considerable a part of the nation. Other than this, the purchasers of those lands cannot in justice expect, as the case standeth.

10. Whether it be not therefore the best way for his majesty speedily to dissolve this convention, and not confirm any thing they shall enact, but rather forthwith to recall the old members to settle the nations?

Answ. Whether that be not as much as to say, let there be a foundation laid for a new war: Whether is it convenient to do any thing that should give cause of jealousy to his majesty, of his state and dignity, if he should meet with opposition; it would but put a necessity upon him to fortify himself by such reasons of state as would be remote from the good of the publick: Whereas otherwise, he meeting with no opposition, will be led by natural consequences to do all that may be obliging: His majesty, by his long deprivation, hath learned the temper of the English nation; well observed by Sir John Suckling, in his letter to the Lord Jermyn, 1640, saith, the king may preserve his power, by giving it away; for the people of England have ever been like wantons, which pull and tugg as long as the kings have pulled with them, as you may see in Henry III. King John, and Edward II. and indeed by all the troublesome and unfortunate reigns: but those kings as have let it go to oblige the people, the people have put it into their hands again with addition; as you may see by Queen Elizabeth, and others, kings of this realm. Those have been most powerful abroad, and at home in their own dominions, who obliged their people most: That this is the disposition of his present majesty is certain; and envy itself cannot truly say otherwise.

11. Whether it be not as dangerous for his majesty to cast aside his old parliament, to follow the counsel of these young conventioneers, who can neither secure him, themselves, nor the people, as it was for Rehoboam, in a parallel case, seeing the spirit of the nation is ragingly discontented?

Answ. Whether that if his majesty should do such a thing, it would not discontent the nation, much more than it is at present, as the author supposeth, or then can be imagined by the author: It is to be admired, that the parliament, whom he maliciously calleth a convention, are not more severe; it is an argument that they are deliberate and grave. If it were so, as he wickedly suggesteth, his majesty's inexpressible temper and inclination to moderation will be a good allay, as is said before. Indeed it hath been usual in such vicissitudes, that when one part of a nation hath made war upon another, that the predominate party hath been tainted with revenge: But this present parliament make no other use of their power than becometh them, and demonstrateth their undertaking to be the effect of counsel, and not of arms. Besides, his majesty is endowed with a spirit of discerning, not to incline to such counsels

as shall tend to the detriment of the publick, which is our greatest happiness and security.

12. Whether if our religion and liberties, contended for by the Long Parliament, with the expence of so much blood and treasure, should be now lost, we are not like to be brought to the French mode of government, and all persons deterr'd ever to appear for a parliament in *futuro?*

Answ. This need not be feared at all: Philip de Commines observeth well of the English nation, that they cannot endure too much slavery, or too much liberty. This his majesty well knoweth; and that if it were at his majesty's choice to be king of England, as the king of France is king of France, he would rather chuse to be king of England upon the terms his predecessors were kings of England; for that it is more honourable for to be king of princes or freemen, than to be king of slaves and peasants: He who ruleth a free people is much more powerful, for that his arms and treasure he can employ against a common enemy, and be able to give laws to foreign princes, either by council or arms; whereas if he ruleth slaves, his council and arms are always employed in his own defence against his own people, whom he should defend and protect.

13. Whether, seeing the design is now visible to debauch the army, by casting out the parliament's friends, thereby to intrude their enemies, by which means contentions and discords may arise, seeing the greatest part of the army, and others, who are engaged for the parliament, are still in being, who cannot but retain affections to their old principles and masters, it be not therefore most safe speedily to disband the army, seeing also it was the expectation of the nation, upon the return of his majesty to his government,—the militia being sufficient to secure the peace of the kingdom?

Answ. For the answer to this you are referred to the answer to the second quære, only to the last part of this quære, *viz.* the disbanding of the army, and trusting to the militia: If that were effected, immediately the author would arrive to his aim and end, which would be dangerous; for if the militia should be settled in the hands of one party, it would be cause of jealousy in the other; if you should settle the militia in the hands of all parties, it would be useless: So that it is better to wave trusting to the militia, until that the minds of all are more quiet and settled, and to keep up a considerable party of the army, which being conducted as is expressed in the answer to the second quære, will be in his majesty's hands an equal arbitrator of differences, and of much more use and less charge to the nation, than the militia will be; for that he who payeth 5*s.* per annum to the assessments for the army, will be at 20*s.* per annum charges at the least in finding arms, and other expences and loss of time, by attending at muster, and infinitely much more in case of service; the like of his estate proportionably, that shall by the act for the militia find horse and arms, and pay to a rider: The militia will be of use when the minds of people are united into one, which (no doubt) will be by the endeavours of his majesty, and with the blessing of God, in a short time, if not anticipated by the wicked practices of the jesuits, and the ungratefulness of unquiet spirits.

14. Whether it be safe for his majesty to enforce a superstitious form of worship, when covenanted against; and whether, if according to the covenant, the nation should appear against it, it may not be of dangerous consequence to his majesty's government?

Answ. For the answer to this you are referred to the answer to the 19th and 27th quæries.

15. Whether national sins will bring down national judgments, and whether the sins of blood and idolatry, not only at present seemingly committed, but promoted by this convention, are not like to become national sins, if his majesty prevent not?

Answ. To this I shall say little, in regard the author hath referred the prevention of his fears to his majesty, who is a merciful and wise prince, who will do that which shall not be justly censurable by his worst of enemies; that he may be so, we must pray to the Almighty to lead him by the hand of Providence, and still watch over him for good to these nations.

16. Whether those who opposed his majesty's coming in upon conditions, have not shewed themselves unfriendly both to their king and country; and whether they who should have been the people's refuge have not proved their ruin, by not asserting the old parliament's cause to be just and lawful, as their brethren did in Scotland?

Answ. It is very certain, as before alledged, that it is better that his majesty came in without terms, than with terms; for if that he had come in upon terms, those terms must have been made with one party or interest, or with all the parties and interests; if with one of the parties, that had been to the prejudice of the rest: If it had been with all the parties, that could hardly have been effected: The differences were so irreconcileable, that without an umpire, it would have produced another war, and unto which of the parties success might have happened, is uncertain, so they all had run an equal danger; therefore it is much better that his majesty came in as an equal arbitrator of all our differences. Moreover, at that time when his majesty was invited into the nation, Lambert was forming a new war, which would have been safe for no party, whose principles were nothing but ambition, who, as he hath said himself, did interrupt the then sitting parliament, the 13th of October, 1659, upon no more than half an hour's consideration, being led thereto by a violent impulse of the spirit; such a person as shall attempt such a thing upon the face of authority, without more deliberation, let it be legal or illegal, is not at all to be trusted. So that it is evident, that there was a necessity of his majesty's coming in at that time, and that it will be for the better to the nation that he came in without terms: For as he is king of all, so he now must equally respect all, and frame all his reasons of state to that end; by which he will lay a sure foundation to his sovereignty.

17. Whether, seeing there is above four hundred thousand families engaged to that old parliament's cause, by way of purchase in this nation, who are like to lose their purchases, it be not only dangerous at present to inflame the spirits of these men, but whether it be not a ground to espouse a quarrel to their posterities, if their estates should not be confirmed?

Answ. See the answer to the 9th quære. Moreover, the interest of the purchasers was not able to buy it self up to make terms, nor support that interest that sold the lands unto them: Therefore his majesty is not bound to make good those sales, farther than his royal word shall oblige him, or his interest lead him unto: Which no doubt will be honourable.

18. Whether any confidence can be put in a giddy multitude, who crying Hosanna to day, are ready to cry Crucify to morrow, especially of the English nation, who are ever fluctuating?

Answ. His majesty knoweth full well, that no confidence is to be put in the multitude; but that he must put confidence in actions of justice and honour, which will establish his throne, adorn his crown, and strengthen him to display his scepter to the satisfaction of all interests.

19. Whether, seeing prelacy was a main ingredient into the late wars (they having intruded so many English popish ceremonies into the church) and his majesty is bound by covenant and declaration to root it up in his dominions, it can therefore be safe to re-establish it: And whether Mr Duglas his sermon was not a spiritual prediction of some speedy judgment to follow, if such a horrid violation of the covenant be tolerated?

Answ. His majesty's proceedings in that particular are just and honourable; he in-

tendeth a synod to reconcile those differences in the church: It is as reasonable for the presbyterians to abate of what they would have, as for the episcopal to abate of what they desire; for as to government or ceremonies in the church, neither of their forms are absolutely necessary to salvation: So that his majesty, by the advice of a learned and wise synod, to moderate things between them, that they may unite and agree, will, as he is head of these nations, do a good office, and answer the ends of the covenant, which seemeth to drive principally at a government according to the word of God; and not absolutely this or that government, farther than in opposition to that of popery, &c.

20. Whether it be not the duty of the ministry to prevent the apostacy of their people from the covenant, by their preaching and doctrines, now we are running into another extreme, as well as they did lately when in a former extreme, especially when the wolf is already amongst their flocks; and whether it be not the duty of all cities and counties to follow the example given from Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, by petitioning to settle religion according to the covenant?

Answ. The author soundeth the trumpet of sedition in this quære, but he will be prevented by his majesty's care in that particular, in his reconciling the two grand and considerable interests of these nations.

21. Whether the turning out near three thousand learned and godly ministers, to intrude such who neither know how to pray or preach, will not increase discontent in all their congregations, when they shall see how their souls are like to be starved and cheated?[1]

Answ. That there hath not been any as yet turned out, because presbyterians, but because in other rights; if they cannot pray and preach, doubtless upon due proof thereof, remedy may be had against them in that case; for his majesty hath declared that he will maintain a godly ministry; and no prince yet that ever lived upon the earth hath ever accounted his word more sacred than he doth.

22. Whether it will not renown his majesty in the hearts of his people, to hasten a full indempnity to all his subjects in his dominions, as an act of council, till the old parliament sits, and to expunge all provisoes which may any way invalidate the operation of the act, and to do the like by an act for sales?

Answ. How often hath his majesty out of his own grace urged the passing of the act of indempnity, with as much earnestness as the parties themselves that are concerned can in modesty desire.

23. Whether the making of Dr Reynolds, Mr Calamy, and Mr Baxter, chaplains at court, be not a prelatical design, either to draw them by preferment to that party, or to lull the presbyterians asleep, till they are all turned out of their places, as many are served already?[2]

Answ. The three persons here mentioned are not such to be wrapt to any thing that is evil, in hope of preferment: Nor is it his majesty's design, other than to be truly informed by them of the best and moderate ways to reconciliation, which will be

[1] This was matter of great complaint among the presbyterians.—"About this time there fell out an accident, that gave occasion to the malicious to reproach us: It was our great grief that so many faithful ministers were put out, and so many unworthy persons restored, or newly put into the ministry. Every day almost people talk to us of one drunk at such a place, and one carried in a cart, or lying in a ditch at such a place, or one taken drunk by the watch at night; and another abused and made a scorn in his drunkenness, by the apprentices in the streets; and of three that, the day when they had been ordained, got in their drink three wenches to them in the inn or tavern, which having there married in their manner, &c. two fled, and the third was fain to take his wench to wife; with abundance such news that filled the city. We modestly told some of them of it, and they made us odious by it as malicious slanderers, as if a word had not been true."—BAXTER's *Life*, p. 288.

[2] These distinguished presbyterian divines afterwards refused bishoprics which were offered to them, and lost the countenance of the king in consequence.

much better than for his majesty to adhere to one party or to the other party; for that his adhering to one party would not be safe, also the keeping them in equal hopes and favour is not safe, for that the keeping up of factions in church will produce factions in state: Therefore the way his majesty is now taking is the best to please God, secure himself, and for handing forth peace to his people.

24. Whether two national constitutions can stand together, and therefore whether the settling of the prelatical hierarchy doth not naturally predict the fall and extirpation of presbytery?

Answ. That 'tis true, as before, the countenancing and encouragement of the one is a detriment to the other; therefore, the extremes of both parties being lopt off, they may be united and become one, which will much renown the church of England, and render it more formidable against the church of Rome, whose practice is to foment differences; therefore it is the duty of every one to study and practise reconciliation.

25. Whether such prelates, who have been viewing the altars of Damascus, are like to have a peaceable entertainment here, in their superstitious popish fopperies, when a new generation of youth are started up since their extirpation, who never yet bowed the knee to Baal?[x]

Answ. That although the presbyterian interest be considerable, yet the episcopal are not inconsiderable, if not as considerable; and since that their difference, in respect of church government, is not irreconcileable, union is to be endeavoured: It is not my work here to prescribe a way, I leave it to those whose work it is to do that; my task is to detect the sophistry of the author.

26. Whether, seeing his majesty hath declared he will countenance godly ministers, it could be therefore intended when he made Dr —— dean of Westminster, that the said doctor should turn out all the orthodox ministers within the liberties of the said deanery, as he is endeavouring to do? And whether the prelatical party do not abuse his majesty's ears, by telling him they displace none but fanaticks?

Answ. I know not whether it be true or false, that the dean of Westminster hath done any such thing; peradventure all the incumbents of those livings are alive, or that some of them were not ordained by bishops or presbyters, in that case the dean's actions are legal.

27. Whether there be not of the presbyterian way a hundred good preachers for one of the prelatical; and whether that government be not best for the nation that hath most and best preachers?

Answ. There are godly and painful preachers of both sorts; that government assuredly is best for the nation that may reconcile these two grand persuasions, much better than that which shall keep up the distinctions, and consequently the factions.

28. Whether the re-instating of the prelatical hierarchy, with the appurtenances, doth not in the consequence of it, make null and void all ordinations, sacraments, and marriages, practised since their extirpation; and whether the nation hereby will not be brought into a strange and horrid confusion?

Answ. Those persons that were ordained by presbyters, and are not upon those livings whereof the incumbents are living, do still remain, and are not, nor are likely to be turned out, but their ordination is deemed good: As for marriages, it is a publick act, and it receiveth its being and essence from the consent of the parties, it cannot be made void by being administred by an improper agent; if it were, all judgment and determinations in law since these times would be made void: It was the opinion of the judge in Henry VII. his time, that the judgments and proceedings in law in Richard III. his time were good, although they were passed in the usurper's time, by whose authority none could administer justice; but the necessity of doing justice was such,

[x] The dresses of the clergy, and ceremonies of the church, were chiefly objected to by the presbyterian divines.

that the illegal administration of it was dispensed with. So the necessity of marriage was such, that the unusual performing of it doth not make it void, because that the consent of the parties maketh the marriage, the other is but the solemnity of it; and since there is a publick record thereof, it is therefore legal.

29. Whether the best way therefore to settle the church, and consequently the nation, and to prevent clamours to his majesty, were not speedily to summon a synod, consisting of two ministers out of each county, to be chosen by the presbytery of ministers, calling in the help of the best and most sober of the episcopal, but not prelatical party, which deligate from Scotland, and other protestant churches, giving due liberty to the soberly conscientious?

Answ. These, or much better rules, are intended by his majesty to be pursued.

30. Whether the pressing of the oath of supremacy be not of dangerous consequence, to ensnare many thousands of protestants, who do conscienciously scruple it, and generally all the presbyterians of the three nations. And seeing the true intention of that oath was to renounce the pope's supremacy, whether it be not more consonant to a protestant conscience, to press an oath upon all parties, directly tending thereunto instead thereof?

31. Whether pressing the oath of supremacy, as it now stands, doth not make null and void the solemn league and covenant; and whether it be not dangerous to enforce the nations to forswear themselves, seeing in the one they have directly covenanted and sworn against prelates; and in the other they swear to maintain all the privileges and customs, that either now do or heretofore have appertained to the crown: Of which creating bishops is one. And whether the convention taking such an oath, were not preobliged, not only to establish prelacy, but also to turn out all soldiers and purchasers, in any such lands belonging to the crown; yea, most unnaturally forcing men to swear so to do, and consequently to starve their own children?

Answ. The oath of allegiance and supremacy is not at all against the solemn league and covenant, although it doth oblige those that take the oath of supremacy and allegiance to defend and maintain his majesty's rights and prerogative; as in the creating of bishops. Suppose that his majesty should settle the government of the church without bishops, by some other super-intendence, to the content of the episcopal and presbyterian parties, because that is one of the privileges of the crown, it doth not oblige the party to contend for that which his majesty dischargeth him of by a publick act of state: As for example, if a lord shall, upon condition from his tenant or vassal, take his oath for performance of several services in homage and fealty, if the lord shall discharge the tenant of part or all, the tenant is so much, or wholly discharged of his oaths, as the lord shall discharge, notwithstanding the oath was peremptory: In this case, as also in that of lands, he that shall suggest to beget jealousies and fears of any thing, but that his majesty will deal honourably, justly, and well with all his subjects, is an enemy to the peace and welfare of the people.

32. Whether it be for the safety of the nations, to permit the popish lords to sit in the house before they have taken such an oath?

33. Whether his majesty, this city and kingdoms, be not in danger of bloody massacre, by the confluence of those bloody Irish papists, to the number of many thousands about city and court, notwithstanding his majesty's late proclamation to the contrary, who had a hand in the horrid massacre in Ireland and Savoy? And whether countenance and respect from the courtiers be not a great inducement to draw over many thousands more, if not timely prevented?

34. Whether his majesty's person at court can be safe from danger, when all places about are bought and sold?[1]

[1] The truth of this imputation lay in the scandalous greediness of Monk's wife, "an old Exchange woman,"

Whether the querist be not a friend and servant to his God, his king and country.

Answ. I shall say nothing to these quæries, I suppose they are malicious, scandalous, and false. Only thus much to the last clause, that the querist is no friend to God, his king, or country, in regard that he, in a clandestine way, hath published such a wicked paper, tending to beget and foment fears and jealousies in his majesty's subjects, by reflecting upon publick actions, to put all in a flame and disturbance, out of which the nations, through the goodness of God, lately have been delivered. It had been his duty, as well as it is all others duty, to study healing and moderation, uniting and composing of differences: He that doth otherwise, either by action, word, or writing, let him be of what party soever he will, is no other than an enemy to God, the king, and his country.

Alderman Bunce his Speech to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, touching the King's Resolution to accept of honourable Conditions from a Free Parliament for his Admitment. Printed 1660.

This is another speech made in the parliament for recalling the king. Bunce, the orator, had been a presbyterian, and a follower of the parliament, and was proportionally vehement for the restoration when the tide begun to set in that way.

My Lords, Gentlemen, and Fellow-Citizens,

That I am after so long a time of banishment, and almost despair, returned again without fear into my native country, I need not I think tell you how much I rejoice at; but I cannot indeed tell you that inexpressible joy which I feel within my bosom, to find my poor distressed and distracted country in some hopes of settlement and restoration to her pristine glory, even then when she seemed to be most overwhelmed and swallowed up, under the usurpation and tyranny of the most mean and fanatick spirits of the nation.

Nor can I here forbear to burst out into praises and thanks to God, for his so great a mercy and deliverance, that he hath at length been pleased to withdraw his afflicting hand in some measure from us; that he hath opened the eyes of the greatest part of this nation, except those who are wilfully and obstinately blinded by their own pernicious and covetous interests; that after we had wilfully run headlong into the ditch of ruin, he is pleased to lay to his hand to help us out.

It is well, my lord, that though we have bought our knowledge and repentance at so dear a rate, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, yet that we can repent at last, that we are sensible of our distractions, that we now are able to bear no more, we have one who will help us to throw off our burthens, that we can now see our blindness, our error, our folly, that whilst we endeavoured to free ourselves from the pre-

says Ludlow, and well versed in the art of driving bargains for her husband's favour and recommendation. Clarendon mentions the same thing.

tended tyranny of our lawful king, sovereign, and superiour; we subjected ourselves under the arbitrary will and power of our equals, if not inferiours.

I must confess, my lord, though it is well known to you all, gentlemen, that I was, at the beginning of the late unhappy wars, blinded as well as others, yet I utterly disown that I ever had design or intention to wrong my prince, though I accounted it then the duty of every free-born Englishman to stand for the priviledge of parliament, as for his native birth-right; so far I durst go, but no farther; for when I saw those who, before they had got the power into their hands, pretended to maintain parliamentary priviledges, pretended to settle the king in glory, violently infringe the first and murder the second, I could not but in reason and conscience protest against them.

Nor was the murdering of their king, or infringing the privileges of parliament, the furthest those men went who had then got the power into their hands, and ruled only by sword-law; but having given the name of a parliament to a select number of their creatures, and some who durst do no otherwise than obey their commands, they made laws at their pleasure, disinheriting the lawful heir, and abolishing the power of the house of lords, the chief part of a parliamentary grand council; they sold the king's, queen's, bishops, deans, and chapters lands, to maintain their violences and villanies, or to enrich themselves, making a prey of these nations, and overthrowing the fundamental laws of the land.

This, my lord, you very well know was the præmunire we had run ourselves into. This was that we fought for; this was that for which we consumed so much blood and treasure: In short, we fought for liberty that we might be enslaved; we fought for religion that we might nourish heresies, sects, and schisms in the church; we spent our estates freely, to maintain a war amongst ourselves under specious pretences, that we might have them prey'd upon by ravenous wolves.

But when we had run ourselves into all these miseries, under a piece of a parliament, who had endeavoured all that lay in their power to establish their own government, yet were they themselves at length turned out by their servant, their general, (the just reward of their treachery to their master,) who establishes in himself that power, which he had before avowed as tyrannical; and usurps to himself, though not fully the title, yet more than the power of any King of England; so it fairly proved that he only defamed kingship as tyrannical, that he might be a tyrant.

The many changes and alterations since in the English government, are so new, that they need no recital, only thus much, that as they in whose hands the government was were equally guilty of the forementioned crimes, so though they did oppose one another, yet they all agreed together in continuing and adding to the nation's distractions, in preferment to employments, either in church or state, such only as were either as guilty as themselves, or else possest with their fanatick opinions, in defaming the lawful heir, and endeavouring by calumnies to engender an odium of him in the people's minds, which might have found its desired effect, had not the people for their cheats and delusions, conceived a just odium of them, so that the arrow they shot returned again upon their own heads.

But many of the good people of England are still possest with their calumnies, and believe many of them for truth, though against such clear and certain evidences; many understanding people of the nation, convincing themselves by imaginary circumstances, that not only his majesty, but his brothers, the thrice noble Dukes of York and Gloucester, have left the religion of their fathers and country, and are turned to the foppe-ries of Romish superstition and idolatry, which how false it is, the God of Heaven knows, and myself can witness, his and his brothers constant use and practice of the English liturgy, and other customs of the best reformed church of England, his constant encouragement of such servants of his as profess the true protestant religion, whether in episcopacy or presbytery, and his contrary discouragement of all such who

permit themselves to be inveigled into popish or jesuitical opinions and tenets, being sufficient evidence, that he is so far from leaving of his true and mother church, that all possible encouragement is, and will certainly be at all times given by him, to the true and sound professors of the protestant religion.

For those other calumnies laid upon, and only settled in the hearts of the common souldiers, (whom their officers here have made believe, that they must expect nothing but death, if he should be admitted to his crown) viz. that he is revengeful, cruel, never forgetting injuries, but though soothing for a time, yet at fit opportunities resolute in his revenge, all that know him, know to be false, for he is gentle, merciful, peaceable, and rather inclined to suffer injuries than either to give or avenge them.

That he intends (as some say) to come with a forein force to regain his right, and settle himself in his throne, would be but what we might in justice expect, who have so long exposed him to the miseries of the wide world, and made him the pattern of patience to future generations, it being lawful both by the laws of God and man, for any one to use all means and endeavours for the recovery of his own; yet so meek and patient hath he been, that it hath not so much as entered into his thoughts to acquist his kingdom by force or violence, whilst he can hope to have it by the love of his subjects; he therefore is resolvedly bent to attend the pleasure of a free parliament, and wholly intent to accept of such conditions as shall be proposed with honour by them, rather resolving to part with some of his right, than to let these nations run on into further distractions, or his subjects be oppressed.

That we might, as a judgment of God, have expected a forein force here amongst us for our obstinacy we cannot but be sensible of; but that we have so merciful a prince, who rather waves his right, and endures with patience his expulsion, than seeks or attempts to invade us by a forein power, by which, though he might gain revenge and satisfaction to himself, yet must it necessarily be with our utter ruin and deserved destruction, we must acknowledge as a great mercy of God's.

It is not unlikely that you, my lord, and these other gentlemen my fellow-citizens, may admire somewhat, that I, who was once so far drawn on the other side, should now declaim so much against it; but experience hath now undeceived me; I was for the maintaining, not the infringing privileges of parliament; I was for the restoring, not murthering of the king; I was for them so long as they stood fast to the oath they took in the solmn league and covenant, to maintain the king and his posterity, not for them, when they had beheaded him, and banished his posterity; I was for the moderation of a kingly government, not for the erecting of anarchical tyrannies, or governments *ad libitum*.

But when I saw that those, who pretended that they acted only for the nations good, intended only for their own, to distract and ruin these nations, to depress the nobility and gentry, only to raise themselves; that they began to oppress and force unheard of impositions and burthens upon the commonalty, to maintain their villanies, and enrich themselves, to confound and overthrow all religion, under a pretence of settling and maintaining it, it was time to withdraw myself from, nor could my conscience proceed any further with them; it was they (my lord) that are changed, and not I.

What I at first declared for, and have already ventured my estate for, that I still will and shall maintain to the utmost drop of my blood, viz. to defend the privileges of parliament, without infringing the royal prerogative, to endeavour the maintaining the king, his posterity, according to the solemn league and covenant; this I think (my lord) was the first pretence of these mens raising war against his late majesty, which at first drew so many honest men to their party; but what hath been the issue of these pretences we have seen by too sad experience.

I think it was therefore the duty, my lord, of every honest man to stand to those first principles that he undertook, and not with the multitude (blinded by the ambition

and self-interests of some particular men) run into those wickednesses and mischiefs which they have since perpetrated, and I think you, my lord, and the rest of my brethren and fellow citizens here, ought to take these things into consideration, and remember that oath which I presume most of you took in the solemn league and covenant.

I think, my lord, I need make no further apology, either for myself, or the cause I plead for; there is so much of justice in it, that it needs no oratory to confirm, nor could that cause be ever confuted but by the sword, whose tyrannical power we have sufficiently felt, and seen the difference, between a government by usurping and perjured persons, and the clemency of a too mild and gracious prince.

I shall, my lord, add no further, but only conclude with this prayer, that the God of heaven would open your eyes, and the eyes of this whole nation, and strengthen your hands in the settlement of these three distressed nations in peace and quietness, which can no better be done than by your hearty prayers and endeavours for the restauration of the lawful heir to his right: for how can we expect that he will ever let justice flourish amongst us, whilst we deny justice to our sovereign.

A Message sent from the King of Scots to the most illustrious and puissant Prince, the King of Spain, in Answer to his Majesty's Royal Message, sent by the Marquis of Caracene, to his Court at Brussels. As also a Letter from the Duke of York to the King's most Excellent Majesty. With the Oath taken by the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen. And the King's Declaration to his liege People, in Order to his Coronation. 1660.

Another publication made with the purpose of raising the character of the new king in the estimation of his subjects. The Spanish king's letter regards a treaty between Charles II. and the celebrated Don Juan of Austria, Marquis of Caracena, by which the king was to receive certain subsidies and auxiliary forces to assist him to recover his kingdom. As it was only the Spaniards' object to distract Cromwell's attention from the French, by threatening a descent upon England, the subsidy was very small, and the auxiliary troops were never supplied; but the Spanish court supplied the deficiency by splendid compliments, to which the following letter of Charles was the suitable reply:

The King of Spain having sent an express to Charless II. and his brother the Duke of York, assuring them both of men and monies for the restoring them to their crown and dignities, as also to dignify the duke with the princely title of lord high admiral of all his fleets both in Europe and the two Indies, his majesty and the duke returned these following answers by the Earl of Bristol.

The Answer of Charles the Second to the King of Spain's Messenger.

My Lord,

The accumulation of his catholick majesty's favours so amply spread over my perse-

cutions, have as often represented to my thoughts the comforts wherewith the holy angels, or rather the most sacred Trinity, refreshed the great patriarch Jacob in his wandrings, such seasonable consolations have they been to me in my pilgrimage.

My cogitations have not unthankfully entertained the belief that his majesty appears to be most worthily the delight and favourite of him by whom kings reign, because, like the faithful steward, he will be found always doing good.

'Tis true that I also have a portion in my Saviour's earthly travels; for as his, so my nation owns me not; as he, so I, in our mortal comparisons, am persecuted from city to city, and from one nation to another people; my father of blessed memory trod the press, and I his sorrowing son drink of the streams; he was the heir, who most inhumanely his own subjects and servants murthered, and that possession is mine inheritance, which as yet they are pleased to call their own.

I am therefore most bound to receive as well as always to record this gracious tender of the king your master, in assisting the vindication of my glorified father's sufferings, and the recovery of mine own dominions.

For these his majesty's royal bounties, I shall shortly add to my present acknowledgements my more immediate gratitudes by messengers of my own.

It now remains, my lord, that your excellency be partaker of my retaliations, which must be such as the interruption of my present abilities will afford, the expression resting chiefly upon words. I shall dispose them with that far travelling Sabean queen, in a measurable admiration of the great trusts and distributions which God hath reposed upon the prudence, justice, and piety of your master, and the felicity of your excellence, and others his servants, most happy to live within the illumination of such a son of Heaven.

Signed,

CHARLES R.

The Duke of York's Answer.

As to the interest of my obligation to his catholick majesty (my noble lord and fellow soldier) blame me not if this sudden surprizal make my reply far short of that account which my future actions shall endeavour to enlarge.

He who shall review the precedent glories of the Austrian merits, who in all ages have been the invincible bulwark of Christendom against their powerful enemy the Turk, shall have no leisure to meditate a dispute, but rather to court such a service.

It hath ever been the impress and motto of our British kings sons, to serve, till their lawful opportunity and appointment should come to reign, and (with the leave of mine own sovereign) I shall (by embracing these your master's offers) account myself to have fallen into the paths of my ancestor King Richard of England, the first of that name, and endeavour to continue his fame which time cannot extinguish for the pious services he undertook, and most christianly discharged in behalf of Christ's persecuted members and the catholick church in those holy wars against the Saracens.

Nor am I here to forget the piety and goodness of his catholick majesty, who, notwithstanding the different opinions so long and unhappily fomented between our professions in the God's worship, and those opportunities which others have converted to their own designs, his majesty hath nevertheless, like a most christian prince, left us and our divine celebrations to our own devotion and conscience.

My lord, your excellency hath claim to no small blessing, in being the messenger from so pious and puissant a king of tydings consolatory to princes so unjustly persecuted, this benediction of heaven shall by me be imitated in all opportunities which on

your behalf shall meet or invite my endeavours, though none can compare with those celestial graces which have inspired you with the dictates of the Holy Ghost, and invested you with the office of the holy angels.

Signed,

YORK.

The Oath of Allegiance, enacted 13. Jacobi, Cap. 4. Which Oath was solemnly taken by every Member of both Houses of Parliament.

I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowlege, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord King Charles is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries; and that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or to dispose any of his majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give licence, or leave, to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person, state or government, or to any of his majesty's subjects within his majesty's dominions.

Also, I do swear from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration, or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the pope, or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him, or his see, against the said king, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors; and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, otherwise; and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies which I shall know of or hear to be against him, or any of them.

So help me God.

Now, since it is apparent that Charles II. is our lawfull king, and that the oath of allegiance binds us to preserve his majesty's person, let us therefore prepare for the day of his coronation, since that he hath been pleased to declare, that he esteems the affections of his good people more than the crowns of many kingdoms, and shall be ready by God's assistance to bestow his life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than he may see religion and his kingdoms flourish in all happiness.

A Catalogue of the Peers of the Kingdom of England, according to their Birth and Creations. 1660.

The house of peers being now reinstated in their constitutional rights, this list of the members was opportunely published.

DUKES OF THE ROYAL BLOOD.

James, Duke of York.
Henry, Duke of Glocester.
Rupert, Duke of Cumberland.

OTHER DUKES.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
Esme Stuart, Duke of Richmond.
George Monck, Duke of Aumarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Teyes.

MARQUESSES.

John Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester.
William Seamour, Marquis of Hertford.
Edward Somerset, Marquis of Worcester.
William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle.
Henry Pierpoint, Marquis of Dorchester.

EARLS.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.
Awbrey Vere, Earl of Oxford.
Algernon Piercy, Earl of Northumberland.
Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.
——— Grey, Earl of Kent.
Charles Stanley, Earl of Derby.
John Manners, Earl of Rutland.
Theophilus Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.
Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.
William Russell, Earl of Bedford.
Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
Theophilus Fiennes, Earl of Lincoln.
Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.
James Howard, Earl of Suffolk.
Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset.
William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.
John Cecil, Earl of Exeter.
John Egerton, Earl of Bridgwater.
Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester.
James Compton, Earl of Northampton.
Charles Rich, Earl of Warwick.
William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire.
James Hay, Earl of Carlisle.
Bazil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh.
George Digby, Earl of Bristow.
Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex.
Charles Villiers, Earl of Anglesey.
——— Rich, Earl of Holland.
John Hollis, Earl of Clare.
Oliver St John, Earl of Bullingbrook.
Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmoreland.
Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester.
Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire.
Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Cleveland.
——— Sheffield, Earl of Moulgrave.
Henry Cary, Earl of Monmouth.
James Ley, Earl of Marlborough.
Nicholas Knowles, Earl of Banbury.
Thomas Savage, Earl Rivers.
Montagu Bertie, Earl of Lindsey.
Henry Cary, Earl of Dover.
Henry Mordaut, Earl of Peterborough.
Henry Grey, Earl of Stamford,
Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea.
Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvan.

Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport.
Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.
John Tufton, Earl of Thanet.
Hierom Weston, Earl of Portland.
William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.
Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland.
——— Savil, Earl of Sussex.
George Goring, Earl of Norwich.
Nicholas Leake, Earl of Scarsdale.
Charles Stuart, Earl of Litchfield.
——— Wilmot, Earl of Rochester.
Henry Jermyn, Earl of St Albans.
Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchingbrook, and Baron of St Neots.
John Grenvile, Earl of Bath, Viscount Landsdown, and Baron Grenvile of Biddiford and Kirkhampton.

VISCOUNTS.

Leicester Devereux, Viscount Hereford.
Francis Brown, Viscount Montacute.
——— Villiers, Viscount Purbeck.
William Fiennes, Viscount Say and Seal.
Edward Conway, Viscount Conway.
Baptist Noel, Viscount Camden.
William Howard, Viscount Stafford.
John Bellasis, Viscount Fawconbridg.
John Mordant, Viscount Mordant.

BARONS.

John Nevil, Lord Abergevenny.
James Touchet, Lord Audley.
Charles West, Lord Delaware.
George Barkley, Lord Barkley.
Thomas Parker, Lord Morley and Mounteagle.
Francis Leonard, Lord Dacre.
Conniers Darcy, Lord Darcy.
William Stourton, Lord Stourton.
——— Sandis, Lord Sandis.
Edward Vaux, Lord Vaux.
Thomas Windsor, Lord Windsor.
Thomas Wentworth, Lord Wentworth.
Winkfield Cromwell, Lord Cromwell.
——— Eure, Lord Eure.
Philip Wharton, Lord Wharton.
Francis Willoughby, Lord Willoughby of Parham.
William Paget, Lord Paget.
Dudley North, Lord North.
William Bridges, Lord Chandois.
John Cary, Lord Hunsdon.
William Petre, Lord Petre.
Charles Gerrard, Lord Gerrard.
Charles Stanhope, Lord Stanhope.
Henry Arundel, Lord Arundel.
Christopher Roper, Lord Teinham.
Robert Grevil, Lord Brook.
Edward Montagu, Lord Montagu.
Charles, Lord Howard of Charlton.
William Grey, Lord Grey of Werk.
John Roberts, Lord Roberts.
William Craven, Lord Craven.
John Lovelace, Lord Lovelace.
John Pawlet, Lord Pawlet.
Thomas Brudenel, Lord Brudenel.
William Maynard, Lord Maynard.
Thomas Coventry, Lord Coventry.
Edward Howard, Lord Howard of Escrick.
Warwick Mohun, Lord Mohun.
William Botiller, Lord Botiller.
Piercy Herbert, Lord Powys.
Edward Herbert, Lord Herbert, of Cherbury.
John Finch, Lord Finch.
Francis Seamour, Lord Seamour.
Thomas Bruce, Lord Bruce.
Arthur Capel, Lord Capel.
Francis Newport, Lord Newport.
Thomas Leigh, Lord Leigh.
Christopher Hatton, Lord Hatton.
Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough.
Richard Byron, Lord Byron.
Richard Vaughan, Lord Vaughan.
Charles Smyth, Lord Carrington.
William Widdrington, Lord Widdrington.
Humble Ward, Lord Ward.
John Colepepper, Lord Colepepper.
Isaac Asteley, Lord Asteley.
Richard Boyle, Lord Clifford.
John Lucas, Lord Lucas.
John Bellasis, Lord Bellasis.
Lewis Watson, Lord Rockingham.
Charles Gerard, Lord Gerard.
Robert Sutton, Lord Lexinton.
Charles Kirkhoven, Lord Wotton of Wotton
Marmaduke Langdale, Lord Langdale.
William Crafts, Lord Crafts.
John Berkeley, Lord Berkeley.

Instructions lately agreed on by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Commissioners sent by them to the Hague, unto the King's most excellent Majesty; together with the Speech made thereupon by the Honourable Denzell Holles, Esq. one of the Commissioners, on Wednesday, the 16th Day of May, 1660. *Now published for the taking off and disproving those false Reports raised by some malicious Persons, as if he had gone beyond his Commission and the said Instructions.*

Sit Liber Judex.

Printed in the Year 1660.

"A committee was appointed to consider the manner of his majesty's return, and to prepare all things necessary for his reception; they likewise ordered his majesty's arms to be set up in all the churches, and the commonwealth's to be taken down, and that all proceedings be in the king's majesty's name; and that the present great seal be made use of till further orders, that there might be no hinderance, or stop, in the proceeding of justice. Easter term was likewise prorogued, that no business might interfere with this grand and expected affair of the settlement of the kingdom. All officers, as sheriffs, justices, that were in commission, on the 25th of April, to continue and exercise the respective offices in the king's name. It was resolved further, That the king's majesty be desired to make a speedy return to his parliament and to the exercise of his kingly office; and that, in order thereto, several commissioners from both houses be sent to the king at Breda, with their letters to his majesty, (Doctor Clarges, now Sir Thomas, the general's brother, having been before sent with his to the king,) and to acquaint him with the said desires and votes of the houses. To these commissioners others were added from the city of London; the names of them all are as followeth:

"For the house of lords: Earl of Oxford, Earl of Warwick, (staid at London sick of the gout,) Earl of Middlesex, Lord-Viscount Hereford, Lord Berkeley, Lord Brook.

"For the house of commons: The Lord Fairfax, Lord Bruce, Lord Falkland, Lord Castleton, Lord Herbert, Lord Mandevil, Sir Horatio (now Lord) Townsend, Sir Anthony (now Lord) Ashly Cooper, Sir George Booth (now Lord Delamere), Denzil (now Lord) Hollis, Sir Henry Holland, Sir John Cholmley.

"For the city of London: Sir James Bunce, Baronet, Alderman Langham, Alderman Reynardson, Alderman Sir Richard Browne, Sir Nicholas Crish, Alderman Thompson, Alderman Frederick, Alderman Adams, Sir John Wilde, Recorder, Sir John Robinson, Alderman Sir Anthony Bateman, Sir William Wale, Sir Theophilus Biddulph, Sir Richard Ford, Sir William Vincent, Sir Thomas Bludworth, Sir William Bateman, Sir John Lewis, Master-Chamberlain, and Sir Laurence Bromfield; all of them (not knighted before) knighted by the king upon their arrival, the king being removed thither from Breda, as nearer and more convenient for his shipping; the disposal whereof and of the whole fleet was remitted to his majesty's pleasure; the General Montague having received orders to obey his majesty's commands and directions therein.

"The instructions being delivered to the commissioners, they set sail in several frigots appointed to attend them, and, with some foul weather, landed in Holland, where they were graciously and favourably received by his majesty at the Hague; (I may not omit that the reception of Sir Thomas Clarges from the general was as an embassador from a prince, the Lord Gerard, with many coaches, being sent to conduct him to audience,) where Mr Hollis, into whose hands the letters were intrusted for the delivery, spoke for the house of commons, the Earl of Oxford

for the lords, and Sir William Wilde for the city. Those that were there at their audience agreed in opinion, that never person spoke with more affection, or in better terms, than Master Hollis. He insisted chiefly upon the miseries the kingdoms had groaned under by the tyranny of the pretended parliament and Cromwell, which should now be exchanged into their repose, quiet, and lawful liberty: beseeching his majesty, in the name of his people, to return and resume the scepter, &c. and assured him he should be infinitely welcome without any terms: a thing so much stomacked by the phanaticks, but most just and honourable."—HEATH's *Chronicle*, p. 446.

Instructions for Aubery Earl of Oxford, Charles Earl of Warwick, Lyonel Earl of Middlesex, Lycester Viscount Hereford, George Lord Berkley, Robert Lord Brooke, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Mandevile, the Lord Bruce, the Lord Castleton, the Lord Falkland, the Lord Fairfax, Denzell Holles, Esq. Sir Horatio Townsend, Sir John Hotland, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir George Booth, and Sir Henry Cholmley.

You are to begin your journey towards his majesty on Friday next, and make a speedy repair to such place where his majesty shall be, and humbly to present the letters wherewith you are respectively intrusted by both houses of parliament.

You are to acquaint his majesty with what great joy and acclamation he was proclaimed in and about the cities of London and Westminster, upon the eighth day of May instant, and present the proclamation itself unto his majesty; and to acquaint him with the orders of both houses to have the same proclaimed throughout the kingdoms of England and Ireland, dominion of Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and that both houses have ordered, That all and every the ministers throughout the kingdoms of England and Ireland be enjoined in their public prayers to pray "for his most excellent majesty, and for the most illustrious Prince James, Duke of York, and the rest of the royal progeny." And also that they have ordered, "That the assumed arms of the late pretended commonwealth, wherever they are standing, be taken down, and that his majesty's arms be set up instead thereof;" and you are to communicate to his majesty the resolutions of both houses relating to this instruction.

You are to acquaint his majesty with the earnest desire of both houses, that his majesty will be pleased to make a speedy return to his parliament, and to the exercise of his kingly office, and that in order thereunto, both houses have given orders to General Montague, one of the generals at sea, and other officers of the fleet, to observe such commands as his majesty shall please to give him, or them, for diposal of the fleet, in order to his majesty's return; and you are to communicate to his majesty the resolutions of both houses relating to this instruction.

That the committee from both houses do beseech his majesty, that they may know where he purposeth to take shipping, and to land at his coming over, that preparation may be made for his reception; and which of his majesty's houses he intendeth to make use of at his first coming to London; and whether he will come all the way by land after he comes on shore, or whether he will please to come by water from Gravesend to London; and that his majesty will declare in what manner he is pleased to be received.

WILL. JESSOP, Cl. of the Commons House of Parliament.

The Speech made thereupon by the Honourable Denzell Holles, Esq. one of the Commissioners.

Dread Sovereign,

Your faithful subjects the commons of England, assembled in parliament, have sent us hither, twelve of their number, to wait upon your majesty; and by their commands we are here prostrate at your royal feet, where themselves are all of them present with us in the sincere and most loyal affections and desires of their hearts, and would have been in their persons, if your majesty's service and the trust reposed in them by all the several parts of the kingdom, did not necessarily require their attendance and continuance in the place where they now are, and where all their thoughts and endeavours are wholly taken up and employed in those two great and main works, which are the proper and genuine ends of all parliaments, the advancement of their king's service and the discharge of their country's trust.

And certainly, sir, we can speak it with a great deal of joy, and with no less of truth, that never parliament made greater demonstrations of zeal, affection, and loyalty, to any of the kings of England than this parliament hath done, and doth, and we hope, and doubt not, nay we know it, that it ever will do unto your majesty, our liege lord and king; their hearts are filled with a veneration of you, longings for you, confidence in you, and desires to see and serve you, and their tongues do, upon all occasions, express it; and in so doing they are (according to the nature of parliaments) the true representative of the whole nation; for they but do that in a more contracted and regular way, which the generality of the people of the land, from the one end of it to another, do in a more confused and disorderly manner, yet as heartily and as affectionately, all degrees, and ages, and sexes, high and low, rich and poor, (as I may say,) men, women, and children, join in sending up this prayer to heaven, God bless King Charles, long live King Charles; so as our English air is not susceptible of any other sound, and ecchoes out nothing else, our bells, bonfires, peals of ordnance, volleys of shot, the shouts and acclamations of the people, bears no other moral, have no other signification but to triumph, triumphs of our king in the hearts of his people.

Your majesty cannot imagine, nor can any man conceive it, but he who was present to see and hear it, with what joy, what chearfulness, what lettings out of the soul; what expressions of transported minds, a stupendous concourse of people, attended the proclaiming of your majesty in your cities of London and Westminster, to be our most potent, mighty, and undoubted king, the oldest man living never saw the like before; nor is it probable, scarce possible, that he who hath longest to live will ever see the like again, especially (and God forbid he should) upon such an occasion; for we wish, and heartily pray, that your majesty may be the last of men of the generation now in being, who shall leave his place to a successor.

We have here the proclamation itself to present unto your majesty, and the order of the two houses, enjoining it to be proclaimed throughout England, Ireland, and your dominions of Wales; and likewise their orders for all ministers in their public prayers to pray for your majesty, and for the illustrious Prince the Duke of York, your majesty's brother, and for the rest of the royal progeny; and another order of theirs for taking down every where the assumed arms of the late pretended commonwealth, and setting up the arms of your majesty in their stead.

Here he tendered the proclamation, and the several orders, unto his majesty; offered to read them, but then said, he thought that his majesty had already received them from the lords, and that, therefore, it would be but a trouble to his majesty to hear

them again; to which his majesty answering, that he had received them, was pleased further to enlarge himself in some discourse to this effect, expressing his sense of the miseries which his people had suffered under those unlawful governors which had ruled over them, and of his gladness for their returning unto him with those good affections which they now shewed towards him; adding, that he had always made it his study, and ever would, to make them as happy as himself, which was the sum and substance of what his majesty said.

To which was replied with humble thanks for those gracious expressions, that his majesty would ever find both parliament and people to be full of loyalty and obedience unto his majesty, as his majesty was of grace and goodness towards them. And then he went on with his speech relating to those orders and proceedings of parliament; and said,

These are some testimonies of their love and affection unto your majesty, such as can as yet be expressed by them, which are but as a picture in little of a great and large body, which far exceeds, in its true and natural dimensions, the whole compass of a small piece of cloth, on which notwithstanding it is drawn and represented to the life.

And may it please your majesty to give us leave to say, that as the affection, so your subjects expectations of you are high, and their longings after you great and vehement; and both expectations and longings have increased by the long time that your majesty hath been kept from them. Hope deferred makes the heart sick; and the sickness still augments till the thing hoped for be obtained.

You are the light of their eyes and the breath of their nostrils, their delight and all their hope; to have been so long banished from them into a strange land, it is no wonder that the news of your return should put a new life into them; what then will it be when their eyes shall be blessed with the sight of your royal person? and therefore are we commanded humbly to acquaint your majesty with the earnest desires of both houses for your speedy return unto your parliament, and the exercise of your kingly office; and that in order to it, they have given directions to General Montague, one of the generals at sea, and the other officers at sea, to observe such commands as your majesty shall please to give them for the disposal of the fleet: And we have it in our instructions further to beseech your majesty to let your parliament know when and where your majesty purposeth to take shipping, and where to land; and after your coming on shore, whether to come all the way to London by land, or by water from Gravesend; and which of your houses your majesty intends to make use of at your coming to London, that accordingly provision may be made for your majesty's reception, for then, and not till then, will be the compleating of your subjects rejoycing.

True it is (as your majesty was pleased just now to touch upon it,) that in your absence, other lords have had dominion over them, have reigned and ruled over their bodies and estates; but their better part, their hearts, and minds, and souls, were free, and did abhor such rulers, and still continued faithful and loyal to your majesty, their rightful lord and sovereign, and with you, and under you, they now expect to re-enter into the possession of their ancient rights and privileges, to enjoy again their laws and liberties, and, which is above all, their religion in purity and truth, of all which, those lords, (who called themselves so, and made themselves so,) that is to be so called, but in truth were not so, for they were nothing less, those kind of lords, I say, had so long deprived them. This is our expectation from your majesty, and we are more than confident we shall not be deceived in it, but that your majesty will answer and go beyond all that can be expected from you; a king of so many vows, and of so many prayers, cannot but crown the desires of his people.

Sir, to tell you what men think, and say, and wish, and even are assured of, in rela-

tion to your majesty, and the happiness which your government will produce, would seem a description of the golden age which poets fancy.

Truly, we dare not undertake it in your majesty's presence, lest we should be thought to flatter, and should offend the sacred modesty of your ears, and of your princely mind, though it would all be but a real truth; yet looking like that which you do not like, we fear you would dislike it for the look-sake: Great princes will not be flattered, but really and truly served; and we desire to serve your majesty in your own way.

Your majesty hath been pleased to declare your royal intentions unto your parliament, in your gracious letters to either house, and the two houses have severally given unto your majesty a faithful account of that grateful sense wherewith they have received them, and of their humble submission unto, and compliance with, all your majesty's desires; which by their letters, in answer unto your majesty's, they make bold to signify, That from the house of peers hath been already presented, and we who are before your majesty are intrusted by the house of commons with the delivery of theirs, an honour not more conferred upon us beyond our deservings, than embraced and received by us, with an excess of joy, and with all due respects, which is the errand upon which we are now come. That letter, and the proclamation, and the several orders, together with ourselves, our lives and fortunes, and the vows and services of those who sent us, we do, with all humbleness, lay at your majesty's feet, lifting up our hearts and hands to the God of Heaven, for your majesty's long and happy reign over us, and speedy return unto us.

England's Joy; or, a Relation of the most remarkable Passages from his Majesty's Arrival at Dover to his Entrance at White-Hall. Printed 1660.

This is a particular account of the festivities with which Charles was received by all ranks of people, upon his return to his kingdom. His own lively observation on the universal joy was, that surely it must have been his own fault that he remained so long an exile from a country where his presence seemed to be so generally acceptable. The loyal pamphlet may however be contrasted with the sarcastic account of the same ceremony given by the republican Ludlow.

"The new king being suddenly expected, great numbers of those who had been officers in the cavalier army, or were otherwise zealous for him, procured horses and clothes for the most part upon credit, and formed themselves into troops, under the Lord Litchfield, Lord Cleveland, and that apostate Brown the wood-monger, in order to attend him at his reception: and news being brought that he was put out to sea, Monk, accompanied with a guard of horse, marched to Dover, and received him at his landing. The king embraced him, kissed him, and called him father; and it might be truly said, that in some respects they were very nearly allied. At Canterbury the king presented him with the George and Garter; the first was put on by the Duke of York, the other by the Duke of Gloucester: and, because it was suspected that the army which had fought against him, might still retain some of their former inclinations, it was resolved that the king, with his brothers, should lodge at the house of Col. Gibbons, one of their officers, at Rochester. Many knights were made in this journey, and bonfires were to be seen in great numbers on the road; the inconstant multitude in some places burning the badges of their own freedom, the arms of the commonwealth. Monk's army was drawn up on Blackheath; and, by the best judges, was thought to deserve the fool's coat rather than the soldier's casque.

"The lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the city treated their king with a collation under a

tent placed in St George's Fields; and 5 or 600 citizens, clothed in coats of black velvet, and (not improperly) wearing chains about their necks, by an order of the common council, attended on the triumph of that day, with much more empty pageantry, which I purposely omit. But I must not pass over the folly and insolence manifested at that time by those who had been so often defeated in the field, and had contributed nothing either of bravery or policy to this change, in ordering the soldiery to ride with swords drawn through the city of London to Whitehall, the Duke of York and Monk leading the way, and intimating, as was supposed, a resolution to maintain that by force which had been obtained by fraud.—LUDLOW's *Memoirs, Edin.* 1751. 8. *vol. III. p.* 14.

BEING come aboard one of the fairest of those ships which attended at Sluys for wafting him over from the Hague, in Holland, and therein having taken leave of his sister, the Princess Royal, he set sail for England on Wednesday evening, May 23, 1660, and having, during his abode at sea, given new names to that whole navy, (consisting of twenty-six goodly vessels,) he arrived at Dover on the Friday following, (viz. May the 25th) about two of the clock in the afternoon. Ready on the shore to receive him stood the Lord General Monk, as also the Earl of Winchelsea, constable of Dover Castle, with divers persons of quality on the one hand, and the Mayor of Dover, accompanied by his brethren of that corporation, on the other, with a rich canopy.

As soon as he had set foot on shore, the lord general, presenting himself before him on his knee, and kissing his royal hand, was embraced by his majesty, and received divers gracious expressions of the great sense he had of his loyalty, and in being so instrumental in this his restoration.

There also did the corporation of Dover, and the Earl of Winchelsea, do their duties to him in like sort; all the people making joyful shouts, and the great guns from the ships and castle telling aloud the happy news of this his entrance upon English ground.

From thence taking coach immediately, with his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, he passed to Barham-Down, (a great plain lying betwixt Dover and Canterbury,) where were drawn up divers gallant troops of horse, consisting of the nobility, knights, and gentlemen of note, clad in very rich apparel, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Derby, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Viscount Mordaunt; as also several foot regiments of the Kentishmen. Being entered the Down on horseback, where multitudes of the country-people stood, making loud shouts, he rode to the head of each troop, (they being placed on his left hand, three deep,) who, bowing to him, kissed the hilts of their swords, and then flourished them above their heads, with no less acclamations; the trumpets, in the mean time, also echoing the like to them.

In the suburb, at Canterbury, stood the mayor and alderman of that ancient city, who received him with loud music, and presented him with a cup of gold, of two hundred and fifty pounds value; whence, after a speech made to him by the recorder, he passed to the Lord Camden's house, the mayor carrying the sword before him.

During his stay at Canterbury (which was till Monday morning) he knighted the Lord General Monk, and gave him the ensigns of the most honourable order of the garter: And Garter, principal king at arms, sent the like unto the Lord Admiral Montague, then aboard the navy riding in the Downs. There likewise did he knight Sir William Maurice, a member of the house of commons, whom he constituted one of his principal secretaries of state.

From Canterbury he came, on Monday, to Rochester, where the people had hung up, over the midst of the streets as he rode, many beautiful garlands, curiously made up with costly scarfs and ribbands, decorated with spoons and bodkins of silver, and

small plate of several sorts, and some with gold chains, in like sort as at Canterbury, each striving to outdo others in all expressions of joy.

On Tuesday, May the 29th, (which happily fell out to be the antiversary of his majesty's birth-day,) he set forth from Rochester in his coach; but afterwards took horse on the farther side of Black-heath, on which spacious plain he found divers great and eminent troops of horse, in a most splendid and glorious equipage; and a kind of rural triumph, expressed by the country swains in a morrice-dance, with the old music of taber and pipe, which was performed with all agility and cheerfulness imaginable.

And from this heath the troops marched off before him, viz. Major-general Brown's, the Merchant-Adventurers, Alderman Robinson's, the Lord Maynard's, the Earls of Norwich, Peterborough, Cleveland, Derby, Duke of Richmond's, and his majesty's own life-guard.

In this order, proceeding towards London, there were placed in Deptford, on his right hand, (as he passed through the town,) above an hundred proper maids, clad all alike in white garments, with scarfs about them, who, having prepared many flaskets covered with fine linen, and adorned with rich scarfs and ribbands, which flaskets were full of flowers and sweet herbs, strowed the way before him as he rode.

From thence, passing on, he came into St George's Fields, in Southwark, where the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, in their scarlet, with the recorder and other city-council, waited for him in a large tent, hung with tapestry, in which they had placed a chair of state, with a rich canopy over it. When he came thither, the lord-mayor presented him with the city sword, and the recorder made a speech to him, which being done, he alighted, and went into the tent, where a noble banquet was prepared for him.

From this tent the proceeding was thus ordered, viz. First, the city marshal to follow in the rear of his majesty's life-guard; next, the sheriffs trumpets; then the sheriffs men, in scarlet cloaks, laced with silver on the capes, carrying javelins in their hands; then divers eminent citizens, well mounted, all in black velvet coats, and chains of gold about their necks, and every one his footman, with suit, cassock, and ribbands of the colour of his company, all which were made choice of out of the several companies in this famous city, and so distinguished; and, at the head of each distinction, the ensign, or arms of the company, painted or embroidered.

After these followed the city council by two and two, near the aldermen; then certain noblemen and noblemen's sons; then the king's trumpets; then the hearlds at arms.

After them the Duke of Buckingham; then the Earl of Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain of England, and the Lord General Monk; next to them garter, principal king of arms, the lord-mayor on his right hand, bearing the city sword, and a gentleman usher on his left, and on each side of them the serjeants at arms with their maces.

Then the king's majesty, with his equeries and footmen on each side of him, and at a little distance on each hand, his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester; and after them divers of the king's servants, who came with him from beyond sea; and, in the rear of all, those gallant troops, viz. the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Mordaunt; also five regiments of horse belonging to the army.

In this magnificent fashion his majesty entered the borough of Southwark, about half an hour past three of the clock in the afternoon; and, within half an hour after, the city of London, at the bridge, where he found the windows and streets exceedingly thronged with people to behold him, and the walls adorned with hangings and carpets of tapestry, and other costly stuffs, and in many places sets of loud musick. All the conduits, as he passed, running claret wine, and the several companies in their liveries,

with the ensigns belonging to them; as also the trained bands of the city standing along the streets as he passed, welcoming him with joyful acclamations.

And within the rails, where Charing-Cross formerly was, a stand of six hundred pikes, consisting of knights and gentlemen as had been officers of the armies of his late majesty of blessed memory; the truly noble and valiant Sir John Stowell, knight of the honourable order of the Bath, a person famous for his eminent actions and sufferings, being in the head of them.

From which place the citizens, in velvet coats and gold chains, being drawn up on each hand, and divers companies of foot soldiers, his majesty passed betwixt them, and entered Whitehall at seven of the clock, the people making loud shouts, and the horse and foot several vollies of shot at this his happy arrival, where the house of lords and commons of parliament received him, and kissed his royal hand. At the same time, likewise, the reverend Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and Chichester, in their episcopal habits, with divers of the long-oppressed orthodox clergy, met in that royal chapel of King Henry the VII. at Westminster, there also sung *Te Deum*, &c. in praise and thanks to Almighty God for that his unspeakable mercy in the deliverance of his majesty from many dangers, and so happily restoring him to rule these kingdoms according to his just and undoubted right.

The Earl of Manchester's Speech to his Majesty, in the Name of the Peers, at his Arrival at Whitehall, the 29th of May, 1660, with his Majestys gracious Answer thereunto.

THAT this day may prove happy to your majesty is the hope, the expectation, and the earnest desire of my lords the peers, whose commands are upon me to make this humble tender to your majesty of their loyal joy for your majesty's safe return to your native kingdom, and for this happy restoration of your majesty to your crown and dignity, after so long and so severe a suppression of your just right and title.

I shall not reflect upon your majesty's sufferings, which have been your people's miseries; yet I cannot omit to say, that as the nation in general, so the peers, with a more personal and particular sense, have felt the stroke that cut the Gordian knot which fastened your majesty to your kingdom, and your kingdom to your majesty.

For, since those strange and various fluctuations and discomposures in government, since those horrid and unparallelled violations of all order and justice, strangers have ruled over us, even with a rod of iron: But now, with satisfaction of heart, we own and see your majesty, our native king, a son of the wise, a son of the ancient kings, whose hand holds forth a golden scepter.

Great king! give me leave to speak the confidence, as well as the desires of the peers of England. Be you the powerful defender of the true protestant faith; the just asserter and maintainer of the laws and liberties of your subjects; so shall judgment run down like a river, and justice like a mighty stream; and God, the God of your mercy, who hath so miraculously preserved you, will establish your throne in righteousness and in peace.

Dread sovereign! I offer no flattering titles, but speak the words of truth: You are the desire of three kingdoms, the strength and the stay of the tribes of the people, for

the moderating of extremities, the reconciling of differences, the satisfying of all interests, and for restoring of the collapsed honour of these nations. Their eyes are towards your majesty, their tongues, with loud acclamations of joy, speak the thoughts and loyal intentions of their hearts; their hands are lift up to Heaven with prayers and praises; and what oral triumph can equal this your pomp and glory?

Long may your majesty live and reign, a support to your friends, a terror to your enemies, an honour to your nation, and an example to kings, of piety, justice, prudence, and power, that this prophetic expression may be verified in your majesty,—King Charles the Second shall be greater than ever was the greatest of that name.

His Majesty's gracious Answer to the Earl of Manchester's Speech, made in the Name of the House of Peers, at the Arrival of his Majesty at Whitehall, on the 29th of May, 1660.

My Lord,

I am so disordered by my journey, and with the noise still sounding in my ears, (which, I confess, was pleasing to me, because it expressed the affections of my people,) as I am unfit, at the present, to make such a reply as I desire; yet thus much I shall say unto you, that I take no greater satisfaction to myself in this my change, than that I find my heart really set to endeavour, by all means, for the restoring of this nation to their freedom and happiness; and I hope, by the advice of my parliament, to effect it. Of this also you may be confident, that next to the honour of God, from whom principally I shall ever own this restoration to my crown, I shall study the welfare of my people; and shall not only be a true defender of the faith, but a just asserter of the laws and liberties of my subjects.

A Proclamation against vicious, debauched, and prophane Persons. By the King.

Charles found it necessary, in appearance at least, to discourage the tide of debauchery which broke in upon the nation, always prompt to run from one extreme to the other. This proclamation was published in consequence of the inordinate license observed upon the day of his restoration.

"The dissolution and drunkenness of that night," says Ludlow, "was so great and scandalous in a nation, which had not been acquainted with such disorders for many years past, that the king, who still stood in need of the presbyterian party, which had betrayed all into his hands, for their satisfaction caused a proclamation to be published forbidding the drinking of healths. But, resolving for his own part to be obliged to no rule, of any kind, he publicly violated his own order in a few days at a debauch in the Mulberry Garden; and more privately at another meeting in the city, where he drank healths to the utmost excess till two in the morning."—Ludlow, III. 17.

Charles R.

Since it hath pleased the Divine Providence in so wonderful a manner, and by ways and means no less miraculous than those by which he did heretofore preserve and re-

store his own chosen people, to restore us and our good subjects to each other, and to shew us a very hopeful prospect, if not to put us already into possession of that peace, happiness, and security with which this our kingdom hath been heretofore blessed, it will become us all, in our several stations, to acknowledge this transcendent goodness of Almighty God, in so seasonable a conjuncture, with such a circumspection, integrity, and reformation in our lives, that we may not drive away that mercy which so near approacheth us by making ourselves (wholly) unworthy of it: And in order hereunto, we think it high time to shew our dislike of those (against whom we have been ever enough offended, though we could not in this manner declare it) who, under pretence of affection to us and our service, assume to themselves the liberty of reviling, threatening, and reproaching others; and, as much as in them lies, endeavour to stifle and divert their good inclinations to our service, and so to prevent that reconciliation and union of hearts and affections which can only, with God's blessing, make us rejoice in each other, and keep our enemies from rejoicing.

There are likewise another sort of men, of whom we have heard much, and are sufficiently ashamed, who spend their time in taverns, tipling-houses, and debauches, giving no other evidence of their affection to us but in drinking our health, and inveighing against all others who are not of their own dissolute temper, and who, in truth, have more discredited our cause by the licence of their manners and lives, than they could ever advance it by their affection or courage. We hope that this extraordinary way of delivering us from all we feared, and almost bringing us to all we can reasonably hope, hath and will work upon the hearts even of these men to that degree that they will cordially renounce all that licentiousness, profaneness, and impiety with which they have been corrupted, and endeavour to corrupt others, and that they will hereafter become examples of sobriety and virtue, and make it appear that what is past was rather the vice of the time than of the persons, and so the fitter to be forgotten together.[a]

And because the fear of punishment, or apprehension of our displeasure, may have influence upon many who will not be restrained by the conscience of their duty, we do declare, that we will not exercise just severity against any malefactors sooner than against men of dissolute, debauched, and prophane lives, with what parts soever they may be otherwise qualified and endowed; and we hope that all persons of honour, or in place and authority, will so far assist us in discountenancing such men, that their discretion and shame will persuade them to reform what their conscience would not, and that the displeasure of good men towards them may supply what the laws have not, and, it may be, cannot well provide against, there being, by the licence and corruption of the times, and the depraved nature of men, many enormities, scandals, and impieties in practice and manners, which laws cannot well describe, and consequently not enough provide against, which may, by the example and severity of virtuous men, be easily discountenanced, and by degrees suppressed.

However, for the more effectual reforming these men, who are a discredit to the nation, and unto any cause they pretend to favour and wish well to, we require all mayors, sheriffs, and justices of peace to be very vigilant and strict in the discovery and

[a] "With the restoration of the king a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very profession of virtue and piety: All ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which over-run the kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders and much riot every where; and the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest, but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter to the prophane mockers of true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former transactions thought they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that those brought on them by any method that was more sure and easy than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making stories to expose both themselves and their party, as impious and ridiculous."—BURNET's *History of his own Time. Lond.* 1725. 12. *vol. I. p.* 145.

prosecution of all dissolute and prophane persons, and such as blaspheme the name of God by prophane swearing and cursing, or revile or disturb ministers, and despise the public worship of God; that, being first bound to the good behaviour, they may be further proceeded against, and exposed to shame in such a manner as the laws of the land, and the just and necessary rules of government, shall direct or permit.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the thirtieth day of May, in the twelfth year of our reign, 1660.

The Royal Oak; or an Historical Description of the Royal Progress, wonderful Travels, miraculous Escapes, and strange Accidents of his Sacred Majesty, Charles the Second, third Monarch of Great Britain: Wherein is observable and worth public View;

I. *His Majesty's strange and wonderful Escape from Worcester Fight, the disrobing of himself of his princely Ornaments, the casting away his Chain of Gold, and the cutting off his precious Hair and curled Locks by the Lord Wilmot, for a Disguise.*

II. *The pursuing of his Royal Person by Oliver Cromwell and his Blood-hounds; and the Manner how his Majesty escaped, making a hollow Oak his Royal Palace, within four Miles of Wolverhampton.*

III. *The memorable Travels of Mrs Jane Lane and his Majesty, his riding before her to make an Escape, and his going in a Livery Cloak by the Name of William, Servant to Mr Lastel, her Father-in-Law.*

IV. *The Discourse betwixt his Majesty and the Cook-Maid at the Three Crowns in Bristol; her several Questions where he was born, and what Trade he was, with the King's Answer; and the remarkable Passages that happened in the Kitchen, upon the Maid's employing the King to wind up the Jack.*

By John Danverd, a loyal Subject and Servant to his Majesty.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Past dangers are in every case a joyful theme, and it is no wonder that King Charles's marvellous escape from the field of Worcester should have been made the subject of exulting commemoration, after his wanderings and perils had finally terminated in the recovery of his royal inheritance. But Mr Danverd's narrative is both meagre and incorrect, and does not deserve to be mentioned along with that of Clarendon and others since published, which are more minute and authentic.

After the great and fatal fight at Worcester, between his majesty's forces and the Cromwellian rebels, the field being lost, not for want of courage by the king's party, but by those numerous supplies, who served only like the Turkish Asapi, to blunt the

royal swords; so that their wearied arms, no longer able to hold out, were forced to retreat, and at length (notwithstanding the generous example of his majesty, who performed things worth wonder) to a disorderly fight: Yet it is worthy of observation, that, upon Cromwell's advance near the city, his majesty in person, and in the head of the horse, drew out against him, and that with so much valour and courage, that Cromwell's own life-guard, and the best of his old soldiers (who were thought almost invincible) were forced to retire, till seconded by Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, and others, who overpowered the king's forces, being above five to one; and so loth was his majesty to decline the field, that, upon his earnest endeavours to have his horse and foot rally, twice had he his horse shot under him, and at length was forced to shift for himself, and to provide for his own safety; and so with some nobles and servants, not without a great deal of difficulty, forced to quit the field, and, by the most unfrequented roads that they could possibly find out, rid to the farm-house of a noble gentleman on the borders of Staffordshire, where they no sooner arrived, but his majesty disrobed himself of his princely ornaments and accoutrements, and particularly of a chain of gold, or spannar-string, worth 300*l.* sterl., the present of a Scottish lady, which he bestowed upon a servant of his there present; which done, for his farther disguise, he proceeding to the cutting off his hair, and the cot affording neither shears nor scissars to perform it, it was by the Lord Wilmot cut off with a knife. And now every one is commanded to shift for himself, and this poor prince left alone to the sole protection of the Almighty, he choosing none but one friend to accompany him, with whom he wandered into a wood, within four miles of (say some) Wolverhampton, where finding a hollow oak, he was now content to make it his palace, for here he for some days concealed himself, his friend still towards night going out to provide him some refreshment during this his solitary confinement. In the mean time the Lord Wilmot, who was commanded with the rest to seek his fortune, was by chance pursued by some soldiers, but meeting with a country fellow, formerly a soldier in the old king's army, he was by him secured, though somewhat strangely, for he carries him into a malt-house belonging to Mrs Jane Lane, and having no other convenient place to hide him in, clapped him under the kiln, though there was then some fire in it, and the malt smoaking on the top. In the mean time the soldiers, then in pursuit of him, entered the house, and having made about three quarters of an hour's search every where else, but not at all suspecting the kiln, where they saw the fire burning, they departed, and the Lord Wilmot was taken out of the kiln almost ready to faint with the extremity of the heat. The country fellow having thus secured this lord, acquaints Mrs Lane with what he had done, and she, extremely glad of it, gets him to her house, where in conference she enquires of the king's safety. The Lord Wilmot gives her the former relation of his great miseries and distress, which forces tears from the tender-hearted gentlewoman; she earnestly entreats him to take some course for the finding out of his majesty, and conducting him to her house, she being resolved to venture her life, had she ten thousand, for the saving of his royal majesty.[*] The Lord Wilmot, glad of so happy an opportunity to serve his majesty, and so great a probability of securing him, the next night finds him out, and conducts him from the royal oak to the house of Mrs Jane Lane, where, after a large condoling of his hard fortune, consultation was had for a conveniency for his escape beyond sea, and at length it was concluded that Bristol would be the most convenient place to take shipping; that his majesty should ride before Mrs Lane, by the name of William, servant to Mr Lastel, her father-in-law, who was likewise to go with them; and thus it was immediately given

[*] The author omits all mention of the family of Penderels, by whose exertions Charles was conveyed out of Worcestershire.

out that Mr Lastel and Mrs Lane were to take a journey in the west, to visit some friends; and shortly after they set forward. In this journey there happened many accidents worthy commemoration: And, first, the king's majesty riding now as a servant to one of the faithfullest of his subjects, in a livery cloak, though not without that respect that durst be given to him, complains to Mrs Lane that the cloak wearied him, whereupon she desires Mr Lastel to carry it; and long they had not rid so, but they meet upon the road her brother-in-law, who, amongst other questions, demanded of her if her father must carry her man's cloak; to which she readily answered, that it was so big that it often endangered the throwing her off the horse; and that she had therefore desired him to carry it. The next and most important accident of all was, that, coming into a town which they were to pass through, there was a troop of horse there to be quartered drawn up, which caused some fear, but at length with a resolution they passed on, and the captain taking them for honest travellers, made his troop open to the right and left, and so permitted them to pass. Another accident there happened which one may say was almost comical in this tragedy: Mrs Lane coming into the inn, leaves his majesty under the name of William her servant in the kitchen, with whom the maid enters into discourse; she asks him where he was born, and what trade he was? He answers, at Birmingham, and a nailor's son; and after a great deal of other discourse, the jack being down, the maid desires him to wind it up, which he willingly undertakes, but goes the wrong way about it, and somewhat prejudices it; at which the maid grew angry, asking him where he was bred, and telling him he was the veriest clownish booby that ever she saw in all her life; which railing of hers made his majesty, notwithstanding his present misery, go out of the room smiling.

Mrs Lane, notwithstanding his majesty went as her servant, yet had a greater respect for him before others, pretended him her tenant's son; but on the road she would always ask what he would have to dinner or supper, and what piece of that he liked, which she would be always sure to get made ready and give him, he still sitting at the lower end of the table.

But to come to the end of their journey, being arrived at Bristol, they lodged at the house of a noble gentleman there, and kinsman to Mr Lastel: The king finding it to be a house of great resort, feigns himself sick of an ague, and so keeps his chamber all the day, coming down only at nights; but one night coming down, and being somewhat cold, craves a glass of wine of the butler, who carries him into the butlery; this butler having before served his majesty's father in the wars, looking earnestly upon him, suspected him to be the king, so easily will majesty appear, though veiled in the utmost disguises; and thereupon, pulling off his hat, told him very ceremoniously that he might command what wine he pleased; of which the king took no notice, but, drinking off his wine, went out; yet the butler could not satisfy his suspicion, but went up to Mr Lastel, and demanded of him how long he had had that servant, whereupon Mr Lastel was very angry at his boldness in daring to ask him such a question; but the butler still persisted, and, whispering, told him that he believed it was the king; whereupon Mr Lastel seeing he was discovered, sends immediately for his majesty, whom he acquaints with the butler's discovery of him, with whom the king was somewhat angry, in regard he did not first acquaint himself with his suspicion, it not being impossible but that Mr Lastel might not have known him to be the king; but upon pardon asked by the butler, it was granted by the king, and he afterwards proved very instrumental in his majesty's conveyance through the country.

But here at Bristol the chief design they had in hand failed them; for though there were a little bark lay there judged most convenient for the business, yet the master would for no reward transport a single person, though he was so honest as only to deny it, and made no further search or enquiry concerning the person, which might perhaps have tended to a discovery.

This design here failing, his majesty desired to be brought some miles westward, to the house of a worthy gentleman, whom he knew to be a trusty friend, where coming, he finds the gentleman in the field with his servants; having discovered himself to him, he was by him conveyed to a convenient stand till night, (having first taken leave of his true friends, who had thus far conducted him with the danger of their lives and estates,) from whence he was in the dusk conveyed into the house, and there carefully concealed for a week, till such time as preparation could be made in some western port, of a passage for him; but coming afterwards there where it was provided, chancing to dine with a parliament colonel then there, he thought it the safer to lose the benefit of that passage, than adventure to embark himself singly, which might breed suspicion, and perhaps have been the means, after so many deliverances, to have betrayed him into the hands of his enemies.

This passage then likewise failing him, he returned back to the place from whence he came, and concealed himself three weeks longer, till in the end, it being resolved on, he, by the assistance of Mr Ph., was conveyed through the most by-ways they could imagine, to a gentlewoman's house in Sussex, where he lay some few days, till a person of true worth and honour made provision of a faithful master, who with a small vessel wafted him to a small creek in Normandy, to the great content of the king's sacred majesty, and all his loyal subjects, and to the honour of the master with due reward, as in time may appear.

Perhaps the reader may think it tedious that I have given so large a relation of his majesty's escape from that fight at Worcester; but it was a work so full of wonder and providence, and so many false relations there are abroad, that I could do no less than recount all those miseries and hardships which the poor prince endured for the sakes of us his subjects, and more would he willingly have endured, even death itself, to the redeeming of us from the tyranny and oppression which we then groaned under.

But let him that shall look upon the several passages of his life read them over and over, consider the several difficulties he passed, the many dangers he was in to be betrayed, the country being up round about, the sum of money set upon his head, for which many hundreds out of covetousness made it their business to search for him, and they will confess ingenuously, that God was never so merciful to any people as to us, in delivering his sacred majesty so wonderfully out of the hands of his enemies, who breathed out nothing but his death and destruction, that we may yet have hope to be a happy nation.

Resolves of Parliament.

The following collection of orders, and resolutions, and proclamations, require no special commentary.

Thursday, April 26, 1660.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,

That this day fortnight be set apart for a day of thanksgiving to the Lord for raising up his excellency the lord-general, and other eminent persons, who have been instrumental in delivery of this nation from thraldom and misery.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,

That this day fortnight be the day set apart for a day of thanksgiving for both houses of parliament, and within the cities of London and Westminster, and late lines of communication; and this day month for the whole nation.

April 26, 1660.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled,

That these resolves be forthwith printed and published.

Jo. Browne, *Cleric. Parliamentorum.*

A List of the Earls and Lords that were present in the House of Peers, on Friday, April the 27th, 1660.

Earl of Manchester, Speaker,

Earl of Oxford	Earl of Bullingbrook
Earl of Northumberland	Earl of Rivers
Earl of Derby	Earl of Winchester
Earl of Rutland	Earl of Strafford
Earl of Bedford	Lord Viscount Say and Seale
Earl of Pembrooke	Lord Viscount Conway
Earl of Lincoln	Lord Viscount Hereford
Earl of Nottingham	Lord De La Ware
Earl of Suffolk	Lord Berkley
Earl of Dorset	Lord Cromwell
Earl of Bridgwater	Lord Wharton
Earl of Warwick	Lord Hunsdon
Earl of Denbigh	Lord Peter
Earl of Middlesex	Lord Gerrard

Lord Tenham
Lord Gray of Werke
Lord Deyncourt
Lord Craven
Lord Mainerd
Lord Howard of Essex
Lord Capel.

A Proclamation.

Although it can no way be doubted, but that his majesty's right and title to his crowns and kingdoms, is, and was every way compleated by the death of his most royal father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation, yet, since proclamations in such cases have been always used, to the end that all good subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their duty and respect, and since the armed violence, and other the calamities of many years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such opportunity, wherein we might express our loyalty and allegiance to his majesty, we therefore, the lords and commons, now assembled in parliament, together with the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, and other freemen of this kingdom, now present, do, according to our duty and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon the decease of our late sovereign Lord King Charles, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights, belonging to the same, did by inherent birth-right, and lawful and undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next heir of the blood-royal of this realm; and that, by the goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and undoubted king; and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and posterities, for ever.

God save the King.

Tuesday, May 8, 1660.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, that this proclamation be forthwith printed and published.

WILL. JESSOP, Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament.

Tuesday, May 8, 1660.

Resolved upon the Question by the Commons assembled in Parliament,

That the members of this house, who serve for the several counties, cities, and boroughs, take care forthwith to send to the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers of the counties, cities, and boroughs of England and Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for which they serve, the proclamation for proclaiming of the king's majesty, to the intent the same may be proclaimed in the respective counties, cities, and boroughs, which the several sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers, are required to do with speed accordingly.

WILL. JESSOP, Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament.

A Declaration.

The commons assembled in parliament do declare, that these acts following, that is to say, "An Act for securing the Protestant Religion, and Encouragement and settling of the learned and pious Ministry, and both the Universities in order thereunto, with a due Care of tender Consciences;" one other "general Act for Oblivion, Indemnity, and Free Pardon;" "An Act for Confirmation of judicial Proceedings in the ordinary Courts of Justice;" "An Act touching the Confirmation of Grants and Sales;" and "An Act for securing unto the Army and Navy their Arrears," are already under consideration, and that a good progress is made in them, and directions given for the speedy perfecting of them.

Tuesday, May 8, 1660.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, that this declaration be forthwith printed and published.

WILL. JESSOP, Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament.

To his most excellent Majesty King Charles the Second, our most gracious Sovereign.

The humble Address of the Officers of the several Regiments of Horse, under the Command of his Excellency the Lord-General Monk, as it was presented by them to his Majesty, at Dartford-Heath, in Kent, this present Tuesday, May 29, 1660.

With such a joy as flows from reverence and love, we humbly present ourselves before your sacred majesty; besides our reflection on the common good, which, in this happy change, relates to our particular, intends this joy, and renders it sincere; for we can now please ourselves in ourselves, while we are really performing that duty for which we were first raised; and with all thankfulness we acknowledge that care your majesty in your late letter and declaration hath expressed of our necessary intent.

We bless God to see that day when the serenity of every man's countenance discovers the tranquillity of his mind; for this shews your majesty to be the true soul of the people, since during your absence the whole nation was cast into such distractions as we have no pleasure to remember, but had rather turn our thoughts and grateful acknowledgments to the happy conduct of our noble general, who hath thus far led us in our duty to your royal person. Yet, as we cannot attribute too much to his merits, so neither can we deprive ourselves of that honour and comfort which we find in the accomplishment of his just design.

Therefore, in plain and soldier-like (though humble) terms, we say your majesty hath made us and the nation happy in your return to this your native kingdom, which doubtless will, nay, we may say hath, produced a settlement upon the foundation of our ancient laws, by the due execution of which, together with your majesty's pious inclinations, we trust libertinism and prophaneness wholly suppressed, the protestant cause, and true professors of it, encouraged, to the comfort of all your religious and good people.

Your majesty will now have your great council about you, who have already given proof of their loyalty and wisdom both to your majesty and them. We profess and declare, that as we have not been altogether useless in the restoration, as well of your sacred majesty to your crowns and kingdoms, as your people to their just rights, so we shall in the future chearfully sacrifice our lives, or whatsoever can be more dear to us, in the service of your majesty against all oppositions whatsoever; and, by a ready obedience to your majesty's commands, express ourselves,

Your majesty's most loyal subjects,
And obedient servants.

Monday, December 17, 1660.

Whereas the maimed soldiers and pensioners belonging to Ely-House and the Savoy, formerly a great charge to the nation, are, by order of parliament, discharged, and sent with recommendations into their respective counties and places where they did last reside, but are not accordingly received, or relieved, by the respective justices of the peace; it is therefore ordered, by the commons in parliament assembled, that all and every the justices of the peace in all counties, corporations, and places, within his majesty's dominions, do take speedy care, and make provision, according to the statute for maimed soldiers, and that of the 43d of Queen Elizabeth concerning the overseers for the poor, for the relief and livelihood of such pensioners, maimed soldiers, widows, and orphans, as come unto them with such recommendations, signed with the hands of Thomas Lord Fairfax, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Anthony Irby, Sir William Wheeler, Sir John Robinson, Sir Francis Gerard, Sir Thomas Meerse, Sir Thomas Clergis, John Birch, William Prynn, Edward King, Gilbert Gerrard, Richard Knightly, and Michael Mallet, Esquires, or any three of them, being members of the committee of parliament, appointed to discharge the said pensioners. And that this order be forthwith printed, and that the knights, citizens, and burgesses, do convey the same unto the respective places for which they serve in parliament, reminding the said justices of the necessity of this good work, and of the laws made concerning the same.

W. Jessop, Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament.

Die Veneris, 18 *Maii*, 1660.

Upon complaint this day made by the commons in parliament, it is ordered by the lords in parliament assembled, that all these persons, viz.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant-at-Law, President of the pretended High Court of Justice.
John Lisle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwell,
Henry Ireton,
Sir Hardresse Waller,
} Esqrs.
Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harrison,
Edward Whaley,
Thomas Pride,
Isaac Ewers,
Lord Gray of Groby.
Sir John Danvers, Knt.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bart.

Sir John Bourcher, Knt.
William Heveningham, Esq.
Alderman Pennington, Alderman of London.
William Purefoy,
Henry Martin,
John Barkstead, } Esqrs.
John Blackiston,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir William Constable, Bart.
Edmond Ludlow, } Esqrs.
John Hutchinson,
Sir Michael Livesey, Bart.
Robert Titchbourne,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburne,
Adrian Scroope,
Richard Deane,
John Okey,
John Hewson, } Esqrs.
William Goffe,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carey,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allinn,
Peregrine Pelham,

John Moore,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards, } Esqrs.
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Woogan,
Sir Gregory Norton, Knt.
Edmond Harvey,
John Venn, } Esqrs.
Thomas Scot,
Thomas Andrews, Alderman of London.
William Cawly,
Anthony Stapley,
John Downes,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Augustine Garland, } Esqrs.
John Dixwel,
George Fleetwood,
Symon Meyne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrave,
Thomas Waite,

Who sat in judgment upon the late king's majesty when sentence of death was pronounced against him, and the estates, both real and personal, of all and every the said persons (whether in their own hands, or in the hands of any in trust for their, or any of their uses) who are fled, be forthwith seized and secured; and the respective sheriffs and other officers whom this may concern, are to take effectual order accordingly.

Die Veneris, 18 *Maii*, 1660.

Ordered by the lords in parliament assembled, That this order and list be forthwith printed and published.

Jo. Browne, *Cleric. Parliamentorum.*

Votes, Resolves, and Orders of the Parliament, in the Year 1660, *concerning the Prisoners in the Tower.*

" The bill of indemnity being not yet finished, the commons, out of a tender care for their own persons and estates, resolving to make it ready with all diligence, proceeded to the nomination

of the seven persons who were to be excepted for condemning the late king to death; and having agreed that Major-General Harrison, John Lisle, Esq. and William Say, Esq. should be three of that number, it was contrived that a letter should be brought to Monk at that instant, (not without suspicion that he was the author of that design, to the end I might be inserted,) informing him that I was in arms at the head of several hundred men in one of the islands called the Holmes, and had declared against this convention. Some of Ludlow's friends, however, produced evidence that this report was altogether groundless.

Upon this assurance, which he immediately reported to the party above mentioned, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to pass, that when they proceeded to complete the number of seven, who were to be excepted both for life and estate, and had agreed that Colonel John Jones, Mr Cornelius Holland, should be added to the three before-mentioned; a motion being made by one Colonel Skipwith that I might be the seventh man, he was not seconded. So that another member proposing Colonel Barkstead, and no man daring to say any thing in extenuation of the pretended crime, or commendation of the persons concerned, he was voted to fill up the number. Chief-Justice Coke, who had been solicitor to the high court of justice, Mr Broughton, who had been clerk, and Mr Edward Dendy their serjeant-at-arms, were also excepted in the same manner. And, that no means of gratifying the passions of our enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that some of the late king's judges were fled, ordered their estates to be seized, it was contrived by the creatures of the court, who were a great part of the house, that a petition should be drawn and presented to the king, to issue out a proclamation for requiring all those of the late king's judges, and others therein named, to surrender themselves within the space of fourteen days, under pain of exception from the benefit of the act both for life and estate."—LUDLOW, p. 18.

Monday, May 14th, 1660.

THE question being propounded, that the number of seven, those who sat in judgment upon the late king's majesty, when sentence was given, be the number who shall be excepted for life and estate out of the act of general pardon and oblivion.

And the question being put, that this question be now put, it passed with the affirmative. And the main question being put, it was

Resolved, That the number of seven of those who sate in judgment when sentence was given upon the late king's majesty, be the number who shall be excepted for life and estate out of the act of general pardon and oblivion. Fol. 147.

Thursday, May 31st, 1660.

Ordered, That it be referred to the committee who prepared the former proclamation against popish recusants, to draw up a form of a proclamation to be presented to the king's majesty, requiring the persons who sate in judgment upon the late king, when sentence of death was pronounced against him, to render themselves by a day, or else that they be excepted out of the act of oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 263.

Saturday, June 2d, 1660.

Mr Prynne reports a proclamation, requiring the several persons who sate upon the late king when sentence of death was pronounced against him, to render themselves within fourteen days next after the publishing of this proclamation, or else to be excepted out of the act of general pardon, oblivion, and indemnity, which was this day read the first and second time, and agreed unto to be the form of a proclamation to be presented to the king's majesty. Fol. 273.

Monday, June 4th, 1660.

Mr Prynne reports, That, according to the commands of this house, he carried to the lords the proclamation against the persons who sate in judgment against the late king

when sentence of death was given against him, and brings answer that the lords do agree thereunto. Fol. 290.

Tuesday, June 5th, 1660.

Resolved, That the seven persons who, by former order, are to be excepted out of the act of general pardon for life and estate, be named here in this house. Fol. 295.

Resolved, That Thomas Harrison [1] be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon for life and estate. Fol. 266.

Wednesday, June 6th, 1660.

Resolved, That William Say be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act for general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 300.

Resolved, upon the question, That John Jones [2] be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 300.

Resolved, That Thomas Scott be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. [3] Fol. 301.

Resolved, That Cornelius Holland be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 320.

Resolved, That John Lisle be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 302. [4]

Resolved, That John Barkstead be one of the seven persons to be excepted out of this act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 303. [5]

Thursday, June 7th, 1660.

Resolved, That John Cooke, Esq. be excepted out of this act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 305. [6]

Resolved, That Edward Dendy be excepted out of this act of general pardon and oblivion for life and estate. Fol. 305.

Friday, June 8th, 1660.

Resolved, That the number of twenty, and no more (other than those that are already excepted, or who sate as judges upon the late king's majesty) shall be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion, for and in respect only of such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, (not extending to life,) as shall be thought fit to be inflicted on them, by another act intended to be passed hereafter for that purpose. Fol. 317.

Saturday, June 9th, 1660.

Resolved,

That Sir Hardresse Waller,
Valentine Walton,
Edward Whalley,
Isaac Ewers,
Isaac Pennington,
Sir John Danvers,
Sir Thomas Maliverer,
Sir John Bourchier,
William Heveningham,
Humphrey Edwards,

[1] Major-general Harrison was the principal leader of the fifth monarchists. He was a brave soldier, but a frantic enthusiast, and suffered death, 13th October, 1660.

[2] He was executed.

[3] Scott fled abroad, but was taken in Holland, brought to England, and executed.

[4] Lisle escaped to Switzerland, but was there assassinated by two men, supposed to be agents of the Duchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I.

[5] John Barkstead had been lieutenant of the Tower under Cromwell, and a great agent in his oppressions. He was taken at the same time with Okey and Scott.

[6] He was taken and executed along with the celebrated Hugh Peters, 16th October, 1660.

Henry Martin,
William Purefoy,
John Blakiston,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir William Constable, Baronet,
Edmund Ludlow,
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet,
Robert Tichborne,
Owen Row,
Robert Lilborn,
Richard Dean,
John Okey,
John Hughson,
William Goffe,
John Carew,
Miles Corbett,
Francis Allen,
Peregrin Pelham,
John Moor,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Wogan,
Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet,
Edmund Harvey,
John Venn,
Thomas Andrews, Alderman of London,
William Cowley,
Anthony Stapeley,
John Downs,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Augustine Garland,
John Dixwell,
George Fleetwood,
Simon Mayne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrave,
Thomas Wait,

be excepted out of the act of general pardon and oblivion, for and in respect only of such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, (not extending to life,) as shall be thought fit to be inflicted on them, by another act intended to be hereafter passed for that purpose. Fol. 325.

By the King, a Proclamation, to summon the Persons therein named, who sate, gave Judgment, and assisted in that horrid and detestable Murder of his Majesty's Royal Father of blessed Memory, to appear and render themselves within fourteen Days, under Pain of being excepted from Pardon.

The effect of this proclamation, and the measure of grace to be extended to those who surrendered in consequence of it, became a subject of controversy between the house of peers and the house of commons.

" The parliament published a proclamation, that all those who did not render themselves by a day named, should be judged as guilty and attainted of treason; which many consented to, conceiving it to amount to no more than a common process at law to bring men to justice. But it was no sooner out, than all they who had concealed themselves in order to be transported, rendered themselves to the speaker of the house of commons, and were by him committed to the Tower. And the house conceived itself engaged to save those men's lives who had put themselves into their power upon that presumption. The house of peers insisted upon it in many conferences, that the proclamation could bear no such interpretation: but, as it condemned all who, by flying, declined the justice of the kingdom, so it admitted as many as would appear to plead their own innocence, which, if they could prove, they would be safe. But the guilty, and with them the house of commons, declared, that they could not but understand that they who

rendered themselves should be in a better condition than they who fled beyond the seas, which they were not in any degree if they were put upon their trial; for to be tried and to be condemned was the same thing, since the guilt of all was equally notorious and manifest. And this kind of reasoning prevailed upon the judgments and understandings of many, who had all manner of detestation for the persons of the men. In the end the house of peers, after long contests, were obliged to consent, that all the persons who had fled, and who had not rendered themselves, should be brought to a trial and attainted according to law, together with those who were or should be taken; whereby they would forfeit all their estates to the king: But for those who had rendered themselves upon the faith of the parliament, as they called it, they should remain in such prisons as his majesty thought fit during their lives, and neither of them be put to death without the consent of parliament."—*Contin. of* CLARENDON, p. 69.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, greeting. We taking notice, by the information of our lords and commons now assembled in parliament, of the most horrid and execrable treason and murder committed upon the person, and against the life, crown, and dignity of our late royal father Charles the First, of blessed memory: And that John Lisle, William Say, Esquires, Sir Hardress Waller, Valentine Walton, Edward Whalley, Esquires, Sir John Bourchier, Knight, William Heveningham, Esquire, Isaac Pennington, Alderman of London, Henry Martin, John Barkstead, Gilbert Millington, Edmund Ludlow, John Hutchinson, Esquires, Sir Michael Livesay, Baronet, Robert Tichborn, Owen Roe, Robert Lilburn, Adrian Scroop, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goff, Cornelius Holland, John Carew, Miles Corbet, Henry Smith, Thomas Wogan, Edmund Harvey, Thomas Scott, William Cowley, John Downs, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, Augustine Garland, John Dixwel, George Fleetwood, Simon Mayne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blagrave, and Thomas Wait, Esquires, being deeply guilty of that most detestable and bloody treason, in sitting upon and giving judgment against the life of our royal father; and also John Cooke, who was employed therein as solicitor, Andrew Broughton and John Phelps, who were employed under the said persons as clerks, and Edward Dendy, who attended them as sergeant at arms, have, out of the sense of their own guilt, lately fled and obscured themselves, whereby they cannot be apprehended and brought to a personal and legal trial for their said treasons according to law: We do therefore, by the advice of our said lords and commons, command, publish, and declare, by this our proclamation, that all and every the persons before named, shall, within fourteen days next after the publishing of this our royal proclamation, personally appear and render themselves to the speaker or speakers of our house of peers or commons, or unto the lord mayor of our city of London, or to the sheriffs of our respective counties of England and Wales, under pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity, both for their respective lives and estates: And that no person or persons shall presume to harbour or conceal any the persons aforesaid, under pain of misprision of high treason.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 6th day of June, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

Saturday, June 9th, 1660.

Mr Speaker acquaints the house that Mr William Heveningham had rendered himself to him.

Resolved, That William Heveningham, Esq. do remain in the custody of the sergeant at arms attending this house, till this house take further order. Fol. 318.

June 13*th*, 1660.

Mr Speaker acquaints the house that Colonel Thomas Wayte, Mr Simon Mayne, and Mr Peter Temple had rendered themselves, &c.

Ordered, That the commitment of the said three persons be, and is hereby approved. Fol. 338.

Saturday, June 16*th*, 1660.

Mr Speaker acquainted the house that Alderman Robert Tychborne, Colonel George Fleetwood, and James Temple have rendred themselves according to his majesty's proclamation.

Ordered, That the commitment of the said persons accordingly to the sergeant at arms be, and hereby is, approved by this house. Fol. 347.

June 18*th*, 1660.

Mr Speaker acquainted the house that Sir John Bourchier, colonel, Owen Roe, and Colonel Robert Lilburne, had rendered themselves according to the king's proclamation.

Ordered, That this house doth approve of the commitment of Sir John Bourchier, colonel, Owen Roe, and Colonel Robert Lilburne, to the sergeant at arms attending this house. Fol. 354.

Tuesday, June 19*th*, 1660.

Mr Speaker acquaints the house that Colonel Adrian Scroope, Mr Augustine Garland, Colonel Edmund Harvey, and Mr Henry Smith, four of those that sate as judges upon the late king's majesty, rendered themselves according to his majesty's proclamation.

Ordered, That this house doth approve of the commitment of the said persons, and that they so continue till further order. Fol. 364.

June 19*th*, 1660.

The house being informed that Colonel John Downes, who sate as one of the judges of the late king, is seized and secured by the lord general's order.

Ordered, That the said Colonel Downes be forthwith put into the charge and custody of the sergeant at arms attending this house, and so to continue till further order. Fol. 365.

Wednesday, June 20*th*, 1660.

Mr Speaker acquaints the house that Colonel Henry Martin rendred himself according to his majesty's proclamation.

Ordered, That this house doth approve of the commitment of Colonel Henry Martin to the sergeant at arms attending this house, and that he so continue till this house take further order. Fol. 373.

Monday, August 6*th*, 1660.

Resolved, That this house doth approve of what the sergeant at arms attending this house hath done, in taking good security of all the respective persons committed to his custody, who sate in the late pretended high court of justice, when sentence of death was pronounced against the late King Charles of blessed memory, according to a list now given in, and remaining with the clerk of this house. Fol. 602.[1]

[1] Their fate was determined at passing the act of indemnity:—"The next thing to be considered, was how to treat those of the late king's judges who had rendered themselves upon the proclamation; which held no long debate; those who were inclined to do that which was just, decent, and reasonable, being far the lesser

An Abstract of Part of Smith's Articles and Charge (in his Majesty's Behalf) against Sergeant Northfolk, Esq.

THAT Mr Northfolk, by taking bail for murder and treason against the laws of this kingdom, Ludlow made his escape; and the said Ludlow being unlawfully set at liberty by the means of the said Northfolk, the said Northfolk is guilty of treason by the common law. 1 H. VI. Fol. 5.

That the said Northfolk set at liberty all or most of those traitors that rendred themselves according to his majesty's proclamation of the sixth of June, 1660.

That Northfolk would not seize upon Colonel Joyce when he was shewed unto him in the lobby. 22 Edw. III. Fol. 48.

That the said Northfolk held correspondency with traitors, during the time he was sergeant to the last parliament, by sending word privately what passed in the house against them before they rendred themselves to be his prisoners. 25 Edw. III. cap. 2.

That if Mr Northfolk cannot prove the revealing and delivering of those goods (before the 29th of September, 1660,) which he is now charged withal, he hath disobeyed his majesty's proclamation of the 14th of August, 1660.

That the said Northfolk, by concealing traitors after the sixth of June, 1660, is guilty of misprision of treason by his majesty's proclamation of the sixth of June, 1660.

That the said Northfolk, after he had got vast sums of money, by taking bail for murder and treason, the sixth of August, being two months after such his taking bail as aforesaid, moved the honourable house of commons to allow of what he had done in his taking bail as aforesaid, pretending to their honours that he had not prison-room enough to keep his prisoners in: And the said honourable house of commons (not knowing of the treacherous actions of the said Northfolk) upon the said Northfolk's pretence aforesaid, resolved to approve of what he had done, in taking good security, &c. which good security the said Northfolk had not taken, and therefore is not protected under that order: And the said Northfolk, at the time when he moved the house as aforesaid upon his false pretence aforesaid, had Lambeth-house for his prison, which would have held three hundred prisoners more than he had at that time in his custody; whereby it plainly appears, that the said Northfolk having involved himself into multiplicity of treasons, upon his false pretence aforesaid, moved the house for such an order colourably to clear himself if he could.

That Mr Northfolk taking advantage of the preceding time limited in the act of indemnity, committed most of the treasons charged against him: In the interval of

number. Yet the Earl of Southampton had the courage to move, that since it was not thought fit to secure the lives of those who had been induced to surrender their persons upon the faith of the proclamation, they ought at least to give them the like number of days for saving themselves, as were appointed by that paper for their coming in. But Finch, who had formerly fled from the justice of the parliament, opposed the motion; and said, that by such means they might be enabled to do more mischief, (as he knew had happened in his own case.) Upon this Mr Thomas Chaloner, with those of the judges who had rendered themselves, were put into the exception for life and estate. Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr Robert Wallop, the Lord Monson, Sir James Harrington, Mr James Chaloner, and Mr John Phelps, were excepted from receiving any benefit of their estates, and subjected to such farther punishment as should be inflicted upon them; their lives only to be preserved. Colonel Hacker, who was one of those to whom the warrant of the high court of justice for the execution of the king had been directed, together with Mr Hugh Peters, and the two persons who were in mask upon the scaffold when he was beheaded, were excepted by the lords both for life and estate."—LUDLOW, III. 35.

time between the date of his majesty's declaration of the 4th April from Breda, and the date of his majesty's gracious act of indemnity; and by his majesty's proclamation of the fifteenth of June, 1660, (wherein his majesty declared the granting of his full and general pardon to all his subjects of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing of his majesty's declaration aforesaid, should lay hold upon that his grace and favour, and should by any public act declare their doing so; and that they returned to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects, (excepting only such persons as should be excepted by parliament,) &c. That no crime whatsoever committed against his majesty that now is, or his late father of blessed memory, before the publication thereof, should ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, &c. The said Northfolk (after the honourable house of commons assembled in parliament, in the behalf of themselves, and all the commons of England, &c. laid hold upon his majesty's free and general pardon according to his majesty's declaration aforesaid, and upon which declaration the act of indemnity being grounded,) committing most of those treasons charged against him, long after the time limited in the said declaration, ought not to be comprehended either in declaration, proclamation, or act of indemnity, but be answerable to the laws of this kingdom, as if the declaration, proclamation, and act of indemnity had never been granted and published.

JOHN SMITH.

And, for further Manifestation of the precedent Articles, I humbly present these ensuing Acts and Statutes unto your grave Judgments.

To set at large unlawfully any prisoners that are committed to prison, ward, or custody, for treason, is treason by the common law. 1 Hen. VI. Fol. 5.

To be adhering to the king's enemies, aiding them, or giving them comfort in his realm, or elsewhere, is high treason. 25 Edw. III. cap. 2.

To succour the king's enemies is treason. 22 Edw III. Fol. 48.

To conceal and keep secret any high-treason is misprision of treason.

Note, That the counsellors, procurers, consenters, abettors, and aiders to any of the aforenamed treasons, be all within the compass and danger of high-treason; for in treasons all offenders be principal. Stamf. III. p. 2, 4, 5, 6. 19 Hen. VI. 27.

The Judgment of Sir Orlando Bridgman, declared in his Charge to the Jury at the Arraignment of the Twenty-nine Regicides (the Murtherers of King Charles the First, of most glorious Memory) began at Hicks's-Hall, on Tuesday the Ninth of October, 1660, and continued at the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily, until Friday the Nineteenth of the same Month.

" On the ninth of October the commissioners of oyer and terminer [for the trial of the king's judges] met at Hicks's Hall, of whom were several of the chief nobility; the lord mayor and the judges; Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord chief baron, sitting in chief: the counsel were Sir Jeffrey Palmer, the king's attorney, Sir Heneage Finch, solicitor-general, Sir Edward Turnor, the Duke of York's attorney, and Sergeant Keeling, Windham, &c. The grand jury being sworn, Sir William Darcy, baronet, their foreman, Sir Orlando gave them the charge, declaring the import of their commission, to try those excepted out of the act, for their treason in murdering

the late king of blessed memory, upon the statute 25 Edw. III., by which it was made treason to compass and imagine the death of the king: which he largely, learnedly, and eloquently opened, the statute being but declarative of the common law."—HEATH's *Chronicle*, p. 463.

These are the very Words of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, p. 10, *in the Book of the Trials.*

I MUST deliver for plain and true law, that no authority, no single person, no community of persons, not the people collectively or representatively, have any coercive power over the King of England; and I do not speak mine own sense, but the words of the laws unto you.

It was the treason of the Spencers in King Edward the Second's time in Calvin's case, in the 7th report; the Spencers had an opinion that all homage and allegiance was due to the king by reason of the crown, as they called it; and thereupon (say the books and records) they drew out this execrable inference, (among others,) that if the king did not demean himself according to right, because he could not be reformed by law, he might *per aspertee*, that is, by sharp imprisonment.

But this was adjudged horrid treason by two acts of parliament. [Let me tell you what our law books say, for there is the ground, out of which (and the statutes together) we must draw all our conclusions for matters of government.] How do they stile the king? They call him the lieutenant of God, and many other expressions. In the book of 1 Hen. VII. says that book there, the king is immediate from God, and hath no superior. The statute says, that the crown of England is immediately subject to God, and to no other power. The king, says our books, he is not only *caput populi*, the head of the people, but *caput reipublicæ*, the head of the commonwealth, the three estates. And truly thus our statutes speak very fully. Common experience tells you when we speak of the king, and so the statutes of Edward the Third, we call the king "our sovereign lord the king:" Sovereign, that is, supreme. And when the lords and commons in parliament apply themselves to the king, they use this expression, "your lords and commons, your faithful subjects humbly beseech." I do not speak any words of my own, but the words of the laws. In the statute 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12. it is thus exprest: "Whereas by divers, sundry, old, authentick histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared, that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown." 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. there it is the people speaking of themselves, "That they do recognize no superior under God but only the king's grace." Gentlemen, you see if the king be immediate under God, he derives his authority from nobody else; if the king have an imperial power, if the king be head of the commonwealth, head of the body politick, if the body politick owe him obedience, truly I think it is an undenied consequence he must needs be superior over them. The imperial crown is a word that is significative, you shall find in all statutes, 1 Eliz. and 1 Jacobi, nay even in the act of judicial proceedings of this parliament, it is called an imperial crown. They that take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, they swear that they will to their power "assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, preheminencies, and authorities granted or belonging to the king, his heirs and successors, or annexed to the imperial crown of this realm." What is an imperial crown? That which, as to the coersive part, is subject to no man under God, is not subject to any humane tribunal or judicature whatsoever.

Gentlemen, since this is so, consider the oath of supremacy, which most men have taken or should take. All men that enter into the parliament house, they are expressly enjoin'd by statute to take the oath of supremacy.

What says that oath? We swear, "That the king is the only supream governor within this realm and dominions:" He is supream, and the only supream, and truly if he be supream, there is neither major nor superior.

I declare this to you, to let you know that the king is immediately subject to God, and so is not punishable by any person. He is the supream head, he is not punishable by any coersive power; the laws provide for that, "the king can do no wrong; it is a rule of law, it is in our law books very frequent," 22 Ed. IV. Lord Coke and many others. If he can do no wrong, he cannot be punished for any wrong. The king hath the infirmities and weakness of a man, but he cannot do any injury, at least not considerable in person. He must do it by ministers, agents, and instruments. Now the law, though it provide for the king, yet if any of his ministers do wrong, though by his command, they are punishable. He is not to be touched, *Touch not mine anointed.*

Thus far that great and eminent lawyer, afterwards made lord keeper of the great seal of England by King Charles the Second of ever-blessed memory. And if his judgment be false, to which most of the lords of England, at least of the privy-council, sitting with him, did assent, shall not we make martyrs of the king's regicides? To be sure they had hard measure, after the reasons that were given by Mr Cook and Mr Scott for what they did, if this were not law.

The Petition of Henry Smyth.

Henry Smyth, one of the "High Court," pleaded guilty at the bar, and desired the court's mediation. He was pardoned.

Sir,

The deep remorse of my heinous crime, with the gracious tender of mercy by his majesty and parliament, tendered to all who should render themselves according to his majesty's proclamation, encourageth me, sir, to implore your christian charity to be found an object fit for your pity and compassion; and that, by your favour with his gracious majesty and parliament, I may receive his royal grace and favour for a poor unhappy life; which, through the assistance of God, shall be improved in praying for the happiness of his royal majesty, the parliament, and your self in particular, by,

Sir,

Your poor petitioner and humble servant,

Henry Smyth

The humble Tender of some Considerations by the said Henry Smyth.

I. The high proceedings of the army in the imprisoning and forcible keeping out of several members of the house, to the great astonishment of the rest.

II. That when any did but make their desire to be excused from the commands of the house, in relation to their attending the pretended high court, they were sharply reproved, and menaced of being sent to the Tower, and sequestration, by those who then had the greatest influence upon the army and parliament; who also procured several strict orders of the house for all whom they had named therein to give their attendance.

III. That the said Henry Smyth neither advised, contrived, or designed the death of his late majesty; nor had at any time any murderous or malicious thoughts or intentions towards his royal person; nor had at any time any thing to do in those secret councils and contrivances acted either in parliament or army; but, by his relying upon the advice and direction (for the conduct of all his affairs) of such persons as he unhappily deemed no less honest than skilful, was misguided and cozened into such overt acts, as in the eye of the law made him guilty of such murderous and malicious thoughts and intentions, as he doth, and ever did, from his very soul abhor.

IV. That he was at the same time very young and ignorant of the laws, and, in respect of the high actings in the army and parliament, was forced, with others, to sit in the said pretended high court against their freedom and wills.

V. That he hath been always ready to shew what civility was in his power to his majesty's friends; and that he never took the oath of abjuration.

The Case of the distressed Lady Harrington; together with her Petition, humbly presented to this Honourable House.

This lady was wife of Sir John Harrington, one of the king's judges.

She was the daughter of Sir Edmund Wright, who was the lord mayor of London in the beginning of the troubles, and appeared upon all occasions for the late king, and continued loyal to his dying day, suffering both fine and imprisonment for him.

She brought her husband a great portion in money, and Sir Edmund Wright gave her a house and some lands at Swakeley for her life, and after her death to her eldest son and his heirs, who was always in his judgment for a king and kingly government, and never in the least measure disloyal; and she hath eleven children besides, and no manner of present livelihood amongst them all.

Her husband was not chosen a member into the long unhappy parliament before 1646, and long before that time arms were taken up, and battles fought; upon which many fatal consequences ensued.

She confesseth her miserable husband, after two summons and an order to record his default if he did not appear, did the 23d of January only appear, and no other time, either in the Painted Chamber or Westminster-hall, though often summoned; neither staid he the doing of any one thing, but left the court abruptly; whereupon they made an order, That thenceforth none should leave the court but with license, as by the

journal-book thereof may appear, nor ever appeared he in any other high court of justice.

Her husband's estate is no other than as followeth, viz. At Merton, in Oxfordshire, about 600*l.* per annum, which was settled upon marriage for her jointure, and intailed upon her issue. At Ridlington, in Rutlandshire, between 300*l.* and 400*l.* per annum, but is charged with 150*l.* per annum to his brother John for life, with power to make his wife a jointure. He had a little house at Highgate worth about 30*l.* per annum, but mortgaged and forfeited.

Her husband oweth in real and personal debts above 8000*l.* and her poor son, in obedience to his father, is bound with him for near 4000*l.* of that debt.

She humbly prayeth, That her poor eldest son, who is in no sort guilty in the least, may not be buried alive in a prison, by a law now to be made, which must be the consequence, if his father's debts be left upon him; and she hopes your honours will not reckon any man's estate his own before his debts be paid.

That she who cannot be charged with any crime, and her twelve innocent children (some not born when her husband's fault was committed) may not be turned all to beg, but that, whilst her husband's fault is remembered, her father's sufferings, and her own and children's innocency, may not wholly be forgotten; and that all such in this honourable house as are either fathers, husbands, or children, would seriously consider the case of her and her twelve innocent children, before they expose them to final ruin, without any fault in them, as men and Christians, to mitigate their sentence, that life may not be more cruel than death, but be consistent with mercy, in imitation of God. The God of mercy, who hath declared his promise, and pronounced his blessing to the merciful, of which to make you all partakers shall be the prayers of your honours most miserable and distressed suppliant and her numerous issue, who cast themselves at your honours feet for mercy to her whole family.

The State of the Case of Edmund Harvey, Prisoner in the Tower of London, condemned to die.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Harvey was also one of the king's judges.

I. That he rendered himself upon the faith and confidence he had in his majesty's gracious proclamation, published by advice of the lords and commons, dated the 6th of June, 1660.

II. That, he not being sensible of the danger of appearing in such an assembly, did for some time attend the pretended high court of justice for the trial of his late majesty, sincerely intending to improve his utmost power to divert their proceedings against him; the which he heartily endeavoured: and when he (with such as he had procured

to join with him) could not dissuade, he did declare his abhorrency thereof, and deserted the said pretended high court, refusing any more to be present, to consent, order, or sign, or seal with them, though thereunto pressed by summons and earnest solicitations, as was witnessed by persons of good quality and credit before his majesty's commissioners, upon his late trial at Newgate, as is hereafter set forth, and which they are again ready to attest.

Upon the request of Edmund Harvey, I, Thomas Langham, citizen and mercer of London, do hereby humbly certify, That I, being called as a witness before his majesty's commissioners upon the trial of the said Edmund Harvey, at the late gaol-delivery of Newgate, did then and there, viz. the 16th day of October, 1660, before the said commissioners and the jury, testify as followeth, That I being, anno 1648, an apprentice unto Edmund Sleigh, late alderman of the city of London, and copartner unto the said Edmund Harvey, he the said Edmund Harvey, in the evening of the day, being Friday next before the sentence against his late majesty passed, came (as usually he did) unto the house of my aforesaid master, being then in Cheapside, London, and I being then present, heard my said master ask him what news there was at the high court of justice for the trial of the king? Unto which he answered, very bad news, for (as far as he perceived) many of the court would endeavour the next day to pass a sentence against the king, which he said he would endeavour to hinder, and would, to his utmost, labour to prevent. And the next day being Saturday, in the evening, he came again unto my said master's house, I being then also present; heard him tell my said master, that his majesty had been that day at the court, and though he would not own them as a court, yet would propound an expedient unto them for the settling of the peace of his kingdoms, which was by his majesty propounded before the sentence passed, and was, that they would be instrumental to get his two houses of parliament to meet, that he might have a conference with them for the purpose aforesaid. And the said Edmund Harvey further said, that he had endeavoured all that in him lay, that his majesty's expedient might be embraced, and that no sentence might have been passed, but could not prevail; and further declared his dissent to, and abhorrency of, that sentence, and the court's proceedings therein. And farther said, that his detestation thereof was such, as that he would never give his consent, or sign, or seal thereunto, or otherwise meet, consult with, or come amongst them.

THOMAS LANGHAM.

Upon the request of Edmund Harvey, nominated by the then power to be one of the pretended high court of justice for the trial of his late majesty, I, Edward Corbet, minister of Northreppes, in the county of Norfolk (being then one of the assembly of divines) do hereby humbly certify, That about two days before the death of his late majesty, the said Edmund Harvey invited me to dine with him at a victualling-house near St Margaret's, Westminster, when and where, to my full and perfect remembrance, he acquainted me with his majesty's advice, (before sentence passed against him) that the commissioners would get his two houses together, that he might have a conference with them for the settling the peace of his kingdoms; and that he the said Edmund Harvey was so convinced and rectified thereby, that he laboured to prevent the passing the said sentence (but could not,) and seriously expressed great reluctancy against the court's proceedings, and much grief and trouble that the king's advice was not accepted, and the said sentence laid aside, passionately abhorring any such act as the murder of his majesty, under the appearance of an high court of justice. And declaring that he had been, with much earnestness, pressed to come unto the said court to join with the said commissioners, in ordering, signing, and sealing a warrant for the execu-

tion of the said sentence (which, he said, he would never do;) and, to avoid further temptations and solicitations thereunto, took me on purpose to bear him company, and kept himself in the aforesaid place privately, when and where he desired my advice and opinion, as to himself and his actings contrary to the court's aforesaid proceedings, in which, according to my abilities, I did not only comfort him in so acting, but laboured to confirm his perseverance in those his loyal resolutions, advising him not to enter into the secrets of those men. And I do further certify, That there was also then present, which heard the aforesaid discourse, one Mr Adoniram Byfield, then minister of Fulham. And, lastly, I do certify, That, when I was called before a committee of parliament, for vindicating myself by name in print, from giving the least advice or countenance unto the production of an impiety so monstrous as the murdering of his royal majesty (a prince of incomparable perfections) the said Edmund Harvey afforded me all favour and assistance for my release and quiet.

The which, for the whole substance, and all the material parts thereof, I testified before the lords the king's justices, and the jury, the 16th of the said October, at the trial of the said Edmund Harvey.

EDWARD CORBET.
EDM. HARVEY.

Considerations humbly tendered by Simon Mayne, to shew that he was no Contriver of that horrid Action of the Death of the late King, but merely seduced and drawn into it by the Persuasion of Others.

I. His own weakness and natural infirmities render him incapable of being a contriver or promoter of any great or considerable action whatsoever, much less of that wicked one.

II. When he was first nominated one of that illegal court, he was out of town, and altogether ignorant thereof; and therefore, upon his first entrance into the house (though he was sensible of his own disability to speak in parliament) yet, through his natural opposition against that action, he presumed to rise, and would have spoke to excuse himself from being one of that court, which Mr Thomas Challoner, one of the then house, perceiving, laid hands upon him, and prevented him from speaking; threatening, that, if he should attempt to free himself therefrom, he would be taken for a delinquent, and in danger of sequestration. And hath (since) often boasted to others, that he was the man that made Mr Mayne a man of courage and resolution.

III. When the tryal was, he (to avoid acting therein) did withdraw himself into London, pretending that he was sick, and lodged privately at the sign of the Golden Horseshoe, in the Old-Baily, for some certain days, so that he might not be involved in that horrid action, hoping that the business would have been over before his return, which was not; and then he was persuaded by some zealous friends to go into the court again the last day when the king was sentenced.

IV. When he was in the Painted Chamber to sign the warrant, he was so disquieted in his conscience, that though he saw above fifty sign before him, yet he would not easily frame his spirit to sign with them; which one of the chief of that number per-

ceiving, calling to him, said, Here stands one afraid: What do you fear? Do not you see others go before you? Hereby he was drawn amongst the rest to sign it, much against his own mind and inclination.

V. That ever since that foul act, he hath been so sensible of his great offence therein, that he durst not purchase any of the king's, queen's, or any other public lands whatsoever, to shew he did not persist in allowance or justification of that action, nor hath he enriched himself by the ruin of others, or the public troubles of the kingdom.

VI. That he hath been so sensible of his great and heinous crime, that though some (not knowing him to be involved therein) have in his presence freely, and with the greatest aggravations imaginable, spoke against both act and actors, yet his conscience was so afflicted with the sense of the vileness of that act, that he never made any discovery of them, although, as the times then were, he might have much advantaged himself thereby, as some now living can testify.

VII. That when there was a search for the king's party in London, about three years since, and many fled into the country to secure themselves, he did privately secure and send some of them to their own houses, Mr Digby, by name, was one, to the hazard of his estate by sequestration, had it been known to the committee of Alisbury.

VIII. That he never was of any private junto or secret cabal, nor never took the oath of abjuration, being much dissatisfied about it; nor was one of them that voted non-addresses to his late majesty.

That notwithstanding these his considerations to extenuate, in a moral sense, his guilt, and truly to represent himself no principal actor or contriver of that wicked action, yet with the most unfeigned sorrow of a truly penitent heart, he doth acknowledge his late sentence to be legal and most just, and deservedly inflicted upon him the most penitent of sinners.

The humble Petition and Address of the General Court sitting at Boston, in New-England, unto the High and Mighty Prince Charles the Second, and presented unto his Most Gracious Majesty, Feb. 11, 1660.

Printed the same Year.

The immediate acquiescence of the colonies in the revolutions of the mother country, was in the case of New-England the more remarkable, as it was peopled by fanatics of every description, who had fled from the tyranny of the high commission court, and might safely dread the renovation of episcopacy. But the consideration does not seem to have weighed much with them.

To the High and Mighty Prince Charles the Second, by the Grace of God King of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

Most Gracious and Dread Soveraign,

May it please your majesty (in the day wherein you happily say, you now know

that you are again king over your Brittish Israel) to cast a favourable eye upon your poor Mephibosheths now, and by reason of lameness in respect of distance, not until now appearing in your presence, we mean New-England, kneeling with the rest of your subjects, before your majesty, as her restored king. We forget not our ineptness as to these approaches. We at present own such impotency, as renders us unable to excuse our impotency of speaking unto our lord the king; yet, contemplating such a king who hath also seen adversity, that he knoweth the heart of exiles, who himself hath been an exile; the aspect of majesty, thus extraordinary circumstanced, influenceth and animateth exanimated out-casts (yet out-casts as we hope for the truth) to make this address unto their prince, hoping to find grace in your sight; we present this script, the transcript of our loyal hearts, into your royal hands, wherein we crave leave,

To supplicate your majesty for your gracious protection of us in the continuance both of our civil privileges, according to (and of our religious liberties, the grantees known end of suing for) the pattent conferred upon this plantation by your royal father: this, this, viz. our liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospel (unto which the former in these ends of the earth is but subservient) was the cause of our transporting ourselves, with our wives, little ones, and our substance, from that pleasant land over the Atlantic Ocean, into this vast and waste wilderness; chusing rather the pure scripture worship with a good conscience, in this poor remote wilderness, amongst the heathens, than the pleasures of England, with subjection to the imposition of the then so disposed and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience: for this cause we are at this day in a land which lately was not sown, wherein we have conflicted with the sufferings thereof much longer then Jacob was in Syria; our witness is in heaven, that we left not our country upon any dissatisfaction as to the constitution of the civil state; our lot, after the example of the good old non-conformist, hath been only to act a passive part throughout these late vicissitudes and successive overturnings of state; our separation from our brethren in this desart hath been, and is a suffering, bringing to mind the affliction of Joseph, but the providential exception of us thereby from the late wars, and temptations of either party, we account as a favour from God: the former cloathes us with sackcloth, the latter with innocency.

What reception, courtesy, and equanimity those gentlemen and other adherers to the royal interest in their adverse changes visited these parts were entertained with amongst us, according to the meanness of our conditions, we appeal to their own reports.

Touching complaints put in against us, our humble request only is, that for the interim, wherein we are dumb, by reason of absence, your majesty would permit nothing to make an impression upon your royal heart against us, until we have opportunity and licence to answer for ourselves; few will be nocent, said that impleader, if it be enough to deny; few will be innocent, replied the then emperour, if it be enough to accuse.

Concerning the quakers, open capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord's Christ, our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed gospel, and from the holy scriptures, as the rule of life, open enemies to government itself, as established in the hands of any but men of their own principles, malignant and assiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our churches and state; after all other means, for a long time used in vain, we were constrained, for our own safety, to pass a sentence of banishment against them upon pain of death; such was their dangerous, impetuous, and desperate turbulency to religion, and to the state civil and ecclesiastical, as that how unwilling soever, could it have been avoided, the magistrate at least, in conscience both to God and man, judged himself, called for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held toward them; this could do no harm to him that would be warned thereby, they willingly rushing themselves thereupon was their own

act, and we with all humility conceive a crime bringing their bloods upon their own heads. The quakers died not because of their other crimes, how capital soever, but upon their superadded, presumptuous, and incorrigible contempt of authority, breaking in upon us, notwithstanding the sentence of banishment made known unto them; had they not been restrained, so far as appeared, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died, or worse; and such was their insolency, that they would not be restrained but by death; nay, had they at last but promised to depart the jurisdiction, and not to return without leave from authority, we should have been glad of such an opportunity to have said they should not die.

Let not the king hear men's words; your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel; we are not seditious to the interest of Cæsar, no schismaticks as to the matters of religion; we distinguish between churches and their impurities; between a living man, though not without sickness or infirmities, and no man; irregularities, either in ourselves or others, we desire may be amended; we could not live without the publick worship of God; we were not permitted the use of publick worship, without such a yoke of subscription and conformity as we could not consent unto without sin: That we might therefore enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence either to God or man, or our own consciences, we with leave (but not without tears) departed from our country, kindred, and father's house, into this Pathmos; in relation whereunto we do not say, our garments are become old, by reason of the very long journey, but that ourselves, who came away in our strength, are, by reason of our very long absence, many of us become grey-headed, and some of us stooping for age; the omission of the prementioned injunctions, together with the walking of our churches, as to the point of order in the congregational way, is all wherein we differ from our orthodox brethren.

Sir, we lye not before your sacred majesty; the Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods he knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it were in rebellion or schisme that we willingly left our dwelling in our own, or continue our dwelling in the strange land, save us not this day.

Royal sir, if, according to our humble petition and good hope, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the Father of Mercies (who comforteth the abject) shall make the permission of the bereavement of that all, for which we have and do suffer the loss of all, precious, so precious in your sight, as that your royal heart shall be inclined to shew unto us that kindness of the Lord, in your majesty's protection of us in these liberties, for which we hither came, and which hitherto we have enjoyed upon Hezekiah's speaking comfortably to us as to sons; this orphan shall not continue fatherless, but grow up as a revived infant under its nursing father: these churches shall be comforted in a door of hope opened by so signal a pledge of the lengthening of their tranquillity; these poor and naked Gentiles, not a few of whom, through grace, are come and coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers with incouragement of a more plentiful increase of the kingdom of Christ amongst them, and the blessing of your poor afflicted (and yet we hope, trusting in God) shall come upon the head and heart of that great king, who was sometime an exile as we are:

With a religious stipulation of our prayers, we (prostrate at your royal feet) beg pardon for this our boldness, craving finally that our names may be enrolled amongst

Your Majesty's most humble
Subjects and suppliants,
JOHN ENDECOT, Governor.
In the name, and with the consent of the General Court.

The Earl of Bristol's Speech in the House of Lords, the 20th Day of July, 1660, upon the Bill of Indemnity. Printed 1660.

My Lords,

Being to speak unto your lordships somewhat more extendedly than is my use, and upon a subject wherein there may be perhaps not only difference, but even fervour of opinions, I find myself obliged, by somewhat that happened to me here the other day, to beg a favour of your lordships, that, if I should chance to err in forms and orders of the house, or that there should slip from me unawares, any expression that may be dissonant to the ears of those who understand, better than I, the force and propriety of words, you will not be severe unto me, but be pleased to consider that I have been sixteen years out of my country, and in a profession far differing from what I am now a doing: in confidence of this indulgence I shall proceed.

My Lords, you have here before you in this bill of indemnity, the most important business that perhaps the house of peers hath at any time had in deliberation; it is that upon which the honour or eternal reproach of the nation abroad, and its happiness or confusion at home, seems (next under God's inscrutable providence) most principally to depend. For on the one side, how abhorred a nation must we be to all others, if the infamy of our sovereign's murther should not be thoroughly washed away by justice in the blood of the guilty? and on the other, what happiness or quiet can we hope for at home, nay, what new combustions ought we not to apprehend, if the criminal and the misled, (between whom the eye of the law can make little distinction) making up so numerous a part of the nation, their fears, which might urge them to new crimes, should not be secured by the firmest assurances of impunity? Punishing and securing are certainly the two principal ends of this bill, and wherein as certainly every one of your lordships doth concur; but whether the means of attaining those ends have been sufficiently lighted upon by the house of commons in this bill, that I suppose is the present question; and wherein I think myself in duty obliged to express unto your lordships with freedom and sincerity my judgment, in all humble submission unto yours.

As for that part of the bill which relates to our sovereign's murder, I find it so short, and so much out of the way, of what we owe both to the severity and solemnity of that revenge, that I cannot but think it in some sort (pardon the expression) a prophanation of the due rites of that sacred expiation, to handle it in the same bill promiscuously with other more vulgar things.

My motion therefore shall be, that there be forthwith a committee appointed, to consider of all things fit to be done for the washing away of that stain from the nation, and from the age wherein we live, and to draw up an act purposely and solely for that end. In confidence that this motion will either be embraced by your lordships, or that, if it be opposed, I shall have the liberty to fortify it by my reasons, I shall set that business apart, and apply my discourse to what concerns this bill in all other relations: in which I shall not make nice to tell your lordships, that I think it defective in many things reasonable, and redundant in some things unreasonable; and yet, notwithstanding not only my humble motion, but my most earnest pressure, as far as with humility

I may, shall be, that we may proceed immediately to the passing of this bill, with little or no alteration.

This, my lords, may appear a surprising motion from a person thought to be, as indeed I am, as much inflamed as any man living with indignation at the detestable proceedings of the late usurped power, so pernicious to the publick, and so injurious to my own particular; in whom the motion may seem yet more surprising, when I shall have told you with truth, that I am irreparably ruined in my fortune for my loyalty, (if this bill of indemnity to others for their disloyalty should pass, as it is here offered unto your lordships) but the ground I go upon is this received maxim as to all publick sanctions, Better a mischief than an inconvenience: Yea, better innumerable mischiefs to particular persons and families, than one heavy inconvenience to the publick.

My lords, I profess unto you I find myself set on fire, when I think that the blood of so many vertuous and meritorious peers, and persons, and others of all ranks, so cruelly and impiously shed, should cry so loud for vengeance, and not find it from us.

That many of the wickedest and meanest of the people should remain, as it were, rewarded for their treasons, rich and triumphant in the spoils of the most eminent in virtue and loyalty, of all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom.

What generous spirit can make reflection on these things, and not find his heart burn into rage within him?

Here it is, my lords, that we sufferers have need of all our philosophy.

But when I consider that these are mischiefs only to the sufferers, and that to insist upon a remedy might, perhaps, expose the publick to an irreparable inconvenience, I thank God I find in an instant all my resentments calmed and submitted to my primary duty.

My lords, we have here in our view, a kingdom tossed and rolling still with the effects of past tempests; and though, God be thanked, the storm be miraculously ceased, we cannot say that the danger is, until we get into still water: that still, that smooth water is only to be found in the generalities, security from their guilty fears, and in the two houses, union between themselves, and with their soveraign.

Whether the latter may not be endangered, if we should enter into controversy upon the particulars of this bill, I leave unto your lordships to judge. But certainly, as to the former, there can be no hopes of raising monies, or disbanding armies, or of settling that happiness and tranquillity which we all sigh for, of being governed under our gracious sovereign by the ancient and known laws of the land, whilst universal fears shall subsist by the delay in passing this bill.

My lords, I shall sum up unto your lordships my whole drift in a few words.

I think that in this bill there are many things wanting, which solid and important reasons would require to be added, and many things inserted into it, which justice to his majesty's interests, and to particular persons, would require to be omitted or rectified: but I conceive at the same time, that the mischiefs of the delay in passing it do far outweigh all the advantages of improving it.

My lords, I shall conclude my discourse and your lordships trouble with the application to this purpose, of a memorable saying of that illustrious minister, the Cardinal Mazarine, at a council in the wars of France, whereunto I had the honour to be called. It was, that in the great affairs of the world, he had not known any thing do more hurt than these two words, *Faisons Mieux*, let us do better. For, said he, whilst good wits endeavour by debates to bring good councils to a greater perfection, they do for the most part lose the opportunity of timing things rightly, which, in great actions, is of far more importance than the preference, according to refined reason, betwixt good and bette.

Upon this ground, my conclusion is, that that part which concerns the king's death being put in the way proposed, we should proceed to the speedy passing of this bill,

without losing any time in emendations; but if we be destined to so fatal a loss by raveling into particulars, I shall in that case desire leave to offer unto your lordships therein my reflections also.

The Speech which the Speaker of the House of Commons made unto the King in the House of Lords, at his passing of the Bills therein mentioned, the 29th of August, in the Year of our Lord, 1660. *Printed the same Year.*

The house of commons and house of peers having differed about the number and nature of the exceptions to be made from the act of indemnity, the public mind became much agitated at the delay of so necessary a measure.

"The king used his authority, and they who were trusted by him their credit and interest, for the suppressing those animosities which had irreconciled many persons between themselves who were of publick affections, by the nomination of several persons whose estates should be made liable to penalties, the imposing of which must again depend upon the parliament, which, besides the consumption of time, which was very precious, would renew and continue the same spirit of division which already had done too much mischief, and would inevitably have done much more. But, by this temper and composition, the act of indemnity was finished, passed the house of peers, and received the royal assent, to the wonderful joy of the people."—*Contin. of* CLARENDON, p. 71.

Most gracious Soveraign,

NOT many months since, England was but a great prison, where the worst of men were our governors, and their vilest lusts the laws by which they governed.

The great and most wise God conveyed divine intelligence into your patient and pious soul, and taught you how by suffering for us, to deliver us from our sufferings; to knock off our shackles, and set your people at liberty, when neither power nor policy could effect it. So soon as your majesty set your foot upon your English shore, our prison was turned into a paradise of pleasure, and the whole nation filled with joy, and love, and peace.

Sir, this great blessing is already registered in your peoples thankful hearts; and they desire that the memory thereof might be perpetuated; and therefore, they have laid it up amongst their choicest jewels, and annext it to their Magna Charta; which they are willing to pawn unto your majesty, upon condition, when they forget this, to forfeit that and all.

Sir, amongst your many illustrious titles, which, like fair and beautiful flowers, do adorn and bedeck your royal crown, there is one exceeds and excels all the rest, as well in vertue as in beauty, and that is your title of Defender of the Faith.

Sir, as that title is your honour, so the truth of it is our happiness. Neither the highest provocations, nor the strongest temptations that ever prince met withal, have been able to shake your victorious faith, nor abate your holy zeal; witness your first act, after your return to the exercise of your regal power, in your early and timely suppressing prophaneness, and discountenancing debauched persons, who know not how to express

their thankfulness unto God for mercies, but by a sinful drinking them away; a practice your soul abhors.

And as it is your highest honour to be the defender of that faith which we profess, so it is the greatest interest, prerogative, and privilege your majesty can be endowed and invested withal in this world, and will be your most lasting comfort in the world to come; that God, who hath hitherto been a sun to direct you, will be a shield to protect you; and that faith which you defend will defend you against all your enemies, maugre the malice of the devil and all his wicked instruments.

Royal Sir,

Your eminent virtues, and those excellent qualifications that God hath bestowed upon you, to make you every way worthy and fit for government, invite us at this time, with joyful hearts, to make our humble addresses unto your majesty, and to give you a chearful accompt of our proceedings this parliament, wherein we have spent our whole time upon publick bills; some, we must confess, of very great concernment to your majesty, and of all your people, are not yet ripe nor brought to perfection: But though like an after-crop, yet with the fair weather of your majesty's wonted patience, we hope likewise to inn them well at last, to your majesty's full satisfaction, and the great contentment of all your loyal and faithful subjects.

Some bills are passed both houses, and already lodged here, which attend and wait for your majesty's royal assent, and I shall humbly beg the favour only but to touch upon some of those of most publick concernments, by the way, and *in transitu*, to that bill here in my hand.

Sir, there is one bill now before you, intituled, "An Act for the Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings;" the scope and intendment of that bill is to settle mens estates, which is the way to quiet their minds; and when their minds are at rest, there will be no fear of their breaking the peace, or forfeiting their good behaviour, any more in time to come.

There is another bill, intituled, "An Act to prevent the taking of excessive Usury." The restraining men of avaricious minds, whose consciences are as large as their bags, will be a great ease to your people, and an inablement to your merchants the better to go on with their trades. They are the laborious bees that bring in honey into your majesty's hive; and usurers are the lazy, idle drones, that rob your hive of the honey.

There is another bill, intituled, "An Act for a perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving to be observed and kept upon the 29th of May:" A day that God himself was pleased to honour and adorn with a new additional star, never seen before nor since; a star of rare aspect, which declared to all the world at once the happy news of your majesty's blessed nativity, and as it was your majesty's birth-day, so it was the day of your restauration to your kingdoms, parliament, and people: And likewise the day of your people's re-creation out of a chaos of confusion and misery. And therefore they humbly pray; that not only we, (for there would need no act for that so long as we live) but that our posterity, and the ages that shall succeed us, might for ever be obliged to set apart that day as a holy-day, to dedicate their praises and thanksgivings up unto Almighty God for his miraculous deliverance of this poor nation, when it lay in dust and ashes, in a most miserable, desperate, forlorn, and deplorable condition.

There is another bill, intituled, "An Act of free and general Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion." It may well be called a free pardon; for your majesty was pleased to offer it before we had confidence enough to ask it, and at a time when your people had most need of it: And it may as truly be called a general pardon, in respect of the extensiveness of it. But looking over a long, black, prodigious, dismal roll and catalogue of malefactors, we there meet not with men, but monsters, guilty of blood, precious blood, precious royal blood, never to be remembered without tears; incomparable in all the

kinds of villany that ever was acted by the worst of miscreants, perverters of religion, subverters of government, false to God, disloyal to the best of kings, and perfidious to their country: And therefore we found an absolute and indispensable necessity incumbent upon us to except and set some apart for treacle, to expel the poison of sin and rebellion out of others, and that they might be made sacrifices to appease God's wrath, and satisfy divine justice.

And now I am come to that bill here in my hand, which I am commanded humbly to present your majesty withal.

Royal Sir, your commons, the knights, citizens, and burgesses now assembled in parliament, taking into consideration the great and unsupportable burden of the armies and navy, that your people do now groane under; and knowing, as money is the sinews of war, so, as the state of affairs now stand, that it is likewise the best medium that can be used in order to the attaining that end we have all so much desired, and so long prayed for, the settlement of a happy peace; and therefore they have passed this bill, entituled, "An Act for a speedy Provision of Money, to pay off and disband all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land;" upon which they hope such a sum will be advanced and brought in, as may be sufficient to discharge and dispatch that work. And they humbly pray your majesty's gracious acceptance thereof, and your royal assent thereunto.

I am further to inform and assure your majesty, that your people have passed another supply and revenue unto your majesty, which far surmounteth all they have already done in value, and that is, their hearts and affections; having their hearts, your majesty may command their purses.

Most Royal Soveraign, we have nothing more to offer or to ask at this time, but your majesty's gracious favor, so soon as your service and the publick affairs will permit, that we might have leave to go into our countries, where we shall make your people sensible of their happiness, in having such a king to govern and rule over them; as we praise your majesty, so likewise to pray for your majesty, that you may live long, and reign prosperously.

His Majesty's gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 29th Day of August, 1660, *at the passing of the Act of Free Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion; and several other Acts. Printed in* 1660. *Published at the Desire of the Lords in Parliament, and by his Majesty's Allowance.*

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have been here some times before with you, but never with more willingness than I am at this time: And there be few men in the kingdom who have longed more impatiently to have these bills passed, than I have done to pass them; and I hope they will be the foundation of much security and happiness to us all.

I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this act of indemnity, to that time which is mentioned in the bill; nay, I will tell you, that from that time to this day I will not use great severity, except in such cases where the malice is notorious, and the publick peace exceedingly concerned. But for the time to come, the same discretion and conscience which disposed me to the clemency I have expressed, which is most agreeable to my nature, will oblige me to all rigor and severity, how contrary soever it be to my nature, towards those who shall not now acquiesce, but continue to manifest their sedition and dislike of the government either in action or words. And I

must conjure you all (my lords and gentlemen) to concur with me in this just and necessary severity; and that you will, in your several stations, be so jealous of the publick peace, and of my particular honour, that you will cause exemplary justice to be done upon those who are guilty of seditious speeches or writings, as well as those who break out into seditious actions: And that you will believe those who delight in reproaching and traducing my person, not to be well affected to you and the publick peace. Never king valued himself more upon the affections of his people than I do; nor do I know a better way to make myself sure of your affections, than by being just and kind to you all: And whilst I am so, I pray let the world see that I am possessed of your affections.

For your Poll-bill, I do thank you as much as if the money were to come into my own coffers; and wish with all my heart that it may amount to as great a sum as you reckon upon. If the work be well and orderly done, to which it is designed, I am sure I shall be the richer by it in the end; and upon my word, if I had wherewithal, I would myself help you, so much I desire the business done. I pray very earnestly as fast as money comes in, discharge that great burthen of the navy, and disband the army as fast as you can; and till you can disband the rest, make a provision for their support.

I do conjure you, as you love me, let me not hear the noise of free-quarter, which will be imputed to my want of care and government, how innocent soever I am; and therefore be sure you prevent it.

I am so confident of your affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to myself, and yet I must tell you, I am not richer, that is, I have not so much money in my purse as when I came to you; the truth is, I have lived principally ever since upon what I brought with me, which was indeed your money; for you sent it to me, and I thank you for it. The weekly expence of the navy eats up all you have given me by the bill of tonnage and poundage. Nor have I been able to give my brothers one shilling since I came into England, nor to keep any table in my house but what I eat myself. And that which troubles me most is, to see many of you come to me to Whitehall, and to think that you must go some where else to seek your dinner.

I do not mention this to you as any thing that troubles me; do but take care of the publick, and for what is necessary for the peace and quiet of the kingdom, and take your own time for my own particular, which I am sure you will provide for with as much affection and franckness as I can desire.

His Majesty's gracious Commission to search into, and examine the pretended Sales and Purchases of the Honours, Mannors, Lands, and Hereditaments, of and belonging to his Majestie, his Royal Mother, the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Prebends, and other Ecclesiastical Persons; giving such Powers and Authorities as is necessary for the Ends, Intents, and Purposes, in and by the said Commission specified and expressed. Printed in 1660.

CHARLES the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to our trusty and right well-beloved counsellour Edward Lord Hyde, lord high chancellour of England; and to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousins and counsellours, Thomas Earl of Southampton, lord treasurer of England, and the lord chancellour, lord high treasurer of England, and the chancellour of the exchequer for the time being; and to our right trusty and intirely beloved

cousin and counsellour, George Duke of Albemarle, and to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousins and counsellours, James Marquis of Ormond, steward of our household, Edward Earl of Manchester, chamberlain of our household, and to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, Jerome Earl of Portland, and to our trusty and right well-beloved counsellour, John Lord Roberts, and to our trusty and right well-beloved John Lord Finch, Francis Lord Seymour, chancellour of our dutchy of Lancaster, and to the chancellour of our dutchy of Lancaster for the time being; John Lord Lucas; and to our trusty and well-beloved counsellours, Denzil Hollis, Esq. Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Morris, Knights; our principal secretaries of state, Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper, Bart. Arthur Annesley, Esq. and to our trusty and well-beloved Sir Robert Foster, Knt. chief justice of our bench, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Knt. and Bart. lord chief justice of our court of common pleas, Sir Robert Hyde, Knt. one other of the justices of our said court of common pleas, Sir Edward Atkins and Sir Christopher Turner, Knights, two of the barons of our court of exchequer, and to the barons of our exchequer for the time being; Sir Jeoffrey Palmer, Knt. and Bart. our attorney general; Sir Heneage Finch, Knight and Baronet, our sollicitor general; Sir Charles Harbord, Knight, our surveyor general, and to our attorney, sollicitor, and surveyor general for the time being; Sir Edward Turner, Sir Allen Broderick, Knights, Samuel Brown and Matthew Hale, serjeants at law, John Crewe, Esquire, Richard Kinsman, one of the auditors of our revenue, Job Charleton, serjeant at law, Thomas Beverly, Esquire, Francis Phillips and Richard Newman, Esquires.

As it is our duty to be ever mindful of the great mercies of Almighty God, vouchsafed to us and our late oppressed people, in restoring us to the exercise of our royal authority, by a calme and miraculous hand of Divine Providence, thereby delivering them from the violence and tyranny of the late usurped powers, to the peaceable enjoyments of their ancient rights, established by the known laws of this nation; so we have been most careful to pursue our declaration made before our return from beyond the seas, in securing the lives, liberties, and estates, of our good subjects, by passing an act of general pardon, and such other acts as have been tendered unto us by our parliament, whereby we hope we have given a general satisfaction to them, as we have received much comfort and contentment in their expressions of their affections to us and our government. And albeit by the vote of our commons, as by the order of the parliament assembled, we have been restored to the immediate possession of our lands, and might in justice, as well as divers of our subjects, have entered and taken the profits thereof from the four and twentieth day of June last; yet that it may appear how really we intend to perform all our gracious promises and professions made to the officers and soldiers of our army, who did correspond or join with our said general, or Sir George Booth, in their design towards our happy restauration, and to such other of our subjects as have been induced to purchase and to possess any of our said lands, or those of the jointure of our dear mother the queen, or any of the lands or possessions of any archbishop, bishop, dean and chapter, prebend, or other ecclesiastical person; we were graciously pleased to accept the humble petition of the said officers and soldiers, presented unto us in July last, and to commend the same to the commissioners of our treasury, as we have since done to our high treasurer of England, who have authorised our surveyer general to receive such particulars of our lands purchased and claimed by the said officers and soldiers, to their own uses, and not in trust for others, as they should tender under their hands, and thereupon to keep them in the quiet possession of the same without accompt, (which hath been duly observed,) until we should be informed of the true states of their several interests, and should thereupon declare our further pleasure touching their satisfaction. And we were also graciously pleased to accept of another petition presented unto us, in the names of all the purchasers of our lands, together with certain proposals touching the same, which, by advice of our

privy council, we did refer to the consideration of our chief baron, and other the barons of our court of exchequer, and our surveyor general, who, taking the same into serious consideration, did represent unto us and our said council, the various natures of the said purchases, and that it will require much time and industry to examine and consider the particular interests of the several purchasers, before it will be possible to make any report upon their said petition and proposals, fit for our judgment therein. Whereupon we were pleased, and did command that our said surveyor general should allow unto them all their arrears of rent due before the four and twentieth day of June last, to their own use without account, and the Michaelmas rent also since due, upon such security as he should think reasonable to be answerable for the same, which hath been accordingly pursued by him as we commanded, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the same. Now, to the end that we may leave nothing undone, which honour and justice can require at our hands, for the establishment of the just rights and interests of all persons, and quiet their minds, and reconcile their affections, which the injury of the late times of change, and absolute, arbitrary power, hath corrupted and alienated from us, and divided amongst themselves, we have thought fit to issue this our commission, and do thereby require and authorise you, the said Edward Lord Hyde, Thomas Earl of Southampton, the lord chancellour, lord treasurer of England, and the chancellor of the exchequer for the time being, George Duke of Albemarle, James Marquis of Ormond, Edward Earl of Manchester, Jerome Earl of Portland, John Lord Roberts, John Lord Finch, Francis Lord Seymore, chancellor of our dutchy of Lancaster, and the chancellor of our dutchy of Lancaster for the time being, John Lord Lucas, Denzil Hollis, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir William Morris, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Arthur Annesley, Sir Robert Foster, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Robert Hyde, Sir Edward Atkins, Sir Christopher Turner, barons of the exchequer for the time being, Sir Jeofry Palmer, Sir Heneage Finch, Sir Charles Harbord, our attorney, solicitor, and surveyor general for the time being, Sir Edward Turner, Sir Allen Brodricke, Matthew Hale, Samuel Brown, John Crew, Richard Kinsman, Job Charleton, Thomas Beverly, Francis Phillips, and Richard Newman, to be our commissioners, for and touching the premisses, hereby giving and granting unto you, or any five or more of you, full power and authority to call, and cause to appear before you, as well the said officers and soldiers, and all other persons, who have purchased, or do claim any of the said lands of us, or of the jointure of our dear mother, or of any the said archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, prebends, and other ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, and every, or any of them, as also the officers, servants, or agents, of the said archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, prebends, or other ecclesiastical persons, all, or any of them, by your good discretion, and to enquire and inform yourselves, or by such other lawful ways or means as you in your discretion shall think meet, which of the said lands, honours, mannors, lordships, castles, parks, chases, forests, houses, timber trees, woods, underwoods, mills, mines, fee-farm-rents, or other rents, or hereditaments, leases, or farms, were sold, given, or granted by or under the late pretended parliament, or usurped power or authority; and to enquire and find out the true value of the said lands, honours, mannors, lordships, castles, parks, chases, forests, timber trees, woods, underwoods, mills, mines, fee-farm-rents, or other rents, or hereditaments, leases, or farms, as the same were then worth by the year, or otherwise by your judgments and discretion, and how much ready money was then, or at any time since, really and *bona fide* paid for the same, and how much in true bills and debentures, as they were then worth in ready money, and whether any bills or debentures, which have been allowed upon any of the said sales or purchases, were counterfeited or altered, in part or in all, and by whom the same were done, and to what value and proportion, and how far the same have been discovered, and when, and by whom, and what manner; and what profits or sums of money have been raised, or made by any of the purchasers, or pos-

sessours, or pretended owners of any the said lands, or other premisses so sold or given as aforesaid, or any part thereof, by after sales or exchanges of land, or by sale of woods or timber, or by plowing up or improving the same lands, or any other part of the premisses, or by sale of any iron, stone, lead, timber, or other materials of churches, chappels, or other houses that have been pulled down, altered, or defaced, or by the receits, or rents, or by any ways or means whatsoever, and when, and by whom, and for whose use and benefit the same have been so raised, or made. And to enquire and find out which of the purchasers of any of the said lands, or premisses, were made by the tenants themselves to preserve their houses, tenuaries, lands, woods, or estates, from waste, or injury, and which of them were made by others for gain and advantage, and when, and by whom, the same was done, and what profit, gain, or advantage, hath been made thereby. And to enquire and find out what dammage, or danger, hath accrewed, or may arise to us, and these our kingdoms, by the destruction, or waste, of timber-trees from off any the premisses that were serviceable for our navy, or otherwise, and to enquire which of the said purchasers, or late pretended owners of any of the said lands, or premisses, have relinquished or offered up the same unto us, or any of the said ecclesiastical persons, or shall yield up the same unto you for our use, or for the use of any of the said ecclesiastical persons, or any of them. And also to enquire and find out all other things which you in your discretion shall think meet for your perfect information, in and touching the premisses. And thereupon you are to proceed and compose all differences arising between the said archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, prebends, and other ecclesiastical persons, and the said purchasers, or pretended owners, and thereupon to make orders and agreements between them in writing under your hands and seals, and in such manner as you in your discretion shall find just and reasonable with their contents, and in case of refusal, or disagreement, on either part, then you are forthwith to certify the same unto us and our council, whereupon you shall receive such further order therein as shall be meet, and you are then also to propose unto the said officers and soldiers, and other purchasers of our lands, such satisfaction for and in respect of their several pretended interests in the same, as, upon consideration of their several interests, you shall think fit to advise in that behalf, and thereof you shall certify us with all convenient speed. And for your better information and proceeding in the premisses, we do hereby will and authorize you to send for and convene before you all such treasurers, receivers, accountants, registers, witnesses, clerks, officers, and other persons as you shall think fit, and to examine all or any of them upon their corporal oathes to be administered unto them, or any of them, by your discretion, and to send for and peruse all such books of account, register books, surveys, and other writings, as you shall think meet for your better discovery and finding out of the truth in all things touching the premisses, and what monies have been raised by the said sales, and to whom the same hath been paid, and how the same hath been accounted for and disposed of, and how much remains in the treasurers, receivers, or accountants hands, or any others, and how long it hath remained. And we do also hereby will and authorise you to enquire, by the oathes of good and lawful men of every county, city, or priviledged place, wherein the said lands and premisses, or any of them, do lie, of all things comprehended in this our commission. Hereby willing and commanding all our sheriffes, mayors, bailiffs, and all other officers and ministers whom it may concern, upon your precepts and warrants to return good and sufficient jurors, for the better inquiry and finding out of the truth of the premisses, and to be obedient, aiding, and assisting unto you in all things, tending to the execution of this our commission. And whatsoever you, or any five or more of you, shall do or cause to be done in or about the premisses, we do hereby ratify, confirm, and approve of. And our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby require the said archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, prebends, and other ecclesiastical persons, by themselves, or by other persons sufficiently authorised

by them, to appear before you, when they shall be so required, to the end that your mediation and interposition may be the more effectual. We in no wise doubting of their readiness to comply with us in the end of this commission; and that they will accept such reasonable conditions as shall be tendered to them by you, on the behalf of such as have been purchasers of any lands held from them or their respective churches, according to the several considerations of the persons and their interests, and that they will do no act to the prejudice of any purchasers, by granting any new or concurrent leases, whereby their present interest or possession may be hurt or disturbed, whilst the same is under your deliberation, and until our pleasure be further known. In witnesse whereof we have caused these letters to be made patents. Witnesse ourself, at Westminster, the seventh day of October, in the twelfth year of our reign.

A Relation of the Arraignment and Trial of those who made the late Rebellious Insurrections in London, 1661.

This was the desperate conclusion of a desperate enterprize undertaken by Thomas Venner, an enthusiastic fifth monarchist, who, upon the 6th January, 1660, took arms for the avowed purpose of establishing the Millennium. Most of them were persuaded they were invulnerable, and so, being about fifty in number, they had no hesitation in commencing an insurrection, which was not put down without some bloodshed. After exciting much alarm in the city, and sustaining a skirmish with the trained bands, they marched to Cane-wood. They were driven from thence by a party of guards; but being assured by their leader Venner, that no force brought against them should prosper, they again entered the city, where they sustained a very fierce though unequal conflict with the trained bands. Being at length overpowered with numbers, they retreated into a house, which they defended until it was unroofed by the assailants, when those who survived their frantic defence were made prisoners. Heath gives the following account of their trial and execution:

"Three of them confessed their crime and error, and craved mercy; so they were all sixteen condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. According to which sentence, on Saturday, January 19, 1660, Venner and Hodgkins (both uncured of the wounds they had received in the rebellion) being guarded by two companies of the trained bands, were drawn on a sledge from Newgate through Cheapside, over against their meeting-house in Swan-Alley, in Coleman-street, and executed according to their sentence. Venner spoke little but in vindication of himself and his faction, and something of his opinion being confident the time was at hand when other judgment would be; reflecting much upon the government. The other, Hodgkins, raved and cursed in manner of praying, calling down vengeance from heaven upon the king, the judges, and the city of London; nor would he give over, though the sheriff forbad him to run on in that strange way, until the hangman was hastened from his employment of quartering Venner to turn him off; so as in that mad religion they lived in the same they died. Their quarters were set upon the four gates of the city by the late executed regicides, whose quarrel and revenge they undertook in this their phantastique attempt; their heads also set upon poles by some of them on London-bridge."—Heath's *Chronicles*, p. 473.

We shall here give you the arraignment and tryal of those bloody fanaticks, who brake forth into open rebellion, on January the 6th and 9th last, (we cannot forget

the time, for the one was the day when the regicides at Westminster passed their ordinance for the trial of our glorious sovereign King Charles the First; the other was the day when they proclaimed their high court of justice for that monstrous trial,) which, without troubling you with their repeated impertinencies and contradictions, (which longer narratives are too often full of) was briefly thus.

On Thursday (January 17,) twenty of the prisoners taken in arms were arraigned together in justice-hall in the Old Baily; the rest, being dangerously wounded, were put off by the court for a future trial. These twenty arraigned were Thomas Venner, Roger Hodgkins, Leonard Gowler, Jonas Allen, John Pym, William Oxman, *alias* Orsingham, William Ashton, Giles Pritchard, Stephen Fall, John Smith, William Corbet, John Dod, John Elston, Thomas Harris, John Gardner, Robert Bryerly, Richard Marten, John Patshall, Robert Hopkins, and John Wells. These were brought to the bar together; the wounded men had chairs allowed them; and after the indictment read (for murther and treason); first, Thomas Venner was call'd, who, when he had held up his hand, being ask'd whether he was guilty or not guilty, began an extravagant and bottomless discourse about the fifth monarchy, and his having had a testimony above twenty years in New-England, (we'll never deny his New-England testimony, which has made old England smart, having been the nursery and receptacle of sedition too long; though Hugh Peters be dead, Gough and Whaley are there alive.) And Venner could not deny he was guilty of the late rising, but not (forsooth) of treason, intending not to levy war against the king (as if to murther both king and subject were no treason, and to destroy their own and all Christian monarchs by open force were no levying war against the king.) Afterwards, he confessed he was partly guilty and partly not; but being press'd by the court to give his positive answer, whether he was guilty in manner and form of the indictment, he answered, Not guilty, and at last submitted to a trial by God and the country.

The next was Roger Hodgkin, who said, He had not heard the indictment; whereupon the court caused it to be read a second time, and being asked guilty or not guilty, he answered, I am guilty of no treason, not guilty; and said, he would be tried by the laws of God, whereupon the court told him, if he would not plead, he must be recorded as a mute.

Leonard Gowler readily answered, Not guilty, and that he would be tried by the laws of God and the country.

Jonas Allen said, He had confessed before, but if he must, he would say, not guilty, and that he would be tried by the laws of God, but after said, by God and the country.

John Pym said, He was not guilty, and that he would be tried by God and the country.

William Oxman answered, Not guilty, and that he would be tried by the laws of God and holy men; but being informed that that was no legal answer, he said, by God and the country.

Giles Pritchard said, He disowned the manner and form; that he was not guilty, and would be tried by the Lord of Hosts, (and so he is sure to be,) but being pressed to give his answer, he said, by God and the country.

The rest, viz. William Ashton, Stephen Fall, John Smith, William Corbet, John Dod, John Elston, Thomas Harris, John Gardner, Robert Brierly, Richard Martin, John Patshal, and Robert Hopkins, having heard what others had done, did not put the court to much trouble, but answered severally, Not guilty, and that they would be tried by God and the country; so did John Wells, who confessed he was guilty of many sins before the Lord, and that he would be tried by God and the country.

Roger Hodgkins, who before (as we told you) had shown so much obstinacy, was now again asked, whether guilty or not guilty, and how he would be tried, whereupon he followed the examples of his brethren, and answer'd in form accordingly.

The jury was now call'd, and the prisoners inform'd by the court of the right they had, as Englishmen, to challenge each of them 55 jurors without giving reason, and more if they shewed cause: but they saw so little exception in the looks of the jurors, that they excepted against none of them.

The jury sworn, the witnesses were produced, who made it appear, that at the meeting-house in Swan-alley in Coleman-street, Venner, Tufney, and Cragg,[1] (which two latter were slain in this rebellion) did several times persuade their congregation to take up arms for King Jesus, against the powers of the earth, (which were the king, the Duke of York, and the general.) That they were to kill all that opposed them; that they had been praying and preaching, but not acting for God. That divers arm'd themselves, at the meeting-house in Coleman-street, with musquets, blunderbusses, pistols, back, breast, and head-piece, with powder and bullet, and other warlike weapons: that in the streets they cried out against the king, and said, they would fetch out the lord mayor of London: that Venner and Pritchard were the chief that led them in their engagement, that on Sunday (January 6) they went to St Paul's, where they broke open a door, but, not thinking it a place of safety, they went thence; that they fled to St John's Wood, where they reported they had made an uproar in London, and came thither for safety; that thence they went to Cane-wood; that on Wednesday (January 9,) Venner was at the head of a party in Wood-street, with an halbert in his hand, wherewith he struck and (with the rest of the company) kill'd three men there; that Venner went with a party to the Compter-gate, and demanded of them to turn out the prisoners, or else they were dead men; that Corbet being apprehended, confess'd he was with them; that Elston (being taken by the constable) had in his pocket a pistol loaded with a steel slug, and confess'd he had been in Wood-street; that Gardner said, he had been at the killing of three men in Wood-street; that Venner, Hodgkins, Gowler, Allen, Pym, Oxman, Ashton, Pritchard, Hall, Smith, Corbet, Dod, Elston, Harris, and Gardner, were all in arms, and that Brierly went with them to Cane-wood, and was taken with several bullets about him on Wednesday morning coming home. The evidence against Martin, Hopkins, and Wells, was not so full; and against Patshal, only one witness, that he went with them in arms from Coleman-street, but was taken that night without arms.

That evidence being heard, the court asked the prisoners at the bar, what they had to say for themselves: Venner confess'd himself in the insurrection, but said, he did not lead them, and when the witnesses positively swore it, he excused it, and said, 'twas not he, but Jesus led them; that he could not deny but that most of the things witnessed against him were true, yet pleaded that he could not commit treason because the king was not yet crown'd: but, being told by the court that every Englishman knows the king never dies, and that that opinion of his was first started by Watson the jesuit, and long since condemned, he pressed it no further.

Hodgkins, Gowler, Allen, Pym, Oxman, Ashton, Pritchard, Fall, Smith, Corbet, Dod, Elston, Harris, and Gardner, seeing the evidence so clear against them, confessed that they were in arms in the insurrection. Brierly denied it, and said, that he was call'd up, and went with them, but was not in arms. Martin and Hopkins denied they were in arms. Patshal said, he was taken without arms, and ought not to answer against himself.

Wells said, that Venner called him out in the morning, and bid him take arms to save his throat from cutting; that he was suddenly surprised in his spirit, and went along with them with his sword and pistol to Wood-street, but that his heart was not with them; that with the first opportunity he flung down his arms and ran away, and that he took great shame upon him. The Lord Chief Justice Foster asked him, whether

[1] These two preachers were slain in the skirmish in Wood-street.

he took shame upon him for engaging with rebels, or for running away? He said, It was because he had gone so far with them.

This is the substance of all the prisoners answered for themselves; which done, the Lord Chief Justice Foster gave his directions to the jury, telling them of the natural allegiance due to our sovereign lord the king, That no war could be raised without the king's commission and consent, and that any war without such commission was against the king; that to prove treason, there must be two witnesses (without the party's confessions) with many other material particulars, necessary for the juries information in this case, which his lordship then delivered, wherewith the jury, at going forth, seemed highly satisfied. After which the court adjourned till three o'clock that afternoon.

When the court returned, the jury brought in their verdict, whereby they found Thomas Venner, Roger Hodgkins, Leonard Gowler, Jonas Allen, John Pym, William Oxman, William Ashton, Giles Pritchard, Stephen Fall, John Smith, William Corbet, John Dod, John Elston, Thomas Harris, John Gardner, and Robert Brierly, guilty of the matters charged against them in the indictment; and acquitted Richard Martin, John Patshal, Robert Hopkins, and John Wells.

Whereupon Pym said, he was sorry for what he had done; Smith desired the mercy of the bench; Corbet said he knew not what he did, and begged the mercy of the bench, and Brierly prayed that God would put it into the king's heart to pardon him.

But no cause being shewn by the prisoners why sentence should not be given against them, the Lord Chief Justice Foster made an excellent short material speech, to let them see their condition, how highly they had offended God, their king, and country; what a vast measure of pride for so few to attempt to destroy so many; and how ungratefully to so merciful a king, that had granted them so much liberty, particularly telling Venner that he was not only an actor in so wicked a design, but a seducer of those silly men whose blood would lie upon him: After which, (and divers other seasonable passages) his lordship pronounced sentence upon as many as the jury had brought in guilty, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, &c.

Yet his majesty hath been graciously pleased to pardon part of the sentence, for only two were ordered to be quartered, (which were Venner and Hodgkins,) who accordingly were executed before their meeting-house in Coleman-street this day, Jan. 9, ('tis the very day, 1648, that the worthy lord mayor, Sir Richard Brown, whom these rebels would now have murthered, was sent prisoner for his loyalty to Windsor castle) the rest are to be hanged only, and beheaded, whereof two (viz. Oxman and Pritchard) were so executed at Wood-street end the same day. Others must suffer, some before the Old Exchange, some in Redcross and Whitecross-streets, and other places in the city of London. Two (viz. Pym and Brierly) are for some time reprieved.

The Long Parliament Revived: or, An Act for Continuation, and the not dissolving the Long Parliament (called by King Charles the First, in the Year 1640) but by an Act of Parliament; with undeniable Reasons deduced from the said Act to prove that that Parliament is not yet dissolved. Also Mr William Pryn his five Arguments fully answered; whereby he endeavours to prove it to be dissolved by the King's Death, &c. By Tho. Philips, Gentleman, a sincere Lover of his King and Country.

Printed in the Year 1661.

This is one of the desperate efforts made by the few adherents of the Long Parliament for its continuance after the Restoration. It was naturally expected that, in the returns for a new parliament, the royalist interest would be uncontroulably predominant, and consequently the measure of retribution upon those who had opposed and oppressed the cavaliers during the time of the commonwealth, would be severe in proportion. Whereas, if the settlement of these matters was left to that assembly which had begun and maintained the war, it was reasonable to think they would be arranged on a footing much more easy to the opposers of royalty. "If you are determined to dissolve this parliament," said Thomas Scott, one of the regicide judges, "I cannot prevent it, but I know not, after that event, where I shall hide this hated head."

Anno 17 Caroli Regis.

An Act to prevent Inconveniencies which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present Parliament.

WHEREAS great sums of money must of necessity be speedily advanced and provided for relief of his majesty's army and people in the northern parts of this realm, and for preventing the imminent danger this kingdom is in, and for supply of other his majesty's present and urgent occasions, which cannot be so timely effected as is requisite, without credit for raising the said moneys; which credit cannot be obtained until such obstacles be first removed, as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his majesty's loyal subjects; that this present parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved before justice shall be duly executed upon delinquents, public grievances redressed, a firm peace between the two nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the re-payment of the said monies so to be raised. All which, the commons in this present parliament assembled having duly considered, do therefore humbly beseech your most excellent majesty, that it may be declared and enacted.

And be it declared and enacted by the king our sovereign lord, with the assent of the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that this present parliament, now assembled, shall not be dissolved, unless it be by act of parliament to be passed for that purpose: Nor shall be at any time or times, during the continuance thereof, prorogued, or adjourned, unless it be by act of parliament, to be likewise passed for that purpose. And that the house of peers shall

not at any time or times, during this present parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own order: And in like manner, that the house of commons shall not at any time or times, during this present parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own order. And that all, and every thing and things, whatsoever done, or to be done, for the adjournment, proroguing, or dissolving of this present parliament, contrary to this act, shall be utterly void, and of none effect.

The Long Parliament revived.

To the end the peace of this nation may be established upon a firm and lasting foundation, and that after one shipwreck, hardly escaped, we run not blindfold again upon a more fatal and irrecoverable rock of confusion, the author of this small paper (out of tender compassion to his native country, and with all humble respects of due allegiance and honour to his royal majesty that now is) hath thought fit (with the premised act of parliament) to offer some few arguments to the world, naturally flowing from the authority and reason of it; which, if timously hearkened to, may yet prove a healing remedy against the sad breaches of this shattered kingdom, and prevent those other mischiefs which the obstinacy of iujudicious and self-willed persons will inevitably bring upon themselves and us: And, if convincing reason may bear the sway in this perverse age, wherein every man would make his petty private designs to be his law, rather than common equity, or the established law of the nation, he doubts not of the desired success he aims at, with God's blessing, in this ensuing discourse.

That the safety and happiness of this kingdom lies in parliaments rightly constituted, and in the preservation of their just and lawful privileges, I suppose there are none, of what different judgments soever in other things, who are subjects of this nation, and of sober principles, but will readily grant it; and if so, the contrary thereunto will then, without doubt, as easily be concluded.

Which maxim being yielded in reference to other parliaments, it must, in proportion, hold as true in relation to the Long Parliament, called by the late King Charles the First, of blessed memory, in the year 1640; whose being and legal authority is still so visibly existent, by virtue of the forementioned act, that when the subjects of this nation have seriously considered of it, they will doubtless see they have no reason to hold themselves safe in their lives, liberties, and estates, till it have made provision in that behalf, and it be legally dissolved according to the tenor of the said act, by act of parliament for that purpose.

And therefore, being that so great a dis-security to the subjects and the peace of the kingdom is incumbent hereupon, (as who doth not evidently perceive it, in case that parliament is yet in its legal force and being,) how much doth it concern every subject of this nation to be groundedly satisfied in this particular, by a solid answering of those objections that seem to militate against the verity of this assertion, That men's minds may be settled, together with the peace of the nation, upon a sure foundation of law and righteousness, and we may not, like the waves of the sea, be still fluctuating to and fro in doubts and uncertainties by the divers winds of men's contrary judgments and opinions, to the continual hazard of our dearest concernments.

To evidence the still legal being of that foresaid parliament the act speaks sufficiently for itself, in plain and express terms; yet to make it more clear, these following arguments, from the act itself, and the title of it, doth more apparently evince it.

1. To begin with the title, which is "An Act to prevent Inconveniencies that may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present Parliament;" which inconveniencies are specified in the following preamble of the said act, whereof chiefly one is this: "Lest credit should not be obtained for raising of monies

for relief of his majesty's army and people in the north, and for supply of other his majesty's present and urgent occasions, through the continued fears of the subjects, lest the parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved before sufficient provision be made for re-payment of the said monies to be raised." In which words there are two things principally to be considered, in reference to the intent and meaning of this act, why it was made.

First, For the obtaining of credit, in order to the raising of considerable sums of money for supply of the king's and kingdom's great necessities, which could never have been done (as by the act itself is supposed) had not this act been made, it being the only ground and foundation of encouragement for the credit which was to be given in order to the raising of the said monies, and did accordingly effect it.

Secondly, The parliament could not without this be in any secure condition to make provision for the re-payment of the said money so to be raised, in regard that, through defect of such an act, the parliament might be in continual danger to be untimely dissolved; (and by the clear scope of the act 'tis accounted an untimely dissolution, if dissolved before the said provision be made,) therefore the dissolution of the said parliament before such provision made for re-payment of the said monies, which is not yet done, is expressly contrary to the true meaning and intention of this act.

And if this act were made purposely to prevent the untimely dissolution of the parliament, (as it stands express in the title,) then it cannot but have respect to the king's death, as well as to any other means of untimely dissolution; the parliament well knowing the king's life was as uncertain, yea, in some respects more uncertain, than the life of other men, and therefore could not chuse but so understand it, if they intend this act to be any security for the monies borrowed, or to be borrowed upon their credit.

Thirdly, In the substance and body of the act 'tis delivered in express terms, "That this present parliament shall not be dissolved but by an act of parliament." Whence it follows, that if not dissolvable, unless by an act of parliament, then it is exclusive to all other ways and means of dissolution, (as the interruption by armed violence, the forceable omission of days of adjournment, the violent, or natural death of the king,) or whatsoever else might be done, or have happened legally to dissolve it, had not this act been made or constituted.

Fourthly and lastly, To make all clear without any execution, in the close of the said act it is expressed, "That all and every thing and things whatsoever done, or to be done, for the adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present parliament, contrary to this act, shall be utterly void and of none effect." Which clause you see looks backward and forwards in reference to whatsoever had a legal power and tendency before this act to dissolve the parliament; against which this act hath fully provided, That neither what hath been done for the time past, nor whatsoever shall be done for time to come, shall dissolve this parliament, excepting an act of the said parliament. Whence I argue, that all those things that otherwise legally would or might have dissolved this parliament, had not this act been made, have no force or efficacy to dissolve this, but only an act of this present parliament, all other parliaments having no legal capacity till this be legally dissolved, unless it be granted that two parliaments may have both of them legal capacity at one and the same time, which I believe there are none so absurd as to aver, no more than two kings may have a legal capacity at one time in the same kingdom.

But because there are divers objections that seem to oppose the premises, and the legal being and capacity of the said parliament, I shall endeavour to answer them as strongly and yet as briefly as I may, to every ordinary reader's understanding.

The first and grand objection of all is the death of the late king that summoned

this parliament in the year 1640, and is argued by Mr William Pryn;[1] "because," saith he, "it had been frequently resolved by parliaments themselves, the reverend judges, and our law-books, by King Charles's own declaration, and his judges and council, that the deposition and death of the king doth actually dissolve the parliament," &c.

To which I answer, by way of concession, that the death of the king doth legally, or according to custom, dissolve a parliament that is only called and constituted by the king's writ; but not a parliament constituted and confirmed by an act of the three estates. Let Mr Pryn, or any other lawyer, shew me any law or precedent to that purpose, and I will presently yield the cause.

If Mr Pryn would have spoken home to this case, he should have made it appear where, or when, it had been resolved by parliament, the judges, and our law books, &c. that in case of an act of parliament made for the session, and continuance of a parliament, till they should dissolve themselves by an act, that such a parliament hath been, or shall nevertheless be, dissolved by the king's death, which it is believed he will find a very hard task to prove.

Secondly, he objects, "The parliament is no standing court, sitting at certain seasons by positive laws, but summoned and constituted by the king's writ of summons and royal prerogative, when, and where he pleaseth, and adjourned, prorogued, and dissolved by his writ alone in point of law," &c.

I answer again, by way of concession, that parliaments, according to their wonted and by-past customs, were no certain courts, sitting at certain seasons by positive law; but yet may be made such by act of the three estates. Witness the triennial parliament.

And further, by an extraordinary grant of his late majesty, this parliament was made a standing court, to sit constantly by a positive law, till they should please to dissolve themselves, he having been pleased by the said grant, for the better security of his subjects, to wave his royal prerogative and power of dissolution, and to give his consent for the nulling of all other means tending thereunto.

And for what Mr Pryn intimates further in the said objection, "That because all writs of summons are actually abated by the king's death, as well as all other commissions and patents of all judges, justices, &c., that therefore this parliament must needs be dissolved."

I answer, that doth not at all follow, till he can make it appear that there is no more validity in an act of parliament of the three estates, than there is in a meer writ of summons, or a commission or patent granted only by the king; for though this parliament was summoned by the king's writ, yet 'tis manifest its continuance and confirmation did not at all depend upon that, (for then he might still have dissolved it when he pleased,) but upon the act of the three estates, who had established it by law, and so was no more dissolveable by the king's death than any other statute law or act of parliament whatsoever; and therefore is not depending on so fickle a thing as a writ of summons or a patent, or a commission given the judges, and which the king may take away and repeal again at his own pleasure.

And, to illustrate this more by an instance, I shall desire to ask Mr Pryn this question: Put the case, that there are certain urgent necessities (as before specified in the act,) that the parliament hath occasion for great sums of money for preserving the peace of the kingdom; this money they must take up upon their credits, but they see no ways how to raise or repay it, unless their session be continued for seven years; therefore, to get credit for raising the said money, and time to reimburse, or give security to

[1] See his true and perfect Narrative of what was done and spoken by and between Mr Pryn and the old and newly forcibly secluded Members, beginning fol. 24, and forwards. Printed in the year 1659.

the lenders, they obtain the king's consent to an act for their continuance during the said term, (with this proviso inserted,) though the king by any accident should happen to die before the said security were given, or the monies paid; whether doth the parliament in this case continue in force and efficacy after the king's death, or is it then actually dissolved?

If Mr Pryn grant it a parliament in force after the king's death, upon this consideration, (as I conceive he cannot deny it,) then 'tis apparent that 'tis not the king's death barely that doth of itself dissolve a parliament, viz. I say a parliament established by a law, and consequently then not this parliament, the reason being alike for the one as for the other.

But if he shall aver (which to me is incredible) that notwithstanding such an act, yet by the king's death 'tis legally dissolved, then it will necessary follow that parliament security (which was ever looked upon till now as inviolable) is most dangerous, and of all others the least to be trusted, and the subjects had need be warned to take heed of it, seeing it must wholly depend upon so uncertain a thing as the king's life; which, as it throws no small dishonour upon that high court, so it will be no little prejudice to public emergencies; for if the king die half a year after the monies borrowed, and before the security be given, (and he hath no surer or longer a lease of his life than other men) all the said monies must absolutely be lost, and so the subject defrauded; no future parliament being bound to make good the acts and deeds of a former, further than they will or please themselves: And it is to be wished that the kingdom may not now too sadly have experience of it.

Thirdly, Mr Pryn objects "the king's name in which the writs for election are issued forth; that because they go out in the name of the king reigning, and so calls the persons elected to advise with him personally, and the parliament to be convened is called his parliament, and is to consult of the arduous businesses of the kingdom concerning him, &c. therefore, when the king dies, who called the parliament to advise and consult with himself, the parliament must necessarily be dissolved, unless they could be supposed to consult and advise with him of the weighty affairs of his kingdom after his decease."

To this I answer, first, that though the writs of summons run, to consult with the king personally, or by name, yet they say not, to consult with him only, and so are not so exclusive (having respect to the reason and equity of the law,) but that the same parliament may also consult with the successor, if the peace and safety of the kingdom do require; granting this maxim to be undeniably true, that the safety of the people is the supreme law.

And though the parliament, summoned by the king's writ, be called his parliament, yet his death doth no more vacate it (being established by law) than it doth other laws by the same king made, which are most properly called his laws, because enacted with his personal consent; and yet we know that they are not so his, but that they are also the laws of his successors, and are so commonly called.

Besides, by constituting the parliament to dure till they dissolve themselves by an act, the king virtually waved the authority of his writs of summons, in which writs the parliament is expressed to be called to consult with him by name; no such thing being in the least said or expressed in the act by which this parliament is now confirmed to continue, &c. therefore it matters not, neither is it at all to the purpose in this case, how, or in what name, the writs of summons, whereby this parliament was first called, were issued forth: for as much as this parliament consists no longer by any authority derivative from those writs, (that foundation being wholly taken away) but only by act of the three estates, as is evident in that the king could not now dissolve it by his personal authority any more; and if his personal authority, he being living,

(which is affirmative) could not dissolve it, then his death, which is but negative, or a cessation of the influence of his personal authority, can much less do it.

And farther, by way of interrogation, I would ask Mr Pryn, whether he will grant any more privilege (in the case of the king's death) to a parliament established by a law, than he will do to a parliament only called and constituted by the king's writs? (between which he cannot surely but say there is a wide difference;) and if he yields, the privilege doth excel (as he must needs) on the side of the parliament that is established by a law; in what sense can he conceive it to be, as the case here put, unless by the duration of its authority after the king's death who called it; of which privilege the parliament only constituted by the king's writs comes short, and fails, as before acknowledged, by the king's death?

And I would fain know what reason there is, that a strained exposition of the statute law, as this is, (that this parliament should be dissolved by the king's death) should take place against the express literal sense of it, which is, (that it shall not be dissolved but by an act) when as the strained sense also is evidently dangerous, unsafe, and prejudicial to the public, but the literal exceeding beneficial.

The calling of parliaments in this or that king's name, to consult or advise with this or that king, these are but circumstantial things, and done for order sake, and nothing of the substantials and essence of the government and kingdoms' welfare; and therefore, if parliaments called in this or that king's name, to advise with this or that king, should continue in force (though there were no act for it) after this or that king's death, there were no danger or inconvenience in it, (how much less when an act, as now, implicitly passed to that purpose,) but rather the contrary, they may consult with as much safety and advantage to the kingdom with the successor, as they did with the deceased king.

But to dissolve parliaments rashly and untimely may throw a well-settled kingdom into very great and hazardous difficulties; and how sad a thing were it, and how contrary to the general rule of the people's safety, (which in the government of a nation ought to be valued before any thing, and is the end of government,) if, for circumstances, the general welfare and peace of the kingdom must be hazarded.

Fourthly, as to what Mr Pryn objects, concerning "a man by his will or deed, or the king by his commission, or the parliament by special act and order, authorizing and impowering any three persons jointly to sell land, give livery and seisin, execute any commission, &c. And that in case any of them die, the two survivors, jointly or severally, can do nothing, because their authority and trust was joint and not several," &c. Applying this to the parliament, "which being (as he now expresseth it,) a corporation compacted jointly of the king, lords, and commons house, and three estates, that therefore the death of the king necessarily dissolves it, notwithstanding this act."

I answer, this doth no more prove it than any of his former arguments; for this similitude doth not hold proportion, nor come up to our present case.

For we have not here to do with one estate or more, that hath absolute power in itself (and intends to execute it) to constitute other persons for any office or trust, as a single person, &c. that makes a will or deed doth constitute three or more persons in trust for the execution of his will or deed, whose joint power being expressed in the said will or deed, it necessarily fails upon the death of any one of them, because jointly and not severally intrusted.

But with a parliament, who have voluntarily engaged themselves upon a trust and credit received from the people for their security, with the consent of the king, making a law to preserve their session, and establish their own authority against all means of their untimely dissolution, till they had honourably discharged their trust, and given security and satisfaction to those that gave them credit; which nothing concerns any power or authority to be given to others, whether three or more persons, (according to

Mr Pryn's instance) to be executed jointly, wherein a failer may be through any one of their deaths.

But because there seems something still to be unanswered to this objection, in reference to the conjunctive power of the parliament, consisting of three estates, therefore this also is fully resolved in the following answer to what Mr Pryn intimates concerning the king's being a part of the parliament, who saith, "That because the king is a part of the parliament, therefore if the king dies, the parliament must needs be dissolved."

To which I answer, that the king is rather a part of the parliament in his politic than in his personal capacity, which is always subject to death, but his politic never. With this agrees that famous lawyer Sir Edward Cook, (see the third part of his Institutes, chapter the first,) where, speaking of the high court of parliament, and of what persons it consisteth, saith in the first place, and in express words, That it consists of the king's majesty sitting there, as in his royal politic capacity, &c. and if so, then the parliament dies not in all cases when the king dies; (and if this holds good in any case, then surely in case of an act to that purpose) for though his person be dead, yet his royal authority lives, as is sufficiently evident by the force and authority of all our laws, till repealed by act of parliament.

But besides, it may thus farther be argued clearly: The members of the two houses of parliament, though many of them die (as often-times it comes to pass, and 'tis possible they may all die by degrees before the parliament rise) yet the parliament is not dissolved, because they are not now the very same individual persons that were chosen first by the king's writs of summons. 'Tis sufficient that there have been new writs issued forth from that house, or estate of parliament whereof they were members, whereby new elections, &c. have been made, and so other members returned to supply the places of the dead ones: And if this be good in the case of the two houses of parliament, &c. (which no man that understands law, and the usage of parliament, will deny) then it is much more good in the case of the king's majesty's person, whose royal estate and authority is so evident, that it is a declared undeniable maxim in our laws, he never dies; so that what new writs do legally for supply of the places of the dead members to continue the estate and authority of the two houses of parliament, that, and much more eminently the king's immediate succession to the crown, after his father's or predecessor's death doth do, by virtue of his royal birth-right and title of inheritance, there being this grand difference between members of parliament dying and the king: They so die, that their authority cannot be revived but by new elections, or writs of summons; but the king so dies that his authority still lives by immediate succession: Whence is it that the royal seat is never vacant, that there should be a failure, to make good the royal actions of the predecessor: And thus the third estate in parliament always living, the joint power still continues, and so there is no necessity the parliament should dissolve, as Mr Pryn affirms, due circumstances and actions being weighed, and the necessities of the kingdom well considered.

Fifthly, therefore, by what hath been said already, Mr Pryn's fifth and last argument must needs be out of doors, which is this, "That because the end of parliament is to enact new laws, and repeal others, &c. which cannot be done but by the king's assent, and this parliament being to be dissolved by an act, and an act being now impossible to be made by that king for the dissolution of it, he being dead; therefore his death must needs dissolve the parliament, notwithstanding this act."

I answer in the negative, in no wise; for though he be dead, as aforesaid, in his personal, (which Mr Pryn seems to answer too weakly in his following objection) yet not in his politic capacity; and therefore, if the dead king cannot enact laws by the parliament, yet his successor can, who comes immediately to the crown after his father's death: And, as hath been shewed, 'tis no ways inconvenient, but may many ways be advantageous to the public: That, should the king chance any ways untimely to

be taken away, the parliament should continue after the king's death; whose death, if it should necessarily, as Mr Pryn affirms, dissolve the parliament, so untimely a dissolution, as the case might stand, might prove very dangerous and pernicious to the kingdom.

Besides, the act doth not limit the parliament's dissolution as lawful only, if it be done by an act of that king then living when the act was made; but in the general it limits it to an act of parliament, that it shall not be dissolved but by an act of parliament: And why the predecessor's authority and consent should not be as binding to his successor in this case, till so dissolved, as in case of any other law made with his consent, I would very gladly know a solid reason for it; being that to all intents and purposes, an act for confirmation or dissolution, may be as virtual and efficacious without any prejudice, by the consent and authority of the successor, as of the father.

And further, the act is also herein expressed, that by no other way or means, "but by an act of parliament it shall be dissolved;" which being it cannot be done by the dead king, but may be done by the successor, it ought so to be dissolved, or else it must and doth, by virtue of this act, still remain legally in full being and authority.

Sixthly, as to what may be objected concerning the dissolution of this parliament by an act, when the secluded members were lately admitted, the argument is so weak, that I thought wholly to have omitted the least mention of it: Yet in regard it is objected by some, who seem to receive satisfaction by it, and there to acquiesce, I shall give this answer in brief to it:

First, that at the best that that was but an act (so called) of the house of commons, and so consequently far short of the authority of an act of parliament, or any legal pretence of it, which only consists of king, lords, and commons; and therefore, by any such appellative act, this parliament can no ways be dissolveable.

And further, the utmost authority that the house of commons hath given them by the aforesaid act, (for the continuation of this parliament, till they dissolve themselves by an act) is but to adjourn themselves by an order of their own house, as is expressed in the said act; by which 'tis evident that they have no power to dissolve themselves, much less by any act they can do to dissolve the parliament.

And here it is worth the observing, (before I pass over this act of the house of commons, whereby it is endeavoured to dissolve the parliament) that in their judgments and consciences there was need of an act to dissolve the parliament; and therefore by this act of theirs they did implicitly grant, that before the passing of the said act the parliament was not then dissolved; (and so consequently did acknowledge it not to be dissolved by the king's death, which happened many years before) and if not dissolved by the king's death, then much less by the said act of the house of commons, (which carries not the least shadow of legal authority with it, as aforesaid, for the dissolution of it) and therefore, by the judgment of the said house, rightly understood, it is still legally in force and being.

But because some do object, that in regard the lords spiritual (to wit) the bishops, were outed the house of peers before the passing this act for continuation of the parliament, whereby their votes and consents were never had in the case, that therefore it was an illegal act, and so fell void in itself.

I answer briefly, that the abbots and priors (twenty-nine in number, who were formerly lords of parliament, and held [1] *per baroniam* from the king, and had their seats and votes in the house of peers, as well as the temporal lords) were dissolved in the reign of King Henry VIII., and yet all parliaments since, with all their acts, have been held for legal and authentic, without the least question or contradiction of their

[1] See Sir Edw. Cook, in his third Part of Instit. of the High Court of Parliament, how the lords give their voice, p. 35.—*Orig. Note.*

authority, and therefore is as little to be scrupled here in our present case, which is the same; the bishops privilege and right to sit in parliament being also null, and made void as well as theirs, by act of parliament. Whereunto much more might here be said to this purpose, but that I would not be too tedious.

Seventhly, I have but one word more, which answers most fully and unquestionable all Mr Pryn's objections at once, or what else may be said for the dissolution of this parliament by the king's death, and that is taken from the supreme legislative authority under God, that the three estates, viz. king, lords, and commons, legally called, have over all persons and causes in the whole nation: By virtue whereof they have power to do the highest[1] actions the nation is capable of, though it be even to the dismembering of the parliament itself, and dissolving a considerable part of it, or altering any other fundamental constitutions they please, so they see it necessary for the public good (as particularly in the case of the bishops, called the spiritual lords, and by some affirmed to be the third estate in parliament, who nevertheless have been excluded by an act of the king, lords, and commons, from their antient right of sitting and voting in parliament, when in their wisdom their session there appeared hurtful to church and state); for who may question or controul the actions of a lawful parliament, while none in the kingdom can so much as pretend to be above them. And if their authority be of so large an extent, even in matters of greatest weight and moment, then much more in things of far inferior and much less concernment, as is the confirmation of a parliament to continue after the king's death who called it, if the three estates shall see good to pass an act, as now they have done, to that purpose, (implicitly, though not in express terms) the king happening to die before it hath been dissolved by an act of parliament, as by the three estates hath been firmly enacted, it should be so dissolved, and no otherwise.

By this time it may be hoped the legal being and authority of the long parliament is sufficiently evident, the truth whereof being so clearly proved, both by law and reason, how much doth it unfold to us the sad and dangerous estate of the kingdom, whilst under the constitution of such powers as neither in estate, liberty, or life, (though otherwise of good inclination to the public) can give the nation any legal security.

For though many excellent things have been done by the singular wisdom of this present parliament now sitting, that are of special tendency in themselves for the good and safety of the nation, through his majesty's most gracious condescension, for which we have infinite cause to bless God; yet[2] herein the great unhappiness, that whilst their authority is not legally founded, the nation can promise themselves no assurance for the lasting enjoyments of those benefits and securities they have given it, being, 'tis to be feared, and too justly, they fall void of themselves by virtue of the said parliament's illegal policy and constitution.

Therefore how much were it to be wished, that the supreme legislative authority of the nation might again revert into that channel, by which the peace and settlement of the nation, through his majesty's most gracious influence, might durably and without question be provided for and preserved.

In reference to which, I shall humbly take the boldness to offer it as a weighty and serious consideration to this present parliament, now sitting, whether they should not do well (for their own safety as well as the nation's) to advise his majesty in this particular, (they only having the privilege and opportunity now effectually to do it) their

[1] See Sir Edw. Cook, the third Part of his Institutes of the High Court of Parliament, of the Power and Jurisdiction of the Parliament, fol. 36, who saith, "That the power and jurisdiction of the parliament for making of laws, in proceeding by bill, is so transcendant and absolute, as it cannot be confined either for causes or persons within any bounds." &c.—*Orig. Note.*

[2] *Vide* Postscript.—*Orig. Note.*

case in point of safety or danger being the same with the rest of the people's when once they shall come to be dissolved.

But now here, because the fears and scruples, which at first apprehension are apt to arise in the hearts of the generality of the kingdom, may seem a great obstruction in prudence against the return of that parliament to sit again, in reference to the danger of perpetuating of it, who therefore may be ready to say, By so doing we may enslave king and kingdom to such a yoke of bondage as we may never be able to break off our own necks, or the necks of our posterity any more.

I shall give hereunto this closing answer, that the scruple is very rational; and though such a thing there is a possibility they might do or attempt (though very improbably effect) if they should so wickedly abuse their trust; yet those fears will soon be removed from wise and discreet persons, if we do but seriously consider, that the far greater number of the members surviving are of the secluded party, who were thrust and forced out of the house for their loyalty to the king, or of those that withdrew themselves upon the offence given by occasion of the army's violence against king and parliament, and have been the chief instruments of his majesty's happy restoration; and therefore, being persons so qualified, we may easily believe they will not be very willing to draw such an odium upon their unstained credits, as will inevitably follow, (besides the further mischiefs will be apt to ensue to themselves and the nation by renewed discontents) should they go about to ingross the authority of the nation any longer in their own hands than will be necessary for public safety, with his present majesty's approbation, who, for further security against those fears, may easily summon them together by his proclamation to Whitehall, or where else he pleaseth before their session again in parliament, and there receive their personal promise and engagement to confirm the acts of this present parliament, and to prepare a bill the first thing they do, at a certain time to be agreed on betwixt his majesty and them, to dissolve themselves, and for his majesty's issuing out writs for the summoning of a new parliament, that so things may sweetly return again without violence or injury done either to his majesty's prerogative, or his people's liberties, into a regular and legal way of proceeding, to the general security and satisfaction of the whole.

Postscript.

Because there are great and general dissatisfactions concerning this present parliament so called, now sitting, in question of its legal right and authority, (being the author's design is nothing else but the peace and security of his native country, and a thorough healing of our wounds and breaches) he humbly desires further to offer these few following particulars to the grave and serious consideration of those that are more learned in the laws, in hopes that some eminent person of that profession will give a solid and judicious resolution to them.

First, Sir Edward Cook, in the third part of his Institutes, writing of the high court of parliament, and of what persons that court consists, speaking of the temporal lords, as dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts and barons, who sit there by reason of their dignities which they hold by descent or creation, saith, That every one of these being of full age, ought to have a writ of summons *ex debito Justitiæ*.

Where note, two things are required to the legality of their session in parliament:

First, That they be of full age; and if that be a qualification legally required of peers (for it will easily be granted to be most absurd and unjust, that they that have not power by law, as all infants under age have not) to dispose of any part of their own estates, or to make one legal act to that purpose (that such should have a share in the supreme power, to judge, vote, and dispose of the estate and authority of the whole kingdom;)

I say then by rule of proportion, that it is a qualification as necessarily required of the commons upon the said consideration: and it were happy for this nation, therefore, that it were better looked after for the future, that so those mischiefs may be prevented, which too often ensue to the public, by bringing such green heads into so wise and grave a council.

Secondly, 'Tis required to their legal session in parliament, that the said lords have writs of summons, which these now sitting in this present parliament never had.

Next, the said Sir Edward Cook, in the forecited place, saith, That the commons, which he calls there the third estate of the realm, consisting of knights of shires for counties; citizens of cities, and burgesses of boroughs; they all are respectively to be elected by the shires or counties, cities and boroughs, by force of the king's writ *ex debito Justitiæ;* but the commons of this present parliament were not so chosen, but by force of a writ in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England.

Thirdly, he saith, That at the return of the writs, the parliament cannot begin but by the royal presence of the king, either in person, or by representation: by representation two ways; either by a guardian of England by letters patents under the great seal, when the king is in remote parts out of the realm, or by commission, under the great seal of England, to certain lords of parliament, representing the person of the king, he being within the realm, in respect of some infirmity: (See Sir Edward Cook in his third Part of Institutes of the High Court of Parliament, concerning the beginnings of parliaments, page 6.) But this parliament began without the royal presence of the king, either in person or by representation.

Fourthly, That the substance of the writs of summons must continue in their original essence without any alteration or addition, unless it be by act of parliament. (See the same Sir Edward Cook in his third Part of Institutes of the High Court of Parliament, concerning writs of summons in parliament, p. 10.) But how great an alteration and addition to the substance of the writs of summons is this, to issue them forth in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England with the least authority of parliament, which by the express statute ought only to be issued forth in the name of the king.

And therefore, if there be any weight in Mr Pryn's aforesaid argument, to null a parliament, because of the king's death who called it, in regard the writs of summons were issued forth in the name of that king deceased, with whom by name the members of parliament were called to consult and advise, but now cannot; it will, I conceive, be no hard question to resolve, (and it were good Mr Pryn would undertake it without partiality or affection) whether the parliament doth not *ipso facto* fall void, and all the acts of it, further than they shall be confirmed by a lawful parliament which is not called by any writs of the king's at all, but only by writs as aforesaid, in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, (and by those writs, none but the commons) with whom they are summoned to consult too about the businesses of a commonwealth, (which these times have sufficiently taught us the meaning of) and not with the king about the arduous businesses of his kingdom.

These premised illegalities considered, in reference to this present parliament, (the legal being and capacity, as premised, of the Long Parliament, being supposed to be here totally waved) whether is *this* a lawful parliament, and capable to make legal and binding acts? or having been declared a lawful parliament by an act by themselves made since their session, with the king's consent, whether can the king's consent make them such, though otherwise unlawful in their call, principle, and foundation?

For I would put the case, the king should have come in while Oliver or Richard's parliament had been sitting, (to which the lords, as now, should have presented themselves without writs of summons) and his majesty, under that constitution, should have consented to a bill to grant them a lawful parliament, would that at all have made them

so, under such a constitution? Can that which is unlawful in itself, and contrary to the fundamental constitutions of the nation, be made lawful barely by the king's consent?

Which, if it shall be pleaded in the affirmative, (though I very much question, whether any understanding lawyer will venture his reputation on it) I shall desire then to be instructed in a better argument, to make good the lawful being and authority of the Long Parliament; for surely if a parliament be lawful, meerly because of the king's consent, passing an act to that purpose, though otherwise utterly unlawful in its call and foundation, then doubtless that parliament is much more lawful, and in its legal being that was founded upon a lawful call, and had the king's consent to an act to authorize it to continue till they dissolve themselves by an act; and if that be still a lawful parliament, then I am sure, upon that account, this can be none, nor no other, till that be legally dissolved.

To which there is this further to be added concerning the intentions generally of the whole nation, in reference to this parliament, by the best information I can gather, that it was never in the least meant, that these should sit to pass acts as a lawful parliament, (which was only like to prove a snare to the people, as other parliaments of the like nature, so called, have done, through the disputeableness and unwarrantableness of their authority) but only, that for the present necessity they might bear the face of parliamentary authority, for preserving the peace of the nation, till his royal majesty, that now is, might be happily restored (the kingdom panting after him as their only means of settlement;) and so soon as that was effected, then to dissolve, in order to the sending forth his majesty's royal writ of summons for calling a parliament, according to the ancient custom and fundamental constitution, (the old parliament being first legally dissolved) that so all things might return again into a legal and uncontrovertable way of proceedings, to the quiet of all men's minds, and satisfaction of the whole kingdom, who are sufficiently weary of the mischiefs of irregular actings by illegal authorities.

CONCLUSION.

If the power of the sword, or other arbitrary proceedings, do not interpose to interrupt free debates, and the course of law and justice, which the author hopes there is now no cause to fear as formerly, (all estates and degrees in the nation having sufficiently seen the inconvenience, and tasted the smart of such unrighteous actings) he doubts not (upon a serious consideration of the foregoing arguments, if men will lay aside passion and self-interest) but that right foundations will shortly again be restored, that knowing our ground-work to be sure and unquestionable, the subjects of all sorts in the kingdom may with all safety and chearfulness submit to, and act under the lawful powers in being, every one sitting in peace under his own vine and fig-tree, blessing the God of his salvation; which is daily the author's earnest and most happy prayer.

The Long Parliament is not revived by Thomas Philips: Or, an Answer to Thomas Philips his Long Parliament revived, by R. C.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Anno 17. *Caroli Regis.*

An Act to prevent Inconveniencies which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present Parliament.

WHEREAS great sums of money must, of necessity, be speedily advanced and provided for relief of his majesty's army and people in the northern parts of this realm, and for preventing the imminent danger this kingdom is in, and for supply of other of his majesty's present and urgent occasions, which cannot be so timely effected as is requisite, without credit for raising the said moneys: which credit cannot be obtained until such obstacles be first removed as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers of his majesty's loyal subjects, that this present parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, before justice shall be duly executed upon delinquents; public grievances redressed; a firm peace between the two nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the repayment of the said moneys so to be raised: All which the commons, in this present parliament assembled, having duly considered, do therefore humbly beseech your most excellent majesty that it may be declared and enacted:

And be it declared and enacted by the king our sovereign lord, with the assent of the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that this present parliament now assembled shall not be dissolved unless it be by act of parliament to be passed for that purpose: Nor shall it be at any time or times, during the continuance thereof, prorogued or adjourned, unless it be by act of parliament to be likewise passed for that purpose: And that the house of peers shall not at any time or times, during this present parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own order: And in like manner, that the house of commons shall not, at any time or times, during this present parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own order: And that all, and every thing and things whatsoever, done or to be done, for the adjournment, proroguing, or dissolving of this present parliament, contrary to this act, shall be utterly void, and of none effect.

The Long Parliament is not revived.

The author's introduction is in the first paragraph, an Apology for the Peace of the Nation upon a lasting Foundation, which in the next paragraph he does not doubt but lies in parliaments rightly constituted, and in their just and lawful privileges: And this, in the third paragraph, he says must hold true in relation to the Long Parliament, called by the late King Charles of blessed memory, which being constituted legally,

and indissolvable but by act of parliament, and not dissolved by act of parliament, is yet in force. To evidence which he brings in three arguments:

1. The title, or end of the act, viz. That it was an act to prevent inconveniencies that may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving this present parliament, viz. Want of credit to raise money to maintain his majesty's army and people in the north, &c.

The second is, That this present parliament shall not be dissolved but by act of parliament.

The third is, That all and every thing and things whatsoever, done or to be done, for adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving this present parliament, contrary to this act, shall be utterly void, and of none effect; and therefore this parliament wanting these formalities, is yet in being, and no parliament can be hereafter convened before this be thus formally dissolved, or it must needs follow, two parliaments may be existent at the same time, which he believes to be so absurd as none will aver. The rest is an answer to Mr Pryn, and against the authority of this convention, which his majesty has owned a parliament. What the author's disposition is to the peace of this nation, upon a right foundation, I know not; what peace he hopes to find by reviving the Long Parliament, few can tell, but none have found. That it does not follow, that the Long Parliament is not dissolved or revived, from any of his three arguments, we will shew.

For first, his first argument is drawn from the end, or title of the act, To prevent the inconveniences which may arise by the untimely proroguing, adjourning, or dissolving the parliament, for want of money to maintain his majesty's army and people in the north. If the force of the continuance of the Long Parliament be drawn from hence, then must the parliament be dissolved (or at least dissolvable without act of parliament) upon the payment of his majesty's army and people in the north; for *cessante ratione legis, cessat lex*: But it must needs be irrational and most absurd to aver, that any law can create a contrary or different obligation from the first reason and end of it, viz. Because they might be a parliament until they had relieved his majesty's army and people in the north, therefore they might destroy his majesty's army and people in the north.

The second is, That this present parliament shall not be dissolved but by act of parliament. If the act had said, the parliament shall not be legally dissolved but by act of parliament, then this author might have disputed against the legality of that act, which should otherwise have dissolved it; but if this author shall affirm this parliament to be in being, because not legally dissolved, is all one as to say, no man is killed or oppressed, because subjects ought to be preserved in their lives and estates by laws and acts of parliament; and this parliament might as well have made an act that none of their members should die but by act of parliament, as that they should not be dissolved but by act of parliament.

The third is, That all and every thing or things whatsoever done, or to be done, for the adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present parliament contrary to this act, shall be utterly void, and of none effect. Such was the omnipotency of these men in their beginning, that they believed all things, how impossible soever, to be very feasible to establish their greatness and reign: For things simply impossible are impossible even to God himself; as, that contradictions should be true, or that any thing should be and not be at the same instant. Yet such was the omnipotency of these members, that contradictory and impossible things must not be repugnant, but subsist in order to their perpetuity and greatness. For if things be done, they must necessarily be done, and so cannot be void and of non-effect, whatsoever they may be in law.

I pray reader take notice, that the author of this pamphlet, not only insists upon impossible things to prove the continuance of the parliament, but his very title is con-

tradictory and absurd, which revives the Long Parliament, and yet affirms it not dissolved; whereas, if it had not been dissolved, it could never be revived; and a man may as well dispute thus as our author does: No man ought to do violence upon, or kill himself but by his own consent; and that if a man does violate or kill himself, or be violated or killed by another, contrary hereunto, such force shall be utterly void, and of non-effect; therefore every man shall live, though he kill himself, or be killed by another; which I think no man in his wits will affirm.

The Long Parliament dissolved and dead, and never to be revived.

It is not worth, upon so mean an occasion, to declare the principles of power, from whence human laws are derived, and what creates them obligation: Or whether effects or accidents of power can create any alteration or obligation upon that power; as if laws made be derogatory to the power that made them. For example, if by an act of parliament the crown of England were aliened against the right of succession; or that it should hold of the pope or any one else, or that there be not sufficient means left to the king to protect his subjects; for *salus populi suprema lex:* Neither will I dispute at what time laws and acts of parliament take place; but that civil laws take not place always, is evident; for *inter arma silent leges*: Or who shall plead the benefit of them, as whether any man can plead the benefit of law for treason, felony, or breach of peace: And whether, (since no subject can levy arms without treason, but by authority of the king) the Long Parliament's raising arms against the king, did not justly invalidate all benefit they could claim by virtue of this act, or any other law? I shall endeavour to shew three things: 1. Whether the Long Parliament be totally dissolved? 2. Whether in the ordinary nature of things it can be revived? And lastly, Whether the members have any just cause to complain? But that we do not lose ourselves in obscurity, as our author does, we will first define our terms, and so set down our notions, as to be so understood, as any man may reject or deny any thing herein.

First then, a parliament is a politic body, compounded (not of three states, as our author would, of king, lords and commons, but) of heterogenial or dissimilar parts, viz. the king, the *principium, caput et finis* of it, and of the lords spiritual and temporal, one distinct house, and the house of commons another distinct house; both which houses are convened and created by the king's writ. Sir Edward Cook calls them *Conventus Sapientum*, Inst. 4. p. 2. Now all conventions and assemblies whatsoever, are either regular or irregular: All regular conventions and assemblies do proceed from, and may be reduced into, one just and certain principle, which causes and creates those assemblies; but all other conventions and assemblies which do not proceed from one certain just principle, are rather commotions or routs, than assemblies: These regular conventions and assemblies are so either potentially or actually; potentially, two ways, either when a rightful power constitutes any company of men to meet at a time and place; these men thus impowered, have by right a power of convention and assembling at such time and place; or else after they be convened, either by the power which first convened, or by themselves, they adjourn or prorogue to some certain time or place; and for want of such proroguing, adjourning, or convening, all such conventions are totally dissolved, because their conventions did not proceed from a certain and just principle, which might create them; or actually, when such regular assemblies are actually convened, by virtue of a just authority, impowering them; the two houses therefore being the convention and assembly, which united to the king, the head of them, rightly convened by virtue of the king's writ, and after prorogued or adjourned, either by the king or themselves, to meet at a certain time and place, do continue

such conventions; otherwise they may meet in riots and routs, in regular assemblies they cannot.

1. Now would I fain know, when the two worthy speakers deserted their speakerships, and run from the house to the army, and joined with them against the remaining part of the members, they did prorogue to a certain time and place, wherein they did convene, by virtue of such adjournment? or whether there were then two parliaments in being, which our author so abominates, one at Westminster, another in the army? and whether, when the lower house retained nothing but the rump, and having turned the remaining part of the lords, (who had before excluded, by the like means, three times the number of themselves, who had as good title as themselves to sit there, and four times their own number out of themselves) were a rightful assembly, duly convened in time and place? If they were, then may a part be equal to the whole; and the speaker, joined with Henry Martin, and Titchburn, and his majesty's sergeants, Glin and Maynard, since knighted, may yet be a rightful parliament: But if it be true, that *Formæ rerum sicut numeri consistunt indivisibili*, and that the aggregate body of a parliament consists of both houses duly convened in time and place, then if either be not rightly assembled, actually or potentially, the whole is utterly dissolved, much more when neither are so, as the case now stands with us.

2. The houses thus dissolved, I would now know what power can revive them; it must be either they themselves, or the king; if it be themselves, what hinders them from convening (yet I believe our author will hardly persuade the speaker and lord St John to make two) if they and the world be satisfied such convention be just and regular? If it be by the king, it must be either legally or arbitrarily; if legally, the king must revive it by virtue of some act of parliament, or by common law; if by act of parliament, it must be revived, let our author, or any one else shew it; if by common law, then let him or any one else shew any precedent for a king's reviving a parliament, and I will presently yield the cause; so I am quit with him for his answer to Mr Pryn's first objection, but if the king do it, and yet neither by act of parliament nor common law, then must it be done by an arbitrary power, which is every whit as dangerous as his conclusion. King Charles, upon the death of King James, asked Sir Edward Cook, whether he might not continue (or rather revive) the parliament dissolved by his father's death? He answered negatively, because parliaments could not be convened but by the ancient and usual form, which this was not.

3. But because it is objected, that though the houses be dissolved, yet are they not legally dissolved, and so violently done; and great crime is this! I pray who did, or who may complain? Did not the members (all but the first persecuted) from the first beginning, abuse all the king's grants and favours to his own and loyal subjects prejudice? Did not they themselves turn out one another, from the contents unto the end of the chapter, until there was scarce any of either house (none of the lords) to turn out? And if no fool or madman shall in law complain against his own act; for *volenti non fit injuria*, then the members have no reason to complain of their usage to one another, and of dissolving of themselves; and the nation is so far from complaining, that I believe, with a bitter sense, they wish they had never been.

But suppose the king might revive them; yet if he might do it, then he might not, and might chuse whether he would or not: And, can any man in his wits believe, the bitter sense of his father's death, and his own, his mother's, and brothers, and sister's suffering by them, would not divert him from such an intention, unless he did desire to have the tragedy revived again upon himself and family, and all his loyal subjects, who after so many storms of their unjust suffering for their conscience, may reasonably hope, through God's blessing, for the future, to be protected by his Majesty's peaceable government, from them, which upon the reviving of the Long Parliament, they could not reasonably hope.

The true Copy of a Letter directed to the Provost and Preachers of the city of Edinburgh, delivered by an unknown Hand at the Cross, on June 19th, 1660, in the time of the solemnizing the proclaiming of his sacred Majesty Charles II., fully discovering the horrid Treacheries of the Lord Marquis of Argyll and his Accomplices. To which is added an Act of the West-Kirk, dated August 13th, 1650. Published by a Worthy Hand.

Printed in the year 1660.

These papers were made public after the restoration, to inflame the public hatred against the Marquis of Argyll, whom Charles was determined to sacrifice to the recollection of former enmities, and to the manes of the Marquis of Montrose. The second paper was added to illustrate the anti-monarchical, or at least king-resisting doctrine of the presbyterian church of Scotland, a stigma likely to be accounted heinous during the reflux of loyalty which succeeded the restoration, and which was designed to pave the way for the abolition of presbytery and establishment of episcopacy in Scotland.

Gentlemen;

HAVE you but a due reflection on the business you are about, with the place and posture you are in, you cannot but call to mind the rebellious band of Israel, who despising authority, having forged the molten image, and moulded the calf of perdition, sate down to eat and drink, and rose up to be merry. The occasion of your jollity, as it doth resemble the morning beams cherishing the creatures, and delivering them from the drowsy shades and irksome furrows of an austere and tedious night, so ought your resentment to have been like the sun in the meridian, consuming the vapours, and rendering the sky serene on each hand.

Gentlemen, I know you have long laboured of this birth, and now are brought to bed of a mole, or rather a monster, with the face of a man, the heart of a hog, and the feet of a boar. You call this a day of thanksgiving, and reason it should be so, for the love of God manifested in the happy and peaceable restoration of the most mighty, virtuous, and wisest of princes, the glory of Great Britain, and terror of its foes; the delight of the living, and joy of the dead, loyal, and afflicted subjects, the avenger of innocent blood.[1] But which is the peace-offering? Where is that sorrow, or sadness of heart for our former rebellions, can only impregnate such actions? You have been pretending to praise God at the church in the forenoon, and now to rejoice in the king at the cross in the afternoon; where is the burnt-offering, the atonement of the day, the propitiatory sacrifice of submission and satisfaction, should render the work pleasing to God, and acceptable to his anointed? Which of you hath searched his conscience, and found the tekel of God, who wills the double-minded to purge their hearts, and the bloody men to purge their hands? Who is it among you hath with candour expressed his detestation of the treasons raised and fomented against the unparalleled and ever-blessed martyr Charles I. anno 1637, by convening and combining

his subjects against him, protesting, declaring, and opposing his royal authority; the base and treacherous association with the rebels in England anno 1643, contrary to the oath of God, and our special engagements; the calling him from Oxford to the Scots army anno 1646, under pretext of owning his interest; the perfidious restraint and infamous merchandize of his sacred person to his murderers for a piece of money, the damnable massacre of many innocent souls, after quarter and public faith in the Highlands, because of their loyalty in the same year; the proud malicious opposition made against his deliverance anno 1648; the most ignoble call and combination with the execrable regicide Oliver Cromwell; the horrid treaty at the Lady Home's lodging, anent the taking away of his life; the ignominious surrender of the liberty of the nation into the hands of strangers; the cogging papers and protestations passed at his trial anno 1649, and the detestable connivance at his murder; the unhallowed act at the West-Kirk, disowning our present mighty and magnanimous sovereign anno 1650, after he was trained in the snares of his enemies; the shameful declaration presented to his majesty at that time; the hard and unnatural usage of him by some during his abode amongst us; in fine, the godless compliance with the vipers of the throne anno 1651, and since to his happy and acceptable re-union, making havock of conscience, gratifying the wicked with the portion of the righteous, in favour of your only fixed principle (to some of you of the ministry I speak) your stipend, the sole impulsive of these unwarrantable actings, stand now like vizards on your faces. Pretend what you will, it was that, and nothing but that, made you, at one throw, play away the interest of the king, the country, and your kirk, and all the presented duties of your covenant; in pursuance of which, have you not killed kings, and shed the blood of princes, sent many poor souls to the grave, and made your native soil groan with captivity? I am not ignorant of your juggling precepts, giving us to believe, that your not praying for his majesty, your closing with his murderers, resigning into the hands of the tyrant the collation of benefices you had by force wrested from our lawful sovereign; your vile submission and blasphemous petitions in the day of trial (all which I shall, at more convenience, make known to the world) giving us to believe, were in order to the preservation of the gospel, the removal whereof was threatened, say you, than which there is nothing more false; for it cannot be expected, that those who licensed, nay authorised coblers, tinkers, and such, to preach the gospel, would ever have stopped an ordinanced ministry? No, no, the matter is higher; you should have had liberty to preach as oft and as much as you would, but no benefice, unless according to the temper of the time. Where is, I say, your sorrow and submission for these and the like? In place whereof, do not your churches ring with rebellion, and your tables stream with blood? Do not the fruitful echoes of this day's treason, spued out in your pulpits, resound to seventy and an hundred fold in the streets, which makes the world to say, you have this day christened your hypocrisy *de novo*, and called the king for your godfather.

Gentlemen, I am loth to interrupt your frolic further, with those doleful mementos; wherefore, I will once more, and once for all, put you in mind of the opening of the fifth seal of the vision of St John, where the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and the testimony they held, called from below the altar for judgment and vengeance on those that dwell on the earth; O forget not, forget not, the blood lyeth under your table: Was it not there you first protested against the honour and authority of the holy martyr Charles, never to be forgot? Where was it but there you shed the blood of war in peace, killed and cut down his majesty's good subjects? Does not yourself now stand where you barbarously butchered the loyal and renowned Marquis of Montrose; and not content with that, but as the *Ætas consistentiæ* of treason had been in your time, and rebellion its pitch and fulness of stature in your persons: Did you not hang up the commission of our present dread sovereign about his

neck, thereby striking at the very root of monarchy and interest of his ancient inheritance? What worse entertainment could the commonest thief and bloodiest murderer in the nation, being out of your hands, have found amongst you, than to have been hanged in effigy? Kings their charters are their images, and their plenipotentiaries their lively portraits; these be the dregs of the wine of the wrath of the fornication of Babylon, through the abundance of whose delicacies many have waxed rich, and with whom multitudes have committed abomination: Now she is fallen, and become the habitation of devils; she that by her sorceries did deceive the nations, is now become the hold of unclean spirits, and in her is found the blood of the prophets, the saints, and many slain; now she is thrown down with violence, and double shall be given unto her, according to her works; therefore I advise you to come out of her, lest you also partake of her plagues. It is never too late to repent while we are here; there is fulness of grace with the Almighty, and abundance of mercy with the king; humble yourselves before his majesty's feet, that you may be signed with the seal of the living, and escape the fury of the destroying angels.

Gentlemen, I do freely protest, I intend no prejudice or reproach to any penitent subject; therefore, I will expect a favourable construction of this address, made allenerly for rousing the consciences of such, whose overthrow seems to be sealed up in the hardness of their hearts, and whose conversion shall be much in the prayers of

Your loving friend in God and the King.

June 19th, 1660.

West-Kirk, the 13th day of August, 1650.

THE Commission of the General Assembly considering that there may be just ground of stumbling, from the king's majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration offered unto him by the Committee of Estates, and Commissioners of the General Assembly, concerning his former carriage, and resolutions for the future, in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof, doth therefore declare, That this kirk and kingdom doth not own nor espouse any malignant party, or quarrel, or interest, but that they fight merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in the defence and cause of God and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years past: And therefore, as they do declaim all the sin and guilt of the king, and of his house, so they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God and to the covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient speed, take in consideration the papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from all the falsehoods contained therein, especially in those things wherein the quarrel betwixt us and that party is mis-stated, as if we owned the late king's proceeding, and were resolved to prosecute and maintain his present majesty's interest before, and without acknowledgment of the sins of his house and former ways, and satisfaction to God's people in both kingdoms.

13*th August*, 1650. A. KER.

The Committee of Estates having seen and considered a declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly, anent the stating of the quarrel, wherein the army is to fight, do approve the same, and heartily concur therein.

THO. HENDERSON.

A Brief of the Case and Title of George Porter of London, Esq. unto a Deputation and Management of both the Letter-Offices, together with the Profits thereunto belonging, derived from the Right Honourable Charles Lord Stanhope, Baron of Harrington.

That the office of postmaster-general of the dominions of England is one of the ancientest offices of England.

That the nominating of all postmasters, and carriage of all letters, both inland and foreign, both of his majesty's and of his subjects, are members of, and incident and belonging unto, the said office, together with the profits and perquisites thereby accruing, as appears by ancient deeds and custom beyond the memory of man.

That John Lord Stanhope had a grant of the said office in the 30th of Elizabeth, 1588, under the broad seal of England; and by himself, his deputy, and agents, enjoyed the carriage of all letters by post, both foreign and inland, both of his majesty's and of his subjects, for about forty years, until he died.

That Charles Lord Stanhope, who is now living, had a reversion of the said office, and by himself, his deputies, and agents, enjoyed the carriage of all letters, until he was illegally disturbed by one Matthew Dequester, who having been the Lord Stanhope's deputy for the carriage of foreign and Irish letters about twenty years together, under a pretence of a grant of a new office by him obtained, upon untrue suggestions, for services to be done out of the king's dominions, (a reversion whereof Mr William Witherings now claims by) by authority thereof took upon him the carriage of foreign letters.

That in the year 1624, the said Charles Lord Stanhope brought his action against the said Dequester, for taking upon him the carriage of merchants' letters, and receiving moneys for the postage thereof from London to Antwerp, without the licence, and against the will of him the said Lord Stanhope, who is postmaster-general, and recovered a verdict against the said Dequester.

That the parliament, in the 4th of the late king, upon report of a select committee, taking notice of the said Dequester's undue suggestion for the gaining of the said patent, for services to be done in foreign parts out of the king's dominions, and of the Lord Stanhope's verdict against Dequester, did declare, and give judgment against Dequester's said patent, in favour of the Lord Stanhope's patent.

That the said George Porter hath the deputation, management, and profits of the said offices during the life of the said Charles Lord Stanhope, in due form of law settled and confirmed upon him.

That the said George Porter, his agent, was in possession of the said offices at the first assembling of the Long Parliament.

That Mr Thomas Witherings, who procured a reversion of Dequester's patent, for services to be done out of the king's dominions, well knowing the invalidity thereof, made over his interest unto the Right Honourable Robert late Earl of Warwick; upon which one Mr Pulley and others found means to have a mail of foreign letters to be betrayed into their hands, whereby the said Earl of Warwick came to get the possession of the foreign letter-office.

Hereupon the said George Porter, his agent, was prevailed upon to call in Edmund

Prideaux, Esq., then a parliament-man, to protect him in the more sure keeping of the inland letter-office, and recovery of the foreign from the Earl of Warwick; but instead thereof, the said Edmund Prideaux removed the inland office unto a sequestered house, and took the profits to himself, saying that he did it by the liberty of the subject.

Thereupon the said George Porter's agent, (far before any undertakers thought thereon) through the insight he had in the said offices, being well assured, that if he undertook to carry letters thrice a-week, whereas the said Edmund Prideaux carried but once; and if he did require but 3d. for a single letter, whereas the said Edmund Prideaux took 6d. that there would be sent, for time to come, above six three-penny letters for every six-penny letter, which had been sent in the said Prideaux his time, resolved upon sending thrice a-week, and instead of 6d. to take but 3d. for a single letter at the most, and for Scotland, Ireland, and foreign parts accordingly; with an intention to have reduced the rates to 2d. or 1d. a letter, for the benefit of trade and other correspondencies: And to make more sure work (as he had cause to hope) did take the subscriptions of most considerable merchants and others, in and about London, York, Hull, Newcastle, Exeter, Plymouth, Bristol, and other parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and foreign parts, (which are yet extant to be seen) thereby obliging themselves, so far as the laws of the land did permit, to send all their letters, both inland and foreign, unto the said George Porter's agent, whensoever he would undertake the conveyance of them upon the terms aforesaid; and, in order thereunto, the said George Porter's agent settled postages up and down, from one end of England unto the other, provided with sufficient number of post-horses for this purpose, and made several journies into France, Flanders, Brabant, and the United Provinces, for treating with his agents, and settling his correspondents in foreign parts, all at his and their own proper costs and charges; and just as he was ready to publish the same, and give notice to all persons when and to what places they should begin to bring their letters, the said Edmund Prideaux prevailed with the then convention, by passing certain resolves, to prevent the same; but the improvement of the said offices being thus discovered, and the late usurper Oliver being informed thereof, did then, and not till then, without so much as any pretended course of law, seize both the said offices into his own hands.

Object. 1. But if it be said, that the Lord Stanhope, in consideration of a sum of money, hath surrendered his patent, and that in such case, the king or parliament may appoint another comptroller or postmaster-general.

Answ. It is answered, that the Lord Stanhope hath often denied to have made any such surrender; and it doth not appear in fact that there is such a surrender, much less that there is any judgment or verdict in the case for evidencing that there ever was any such pretended surrender.

Object. 2. If it be said, that it can be no prejudice for the parliament to pass an act for his majesty's constituting of another comptroller or postmaster-general, with a provisoe for saving of all right and title unto the said Lord Stanhope, and unto all persons claiming under him.

Answ. It is for answer humbly conceived, that scarce any person will apprehend it to be agreeable, either to justice or equity, to have his office settled in the king by act of parliament, and by provisoe to be put to suit to recover the same back again; or that any person will be found, who holding either land or office from the crown, whether for life or term of years, will be content to have his possession taken or with-held from him, because he hath improved the same, before the said term of years or lives be expired.

Object. 3. If it be said, that the parliament may now first hear and adjudge the Lord Stanhope's surrender to be real and good, and then dispose of the said offices, re-

ferring the said George Porter to take his remedy at law against the Lord Stanhope for having so surrendered.

Answ. It is for answer humbly conceived to be a hard case for the said George Porter and his agents, who have done the service of improving these offices to a revenue of 21,500*l.* a-year, and of saving 5000*l.* a-year, which till then the crown was at, to be defeated (by the Lord Stanhope's undue surrender) of their labours, industry, and charges, and not to be relieved by a parliament; especially since it is possible that another court may find it to be no good surrender in law, or in equity at least: And last of all, although the said surrender, upon a trial or hearing, should prove real, and the said George Porter recover damages, it may possibly prove so long first, through the Lord Stanhope's peerage, and such other delays as may be made, as that his lordship, being very aged and infirm, may possibly be dead first, or his estate be found entailed, or otherwise disposed of, in such manner as the said George Porter and his agents may still be left remediless until they be relieved in parliament.

The said George Porter, therefore, humbly hopeth and prayeth, that neither himself nor his agents may fare the worse for their having been ingenuous in contriving, and at great charge in compassing, so great an improvement of the said offices, which will come clear unto his majesty after the decease of the said Lord Stanhope, who is very aged and infirm; but that either the whole matter may be heard and determined in parliament, and that the said George Porter, if there be just cause, may be relieved by the justice of this parliament against the Lord Stanhope; or that the whole matter be referred to the law; and that in the mean time it may be permitted unto the said George Porter, and his agents, to enjoy the benefit of their labours, charges, contrivance, and improvement; or that they may be otherwise satisfied for the same, before the said offices be farmed out, or otherwise disposed of by act of parliament.

GEORGE PORTER.

A View of the Fallacies contained in a late printed Paper, intitled, The Lord Stanhope's Case and Title to the Office of Postmaster of the Posts and Messengers.

Hereby also may be answered Mr. Henry Robinson's pretended Claim to the Post-Offices, the said Claim being (as he alledgeth) under the Lord Stanhope.

How easy a thing it is for a man to make his own case seem fair and plausible, and to traduce and cast a prejudice upon another man's, especially where both parties are competitors for the same thing; it is no hard matter to determine.

The skill and scope in framing the Lord Stanhope's case, was to prepossess men's belief with this prejudice, that Mr Witherings, to whom, and to one Mr Frizel, the late Sovereign Lord King Charles granted the office of postage in foreign parts, not being within his majesty's dominions, had no title thereunto, but that the same was an encroachment upon the Lord Stanhope's patent; and that nothing was granted to Mr Witherings and Mr Frizel, but what was before granted to the Lord Stanhope; but whether this be so or no, is the question. The truth of the Lord Stanhope's case, upon view of the several patents therein alledged, appears to be no other than as *followeth:*

Queen Elizabeth (20 Junii, 32 Eliz.) granted the office of master of the *posts* and

messengers, as well within the kingdom of England, as in foreign parts beyond the seas within her dominions, to John Lord Stanhope, father of the now Lord Stanhope, for his life, with the fee of one hundred pounds per annum, and power to make a deputy.

John Lord Stanhope (25 July, 5 Jac.) procures a new patent (upon surrender of the old one) for the same office unto himself and his son Charles, now Lord Stanhope, (then being an infant) for their lives, viz. to hold to the father first for his life, and after his death, surrender, or forfeiture, then to Charles the son for his life, with a fee of one hundred marks per annum, and power of deputation.

Matthew Dequester (30 April, 17 Jac.) obtains a patent from King James of the postmaster of England, for foreign parts being out of the king's dominions, and this to be a sole office of itself, and not part or member of any other place or postmaster.

Our late Sovereign Lord (15 Martii, 7 Car. I.) King Charles grants unto Thomas Witherings and William Frizel the same office for their lives, after the determination of Dequester's patent.

Charles Lord Stanhope, after the death of his father John Lord Stanhope, complaining to King James that Dequester's grant did trench into his office, his majesty referred the consideration thereof to William Earl of Pembroke, Mr Secretary Calvert, Mr Attorney Coventry, and Mr Solicitor Heath, to certify their opinions; who certified, that the places and employments were distinct, the Lord Stanhope's being within the kingdom, and within his majesty's dominions beyond the seas, and Mr Dequester's being in foreign parts out of the king's dominions, and that the Lord Stanhope had not shewed any thing to them to impeach Dequester's grant, but that both the grants were consistent; and thereupon King James confirmed Dequester's grant made 17 Jacobi, which complaint, reference, and certificate, are recited both in the confirmation of Dequester's patent, and in the said patent to Witherings and Frizel.

Of the same opinion that the referees certified were divers other learned lawyers, (whereof three were afterwards judges) who further also declared their opinions to be, that the patent to the Lord Stanhope, and Charles his son, of the said office, being an office of trust, and granted to Charles Lord Stanhope during his minority, was void in law at the time of the grant, albeit he attained his age of one and twenty years before his father's death.

And further it plainly appears, by the record at the chapel at the rolls, that the Lord Stanhope's patent was vacated upon his own surrender thereof: And because this truth stares every man in the face, the said printed paper (not being able to contradict it) takes liberty to insinuate a scandalous accusation at once against the lords of the council, secretary of state, clerk of the council, the king's attorney, the antientest clerk of the rolls, and that of no less crimes than bribery, forgery, and other strange practices. This patent being surrendered and void, Mr Witherings having with infinite pains and travel, and exceeding great charge, found out the true and exact way of correspondency, not formerly understood, obtains a grant of the inland * post-office during his own life, the sequestration whereof, although it was voted by the parliament to be illegal, and ought to be taken off, yet by the great power of Mr Prideaux, (who slipt into the execution thereof) the said Mr Witherings was by force, during some part of the latter end of his life, deprived of the same.

It is true, that Charles Lord Stanhope, supposing an encroachment upon his office by Dequester's patent, had, about the 18th of King James, brought an action at law against Dequester, and by surprize or other miscarriage at the trial, got a verdict; but it is as true, that the plaintiff could never obtain judgment upon that trial, although

* In April, 13 Car. I. the inland post-office was then new erected, and called The Letter Office of England. —*Orig. Note.*

endeavoured by all possible means, admitting it to be true, that the king's council at law (upon a reference to them) certified the Lord Stanhope's right to the foreign office, as is pretended in the said printed case of the Lord Stanhope; yet still that is to be intended to extend only to the foreign parts within the king's dominions, and not to the foreign parts without the king's dominions. (24 Jan. 4 Car. I.) The like may be said of the pretended vote in parliament, which was long time before the grant to Witherings.

By this which hath been said, it will easily appear what art was used in framing the Lord Stanhope's said printed case; but further, to take away all scruple and pretence whatsoever, let the patents themselves speak their own language. It will be expedient therefore to set down the very words of the several grants.

And first the words of the grant made by the queen (20 Jan. 32 Eliz.) are, *Officium Magistri Nunciorum et Cursorum communiter vocatum Postarum nostrarum, tam infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ, quam in quibuscunque aliis partibus transmarinis in nostro Domino existentibus.* The very same words are used in the grant made to John Lord Stanhope, and Charles his son, which words (25 Julii, 5 Jac.) (as appears to every sensible man) "extend not to all foreign parts beyond the seas, (as is suggested by the said printed case) but do restrain and limit the said grant to all such foreign parts only as are within the king's dominions. Now the words of the grant made to [1] Thomas Witherings and William Frizel, are these, viz. "The office or place of postmaster of England for foreign parts, being out of the dominions of us, our heirs and successors;" which words do in no wise trench upon the grant to the Lord Stanhope, but do very clearly distinguish the several grants; certainly this must needs be a wilful mistake, if the composer of the printed case had ever consulted with the patents; but it may well be conjectured that he never saw them, but took the matter up upon trust; and the rather, because the dates of all the said grants are quite mistaken in the printed case, besides divers other misprisions therein committed.

The continual claim of the Lord Stanhope is by the printed paper made to be a great argument of the truth of the pretended foul practice therein alledged to be put in execution against him; but surely it is a far better argument against his title, that notwithstanding such continual claim, and all endeavours used, the Lord Stanhope could never be thought fit to be restored upon any address, either to the lords of the council, to his majesty, or to the parliament and other courts, before any of which it cannot (without great and bold presumption) be imagined he should not (upon just cause) have been relieved.

Now though William Witherings never claimed any thing in the inland office, by reason the interest thereof determined upon the death of Thomas Witherings, and is now in the disposition of his majesty, yet he proposeth these lines to vindicate his own right to the foreign post-office, in regard the insinuations of the said printed paper have a tendency to prejudice his right, of which he humbly hopes there will be a just and tender care had.

[1] 'Tis unnecessary, otherwise much more might be said upon searching records, and tracing the Lord Stanhope's several proceedings in 1642 and 1646, and other times before or since, in parliament, and other places and courts.—*Orig. Note.*

Thomas Lea, Rector of Newton, in the Isle of Ely, his case.

The merits here pleaded for Mr Lea remind one of those mentioned in the Spectator, where a drunken cavalier includes, in the memorial of his services, his having had his head broken for drinking the king's health at a bone-fire.

THE said Mr Lea being undone by the horrid rebellion in Ireland, came over into England with Theophilus late Bishop of Dromore, and was settled lecturer of Wisbech, in the Isle of Ely.

March 14, 1643, by an order from the committee for the association at Cambridge, he was ejected and banished Wisbech and the Isle of Ely, after nine weeks imprisonment, upon these articles:

I. At the battle of Gainsborough he spoke disgracefully of Colonel Cromwell, that he turned his horse's head, and bid every man shift for himself.

II. That about a month after he drank Prince Rupert's health.

III. That he procured a strange minister to preach, who prayed for the Queen of Bohemia and her princely issue.

IV. When he heard one Stoneham, in his sermon there, say, The common prayer began with a lye, he turned to the text in Ezekiel, and shewed it to one Mr Buckworth, and wrested that scripture.

V. When afterwards Stoneham preached and said, It was now a lightsome time, but the times of the bishops were like a candle of twenty in the pound, all weak; at which Mr Lea laughed.

VI. Mr Lea, preaching at Wisbech, spoke against breaking down of images in the church windows.

About seven years since he was presented to the rectory of Newton in the Isle of Ely, of which he is now in possession.

A month before his majesty came into England last, and ever since, he hath constantly read and observed the liturgy of the church of England in the same parish.

He is now chaplain to the Lord Townshend of Lyn-Regis in Norfolk, and hath made several applications to the Lord Bishop of Ely, by his friends and by several petitions, to be confirmed in the said rectory, which is refused.

He humbly prayeth, that by the equity of this honourable house of commons, his proviso to the act for confirming the ministers bill now to pass may be added

This is a curious Memorial. A master of ceremonies seems, during the iron days of the commonwealth, to have been deemed a very useless formality, and treated with corresponding neglect and contempt. It is diverting to remark the feeling with which the old courtier, whose very existence was in ceremonial, deplores the neglect of forms and decencies which prevailed during the domination of the stern and rude Protector and of the tumultuous republicans. He seems to rest his merit with Charles upon having stood in the gap with "an afflictive resentment of these disorders," and maintained, as far as circumstances would permit, the respects of his troublesome and thankless office. At the same time, he seems conscious that his excuse for serving the parliament in this important capacity is but imperfect, without reference to lawless necessity, "that irresistible tyrant," which, he says, forced him to *act passively*, or perish.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled,

The Humble Petition of Oliver Flemming, Knight,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioner, after fifteen years service to his late majesty, of ever blessed memory, in foreign negotiations, having contracted therein a great debt, and being left abroad, destitute of all supply for his subsistance, he was forced to return home at such a time as his majesty's own afflictions had made it unseasonable and impossible for him to expect any other relief or recompence than his majesty's acceptance and royal compassion, of both which your petitioner had a large and ample testimony:

That staying in town by his majesty's command, he was, by an ordinance of lords and commons, put upon the office of master of the ceremonies, which he several times performed to his majesty (who well knew and considered your petitioner's sad condition) with his favour and approbation; yet after an innocent and faithful discharge, for several years, of his trust therein, he was again, upon that fatal usurpation and change of government, left in a state much worse than when it was first put upon him, as by the humble narrative annexed more fully appears:

That for the third stroke of this shipwreck of his fortune, he was thrown upon executing the same office to persons whom he could not resist, and by his own invincible necessities he was forced to act passively; in which, his least misery was the utter ruin of himself and family, and his only consolation, his constant refusal to repair it, in that detestable way, out of the spoils of his gracious master, the ruins of the church, or the desolation of private families, although often pressed and urged upon him.

Your petitioner, therefore, far stricken in years, and out of all employment, with the so near concernment of a wife and children, yet unprovided for, in extreme poverty, humbly begs, that your honours would commiserate his deplorable condition, and take into consideration his debts contracted in the public service, and order such relief as his extreme pressing calamities require, and as shall seem fit to the justice, charity, and generosity of the parliament.

And your Petitioner shall pray, &c.

The Humble Narrative of Oliver Flemming, Knight; shewing the manner how I came to execute the Office of Master of the Ceremonies, with my Comportment and Sufferings therein for the space of near eighteen Years.

I HAD the honour to serve his late majesty (of blessed memory) in the quality of his resident, for the time of fifteen years, to the cantons of Switzerland, Grizons, Geneva, several German princes, and to some imperial cities; but by reason of the then growing troubles at home, I found myself totally abandoned, great arrears due to me, no money transmitted for my subsistance, nor could I expect any for the future, and not able to suffer any longer my extreme misery, being incredibly afflicted to see his majesty's honour and the public reputation wounded through my sides, I was forced to come home.

At my arrival, I acquainted his majesty with my sad condition, who was graciously pleased to be very sensible of it, but not able at that time to help me. I also acquainted his majesty with some secret negotiations which I had had with the directors of the late Duke Bernard of Weymar's army, according to instructions I had to that purpose. Some propositions were made unto me of great importance, concerning Brisac, and the rest of the said duke's conquests in Alsatia, and other adjacent parts, which I then delivered his majesty in writing. It did much trouble his majesty, that the posture of his affairs then was such, as that he was altogether unable to lay hold on those overtures, so honourable and advantageous. I was commanded to return them thanks for their good will and affection to his majesty; but they finding themselves destitute of their hopes, were forced to stick close to their former agreement with France.

His majesty was then at Windsor when I waited on him; and at his departure thence was pleased to command me to stay at London, and to make what shift I could for my subsistance, promising and assuring me, that when God should restore him to his authority again, he would take care for the payment of my arrears, and some fitting encouragement for my long service. He was then also pleased to command me to be vigilant and industrious to keep life in that business of Brisac and Alsatia, hoping that in time he should be in a condition to embrace it.

After his majesty's departure, the ambassadors and residents continued their residence in London; where having observed from time to time the beginnings, and seen some sad events of our civil wars, they did successively make their addresses to the parliament.

It was then thought necessary to find out a person fitly qualified to execute the place of master of the ceremonies. Some were pleased to name myself, and so I was commanded, by an ordinance of parliament, to discharge that place.

This was done, not only without my seeking, (not having spoken to any friend either for this or any other place whatsoever) but to the contrary, (from a serious desire to be excused from that employment, and in a private station to attend the good issue of his majesty's concernments) I did urge some friends of mine, that I might be dispensed with, which can be witnessed by persons of eminent quality yet alive. But the ordinance being passed both the houses, I did, not without reluctance, accept of it, and this is the manner of my being engaged in that expensive, and to me ruinous, employment, which I have ever since executed with unwearied diligence; and so far

as the calamities of the times, so full of distraction, factions, disorders, and confusions, would permit, constantly managed the things which came within the sphere of my activity, with all possible prudence and dexterity, to the profit and honour of the nation.[a]

This punctilious place I was constrained to execute alone, without any help, only when the lords and commons sate, I made use of some gentlemen of quality, that out of affection to the public reputation did voluntarily assist me, when there was occasion of any such public service, during which time, and his majesty's restraint, I was commanded, upon several occasions, and to several places, to conduct ambassadors to his majesty's presence, who was pleased to approve of those services, and graciously to reiterate his former promises to me.

Shortly after, it pleased God, for the sins of these nations, to permit wicked men to perpetrate an act of the greatest atrocity; the king was put to death with no less barbarous cruelty, than unheard of insolent ostentation, such as no history can parallel since the creation. This fatal blow given, and the peers ignominiously laid aside, and left a skeleton only of their innate dignity and honours, and the most zealous, faithful, and prudent patriots of the house of commons forcibly secluded, and the whole foundation of the antient government subverted, a democratical commonwealth declared for; but, in effect, it proved to be a lawless and tyrannical oligarchy, which was ingenuously confessed by some of the most judicious amongst them, foretelling that all would come to confusion and ruin.

Foreign princes and states send their ambassadors to acknowledge and congratulate this new government, with great obsequiousness, conforming themselves, with great difficulty and aversion, to the capriciousness of those that did manage the affairs, who did unhinge all decency and order therein.

They did send their emissaries abroad, with great expence and ostentation, accompanied with extravagant instructions, which was matter of laughter to some of our

[a] That the reader may be enabled to judge as to the importance of this punctilious office, he may peruse the following account, given by one of Sir O. Fleming's predecessors in office, of a dispute betwixt the ambassadors of France and Spain:—"The king's day (March the four-and-twentieth) returning, towards the solemnity usual at it of running at the tilt, &c. his majesty was pleased to send an invitation to the Spanish ambassador extraordinary, Count of Gondomar, and also the French ambassador ordinary, the Count de Tilleurs, to be there; and because of their accustomed difference about precedence, there was care had, as much as might be, to please them both to their satisfactions, especially his majesty being resolved (for his reasons before alleadged of the trouble they brought with them in that point) to admit neither of them under the seat next him. Hereupon it was concluded on his majesties part, (and the places offered to both their considerations) that they should be both seated in severall places on his right hand thus: The French ambassador in the first window of the Duke of Lenox his lodging, over the great gate next without the tilt yard eastward, and the Spanish in a standing dressed up of purpose over the porter's-lodge, within the tilt yard, both in equall distance from his majesty. The Spaniard professed to be pleased with his allotment, but the French not so, alleadging (though he had at the first seemed content with the distribution,) that the Spaniard's assigned place was in publique, and in the king's eye; his not, but in a private corner, out of the view of the king, and almost of the people, though in a scituation higher than the other, and in the same body of the king's house; but that which he most urged and stood upon was, that suppose there should be in their ranking there no difference, and that they should be both placed and entertained on equal termes, yet even that was a subject of maine exception, in regard that the French king his master would not, he said, treate with the Spaniard, as questioning onely parity, but as making no question of his right of priority, which he could challenge and take as his due wheresoever.

"Besides, he said, because the Spaniard might seeme to have the better place, as being most in the king's and peoples sight, and that place allotted him more retyred and out of view, though within the body of the king's own house; he desired that (if the place were so equall as some Spanishly inclined pretended,) he might have the first choyce, and that should content him. In fine, being left herein unsatisfied, he absolutely refused to come at all, or to send his lady, though her place were already assigned her in a compartment provided and kept for her neere her majesty within the gallery, so as in conclusion the Spaniard remained master of the field, where no enemy appeared, taking his place appointed over the porter's-lodge as mentioned."—FINETTI, *Philoxenus*, Lond, 1656-8. p. 63.

neighbours. The great concourse of foreign ministers made some of them think it fit to have a committee to regulate affairs of that nature, and how to manage the public negotiations with foreign ministers, and what course and form to be established in the distribution of national civilities toward strangers, according to their several characters and qualities; but no such committee was appointed. Some were of opinion, that all ceremonies were superfluous, that substantials were to be minded, as if there were no substance in the transactions betwixt nation and nation; that such trivial things might be taken into consideration, according to the emergent occasions. The duty that I owed to the honour of the nation begot in me an afflictive resentment of these disorders, yet from a plain-hearted and sincere desire to be as instrumental as I could to prevent further violations thereof, and from a necessity against which I had no defence, (my then condition considered) I was forced to act in this place, and (to the intent I might better accomplish those public ends, which I then designed) having more work than I was able to wield, and no gentleman persuaded to assist me as formerly, they being weary of that trouble and thankless office, I did remonstrate the necessity of having some help, alledging the example of the king's court, and of all other courts and governments; and did instance in Sir Lewis Lukenor who had for his assistance Sir William Button and Sir John Finnet,[1] beside a marshal of the ceremonies, whose office was to go before, and to make way at audiences, and to be sent by the master, upon ordinary occasions, to the public ministers. The assistants did officiate, in case of sickness, or other necessary absence of the master, but all my endeavours proved fruitless. I was told by some of them that they needed no pedagogue to instruct them; that their government was of that power and authority, that they could establish things of that nature, without being minded of former examples in England, or of what was practised in foreign parts; that I ought to rest satisfied with what orders I should receive from time to time, and for to help and assist me they would give order to their messengers to wait upon me to that purpose. I desired that it might be seriously considered how much it would reflect upon the honour of the nation, to employ men of that condition, breeding, and odious employment, no ways capable nor qualified to act in a business of such a punctilious and delicate nature; that the public ministers could not choose but be sensible of such attempts and affronts put upon them; but all I could say was in vain, and as I did foresee, the public ministers did greatly storm at this indignity, and did make their complaints; but no redress was given, and they calmly at last did endure it with patience, contenting themselves to laugh at our extravagant ways, and despotical actings, making themselves merry with the gallantry of the serjeants and gaolers (as they called them) that were appointed to accompany them to their audience. All which I was forced to hear and see, to my extreme grief and vexation; and sometimes taking occasion to speak of these things, hoping thereby to procure a remedy, I was answered, they were sent, and not sent for, and that they might return whence they came, if not pleased with the government of England.

When ambassadors came, then on a sudden all things were huddled up with confusion and disorder, and acted according to the imperious humour of some few, who, with great superciliousness, did arrogate to themselves an infallible knowledge of all state negotiations and affairs, which others taking for granted, did acquiesce in the judgment of those self-creating state-grandees, who created also these innovations in

[1] The author of a work above quoted, and which, in these days of irregularity, Sir Oliver Fleming must have often consulted in despair. It is entitled.—"Finetti Philoxenis: Som choice Observations of Sir John Finett, Knight, and Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, touching the reception and precedence, the treatment and audience, the punctillios and contests of Forien Ambassadors in England. *Legati ligant Mundum.* London, Printed by T. R. for H. Twyford and G. Bedell, and are to be sold at their shops in Vine-Court, Middle Temple, and the Middle Temple Gate, 1656-8."

matter of audience, that it must not be demanded of the master of the ceremony, according to the general practice of all nations, but must be demanded by letter to the speaker;[1] when granted, then the master of the ceremonies did bring them to the house, where being sate, they delivered their credentials to the said master, and he to the speaker. In private audience with the council of state, it must likewise be procured by letters from the public minister to the president, and then an order to the master of the ceremony to bring him: None were permitted to have audience in the house, but extraordinary and ordinary ambassadors, other public ministers of lesser characters must not be admitted into the house; but a committee was chosen and sent up to the house of peers, and the chairman received his credentials from the hand of the master of the ceremonies. The house of lords was not constantly made use of, but sometimes the inner court of wards was appointed, which sometimes did beget disputes, because they who had not their audience in the house of peers, conceived it a disparagement to their masters: But that which did most justly offend those public ministers of the lesser classes, and in them their masters, was, that contrary to the practice of the whole world in all the sorts of government, they were not permitted to deliver their credentials themselves to that which was looked upon as the supreme authority; but when they saw their complaints and quarrellings did produce no satisfaction, they were ordered by their masters to connive at such punctilios, to the end it might not be an impediment to more material businesses. The public ministers in their reciprocal visits would comfort one another, that they must do in England as those that did reside in Turkey, Muscovy, and other barbarous princes courts; and as to their state negotiations, that they had as little satisfaction; for they did meet with so many difficulties, delays, unaccustomed and uncivil ways of treating, that they could not tell how to behave themselves, their commissioners being often changed, and so constrained to ravel into business that had been upon the matter already agreed upon.

The truth is, that the public ministers were generally ill used, unequally and uncivilly dealt withall, the laws of nations violated, affronted in their persons, arrested in their coaches, violent hands laid upon them by bailiffs.

An extraordinary ambassador from Venice, being upon his way hither, had sent some of his goods by sea, the ship being of Holland, was taken and brought into England, and the goods seized upon by the prize office; the secretary of that state claims the ambassador's goods, but no restitution endeavoured: A while after the ambassador comes himself, and at an audience prays, that his goods might be restored unto him again, offering to discover some persons that had some part of his things, especially some fair looking-glasses, and had nothing but fair promises, and went away without satisfaction.

This is but a touch, incidental to this discourse, it would require a volume to enumerate the injuries that have been put upon public ministers. When great faults were committed, and of so gross a nature, that even those who had usurped the authority were ashamed of them, then was I made choice of to excuse and apologize for them, and desired to take the fault upon myself; some of the ambassadors would smile, and say there was a little civility in the excuse, but that they knew well enough from whom those affronts came. These things were swallowed and dissembled, to the admiration of all those who had any knowledge in foreign affairs.

No presents were to be given to public ministers, contrary to the custom of all nations and governments;[2] no, not the warrants for bucks and does in their seasons, as

[1] A dreadful innovation!

[2] These, under the monarchical system, formed a considerable branch of national expenditure. The following example is taken at random from Finett's book: "The state commissioners were presented (as I was informed) with 3000 ounces of gilt plate equally divided amongst them, and their secretary, Constantine Hug-

was constantly used to be in the regal government; and to the end that this might not seem to be a sordid frugality, it was tempered with an act of generosity (so called by them) towards public ministers, which was to forbid me to accept of the donations due to my place, and an odious command laid upon me, not to permit any others employed in the service of public ministers to receive any gratuity from them;[a] but some said, that this was a great wrong and injury to me, and that I and others ought to be reimbursed out of the public purse, which was promised, but not performed in the least. With no small difficulty and shameful sollicitation, the public ministers had their wonted proportion of wines allowed them, custom and excise free; but towards the latter end, the residents were abated a fourth part of their accustomed proportion, all which I was constrained to bear upon my heart as matter of much sadness and sorrow, having no other comfort left me, but the constancy and integrity of my endeavours to prevent the prostituting of the nation's honour by such miscarriages.

I humbly conceive, that this rational question may be asked me, Why I did act all this time, and that in all changes whatsoever, whether my reason could dispense and approve of these frequent revolutions? To which I answer in the negative: For as I was unwilling, at first, to meddle with this office, which hath been my undoing, so did I from time to time express my dislike of proceedings, when and where I could do it with prudence and safety, in a time when the power of the nation was wielded with so much passion and violence.

But my invincible answer is, that lawless necessity is an irresistable tyrant, which forced me to act passively, or to perish; for, as I humbly shewed, in the beginning of this narrative, I was deeply engaged for his late majesty, (of ever blessed memory) which debts are since doubled, the creditors reckoning interest upon interest for twenty years together, this made my burden so heavy and sad, nay almost insupportable, that men did admire how I was able to bear it.

And I seriously considered with myself, that my serving in that place was very innocent, as consisting in holding forth to strangers the civilities of the nation; and indeed, during the whole course of my service in this office, my end was fixed upon the service, interest, and honour of the nation, constantly hoping, that God, in his providence, would, in his good time, deliver us out of our distractions, and resettle the three nations again upon the ancient basis of our former government, which we see now effected, in great mercy, by the happy return of his sacred majesty to his throne. That this is not a flattering insinuation, but a sincere and real truth, is sufficiently known to such as I durst open my thoughts unto. Besides, the duty of my loyalty, and my confidence of the public's re-establishment, and therein my own particular concernments, were a strong motive thereunto; for I found that I could not expect

gins, with a chayne of gold 45*l.* valew. The King of Bohemia's ambassador had assigned him for his present 1160 ounces of guilt plate; but this not being presented (but with assurance to be sent after him,) he, two or three years afterwards, returned hither to recover it, and did (but not to the valew of it) in ready money: he presented me with a chayne of 30*l.* value."—*Philoxenis*, p. 79.

[a] This liberality, at the expence of the poor master of ceremonies, cut off a long *et cætera* of vails and perquisites, payable by foreign ambassadors to the servants of the state: "At his (the emperor's ambassador's) parting, he left his majesties officers and servants little satisfied with the gratuities, being but small bracelet chaines, to the valew of scarce eight or 10*l.* a piece. To the master of the ceremonies (bringing him the present from his majesty, which was his picture set in gold, richly inchaced with diamonds, and hung at a chaine of diamonds, rubies and pearles, valewed at 1600*l.*) he gave a small jewell, worth little above eight pound; and for all his travell and attendance, a bason and ewer not of 30*l.* valew. To the guard then waiting, being twenty foure, he gave 40*l.*, and to the clerk of the check a bracelet of gold of about nine pounds valew. To me (who expected nothing, having had no command to attend him) he gave a small chaine of excellent workmanship, (as a remembrance, he said, not a reward) worth ten pound, besides the rare fashion of it. To the porters five pound, to two of the king's coachmen daily attending him ten pound, to the hired coachmen five pound."—*Philoxenis*, p. 101.

any justice, much less favour, from men that did look upon me as an old courtier, and so not much to be trusted; and to this I may add, the hatred that some leading men did bear me secretly, for having with freedom of discourse expressed my aversion against enthusiasts, and their new heterodox principles in matters of religion.

I acted all along by the abovesaid ordinance of lords and commons, who had declared for a king and parliament; during which time, I had the honour to be commanded to conduct ambassadors to his late majesty's presence, who was graciously pleased to accept of my service, as is above-mentioned; and I have in all changes constantly shunned all other patents, commissions, and powers of whomsoever, which was not without great difficulty and increase of jealousy and distrust, which, besides the operation it had in obstructing the just payment of what was due to my place, did even hinder the re-imbursing of what I was out of purse for their public service; nay, their suspicion went so far, that some that had the management of state affairs, did secretly request the public ministers not to acquaint me with their negotiations; but they frequently coming to visit me, did impart to me what had been said to my prejudice, blaming greatly their ingratitude, jealousy and ignorance, professing the greatest comfort they had here was my conversation.

This can be witnessed by many ambassadors and others yet alive. The necessity of speaking of these things, I hope, will apologize for this seeming ostentation. I did easily perceive, that their drift in revealing these things concerning myself was to have wrought a discontent and resentment in me, and to have made some use of me to the public prejudice, which our raw statesmen (not having past their noviciate) did not dive into; and the truth is, that upon this score of revenge, and my known poverty, some of them thought they had gotten such intimacy with me, that they might attempt to feel how the pulse of my fidelity did beat; not doubting but their injuries, added to my extreme necessity and ill usage, would make me malleable enough for their ends, and to become an instrument for the furthering of their master's designs: To this purpose, considerable sums of money were offered, but were by me refused with a generous resentment, justly abhorring any thing of that nature that might any way tend to the dishonour or disadvantage of the nation, or to my particular infamy. I am ready, when required, to name the parties. It may easily be conceived, that during the space of so many years, and the constant concourse of so many public ministers, and important negotiations, if I had sought myself, I had opportunities, many and great, to have made my fortune, especially considering that I (almost alone) was permitted to converse with them daily.

When his majesty (of blessed memory) his goods and moveables were sold, then was I earnestly advised and pressed to lay hold on that opportunity for the payment of what was due to me, and fitting recompence for my service. The same was offered me when the king's, queen's, and church lands were to be sold to pay those to whom they were indebted, but I did loyally, constantly and conscientiously decline and shun those ways of payment and compensation; neither would I meddle with any confiscated particular man's estate, rather chusing extreme poverty, than to be obnoxious to the curse of the true owners; and this I did in times when there was little or no probability to be called to an account by man. I was also told, that I should be employed on some considerable embassy, but in a prudent way did shun all occasions that might engage me in any such odious employment, although the allowance was incomparably beyond all former precedents, and better paid, being permitted to draw bills of exchange upon their masters, a thing never heard of heretofore.

Many other great promises were made to me by the successive powers, but none performed in the least; nor could I ever obtain so much justice as to have some appointed to sign my bills, according to custom, for the money I had continually occasion to disburse for the public service. By the ordinance of parliament, I was to en-

joy the office, with all the allowances, perquisites, rights and privileges as hath at any time, or doth belong to any master of the ceremonies; which I found did formerly arise by 200*l.* annual fees, an allowance of twenty shillings a-day for every audience; twenty shillings a-day for a coach out of town; if in town, ten shillings; and besides other incidents, one of the greatest benefits, the right of receiving the accustomed donations and presents from ambassadors, and other public ministers: But I have not received any of those perquisites and rights belonging to the place, according to the ordinance; only I received a great part of the two hundred pounds salary per annum, with great pains, sollicitation, and extraordinary expence. What I received on that account will appear on the public receipts. I am out of purse above a thousand pounds for coach-hire, and a thousand pounds for audiences and conferences; and besides the several journies to his majesty, for five and twenty journies to Gravesend, and elsewhere, to fetch in, and to re-conduct ambassadors back again; each journey, computed with one another, did cost me ten pounds at the least, considering the expensiveness of distance of the places, and the number of such as were ordered from time to time to attend that service. The donations and presents due to the place, from ambassadors and other public ministers, were courteously sent by them to me, and by me civilly sent back again. What those presents did amount to in so long a time, I cannot exactly set down; but according to my best and most conscientious estimate, I conceive that it might amount to something above five thousand pounds.

I find myself, after near five-and-thirty years public service abroad and at home in this sad and unparallelled condition, that I am eight thousand pounds worse than nothing, although far beneath what is justly owing me from the public. I have been forced to pawn and sell what I had of worth, even to my wearing cloaths. What I have set down in this narative (as to the substance of it) I affirm to be a positive truth, and ready to make oath upon it, if required: Therefore I do humbly pray, that some present relief may be afforded me, (to prevent my otherwise inevitable ruin) and that a course may be taken for discharging a debt contracted in his late majesty's service abroad and at home, in obedience to public commands, upon an indeclinable necessity.

I do in all humble manner crave pardon for this prolix discourse; but I hope the extremity of my condition will apologize for me, and plead my excuse.

The Case of those Persons who have Licences, or Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, for the Keeping of Taverns, and Selling of Wines by Retail.

I. That the said letters patent were, without hearing of the patentees, or any notice had thereof, disallowed and made void, by a late act of the last parliament, intitled, An Act for the better ordering the selling of Wines by Retail, &c., and which was confirmed in the gross with divers other acts by this parliament.

II. That the said letters patent were granted by King Charles the First, (of glorious and blessed memory, and his royal progenitors) unto the patentees during their lives, in consideration of valuable sums of money, viz. 100*l.* 200*l.* and other sums, which were severally paid as fines by the patentees, and certain yearly rents, reserved to be paid unto the crown, and bonds given to the crown for payment of the said rents, and the patentees are still liable to be sued upon the said bonds for the growing rents, and to have their estates and goods extended and seized.

III. That in the act 21 Jac. cap. 3. which puts down monopolies, the wine licences are excepted, and the grants or letters patent of the same before and afterwards to be made, established.

" Provided also, and be it enacted, That this act, or any declaration, provision, penalty, forfeiture, or other thing before mentioned, shall not extend or be prejudicial to any grant, letters patent, or commission heretofore granted, or hereafter to be granted, of, for, or concerning the licencing of the keeping of any tavern or taverns, or selling, uttering, or retailing of wines to be drunk or spent in the mansion-house or houses, or other place in the tenure or occupation of the party or parties so selling or uttering the same, or for or concerning the making of any composition for such licences; so as the benefit of such compositions be reserved and applied to and for the use of his majesty, his heirs or successors, and not to the private use of any other person or persons."

IV. The said grants or letters patents have been made and confirmed above sixscore years.

V. There was no other ways or means of taking wine-licences when the patentees took theirs, and if they had not taken such licences they had incurred great penalties by the law: And the customs arising to the crown by wines had been much less, if the vent thereof had been stopped for want of licences.

VI. All the late usurped powers, when many other letters patent, bearing date after the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty, were by great injustice disallowed, did allow the said grants or letters patent.

VII. Most of the patentees have been great sufferers for their loyalty and services to his majesty that now is, and his royal father (of ever-blessed memory,) and some of them have compounded at Haberdashers-Hall for the said grants or letters patent, and afterwards were decimated, and the whole livelyhood of divers of them and their families dependeth upon the benefit of the said grants.

VIII. Some of the said letters patents were granted to persons in trust, for and towards the maintenance of hospitals, and for other pious and charitable uses.

IX Some of the said grants or letters patents have been given and received as marriage-portions, in consideration whereof jointures have been settled, and others having been leased with houses by the grantees (being owners thereof) for a certain term of years yet to come; the said grantees are necessitated to give more rent for new licences (if they take any) than they receive for their houses and old licences together: Which new licences, if they refuse to take, they are liable to be sued by their lessees.

X. Although the said letters patents be allowed, the profits arising by the rest of the wine-licences will exceed that revenue, which the last parliament did set upon all the wine-licences when they rated the same, and settled them upon his majesty as part of his majesty's revenue.

XI. The said grants or letters patents are to continue only during the lives of the grantees, most of whom are ancient persons, there having been no grants made since the year 1643.

XII. It is already provided in the aforesaid act for the better ordering the selling of Wines, &c., That the mayor and burgesses of St Albans shall enjoy the benefit of three wine-licences granted unto them by letters patents, for and towards the maintaining of a free-school; which said letters patents having been granted (as they were) out of mere grace and favour, the patentees hope, that they, in regard of the valuable considerations which they paid, and of their great sufferings for their loyalty, and the whole livelihood of them and their wives and children depending upon the benefit of their said letters patent, and the other reasons aforesaid, shall obtain the same justice or favour.

XIII. The patentees do humbly conceive, that the said letters patent which were granted for and towards the maintaining of hospitals, and for other pious and charitable uses, ought, according to reason and equity, to be allowed, as well as the aforesaid letters patent which were granted towards the maintaining of the free-school at St Albans.

XIV. That the honourable house of commons, in their former sessions, was pleased to refer the petition of the patentees (then presented) unto a committee, who made report, that the petitioners had just cause of grievance, and ought to be relieved.

XV. That thereupon the said honourable house, in regard they could not then, by the orders and rules thereof, repeal any part of an act made in the same session, for a present expedient thought fit to recommend the petition and case of the petitioners unto his majesty, as worthy of his princely consideration and relief; and three of the members of that honourable house, by order thereof, did attend his majesty with the same; and his majesty was graciously pleased to answer them, that he would take the petitioners' case into his special consideration.

XVI. That his majesty intending the patentees should enjoy the benefit of their letters patent, and some of the present agents, commissioners, and farmers of the wine-licences then presenting a petition unto his majesty, wherein they offered to allow all the said letters patents; his majesty was pleased to refer the said petition unto his Royal Highness the Duke of York, toward whose support and maintenance his majesty had been pleased to assign all the rents and revenues arising out of, or by reason of, the said wine licences.

XVII. Thereupon certain articles of agreement were concluded and executed between his royal highness and the present agents, commissioners, and farmers; whereby it is amongst other things agreed and concluded, That none of the patentees should be questioned, sued, molested, or troubled by them the said agents, commissioners, and farmers, their or any of their deputies, agents, or assigns, for, or by reason of their retailing of wines in pursuance of their respective letters patents: And further, by the said articles it is agreed, That his majesty's royal proclamation should be procured, commanding all persons but the patentees to compound and perfect their agreements for licences by a certain time with the said commissioners.

XVIII. That, in pursuance of the said agreement made between his royal highness and the present agents, commissioners, and farmers, the commission granted to the former agents was called in, and a commission was granted by his majesty, in or about the month of June last, unto the present agents, commissioners and farmers, who thereupon entered upon the management of the said wine-licences, and his majesty's royal proclamation issued out soon after, according to the tenor of the said articles.

XIX. That his majesty having granted all arrears of rents, growing due since the act of indemnity upon the said letters patents, unto two of the present agents, commissioners, and farmers, several of the patentees have paid their arrears of rents unto them accordingly: And the said agents, commissioners, and farmers, declared and promised unto some of the patentees, that the said letters patents should be allowed and made good, and directed them to give notice to as many other persons concerned as they could, that all their respective letters patents should be allowed and made good.

XX. Nevertheless the present agents, commissioners, and farmers do refuse to allow the said letters patents, pretending they are disannulled and made void by a late act of parliament; and have troubled and sued several of the patentees for retailing of wines in pursuance of their said letters patents, and have, by their under-agents and messengers, compelled several of the patentees to give bonds of great penalty, to appear before them the said agents, commissioners, and farmers, at their office on a cer-

tain day, and not to depart thence without their licence; and have threatened, contrary to the laws of the realm, to seize upon the persons of several of the patentees, unless they would enter into such bonds, and pay unto them very unreasonable and unlawful sums of money demanded of them, which for quietness sake they have paid more or less.

The Representation of Francis Rockley, Esq.

THAT the revenue of the excise may be improved two hundred thousand pounds per annum (if the proceed of it be more than so much now) by the imposition of a proportionable excise in substance upon every quarter of malt, to the excise which is now imposed upon so much ale and beer as is the proceed of a quarter, in place of that excise which is imposed upon ale and beer brewed to sell, and which will be,

I. A far more equal tax.

II. To be advanced with more certainty according to the rule thereof.

III. With much less charge; and,

IV. With much less clamour than what is now imposed.

To the first, a far more equal tax; for being that all and every person must brew with malt; if all malt be equally charged, all and every one must thereby (viz. the excise being charged upon malt) be equally charged; but as the excise is now established, all are not equally charged; for,

Every person who brews to sell, by whom only the excise of beer and ale is now charged upon the subject, is either,

I. The brewer, who brews to sell by great measures, and wholly serves other families by the same; which sort of brewers are only in some few great cities and towns, not above twenty throughout the land, by whom all persons who buy their drink in such places become equally charged, being all persons in those places are provided of their drink from such public brewers, who stand obliged to levy the same, and know to whom and what proportion they sell, &c. Or,

II. The brewers, who brew to sell by retail, by whom only the excise of beer and ale is charged upon the subject in the rest of the land: These sort of brewers charge almost only such as drink the same in those houses where the same is brewed and sold, or those who necessarily buy the same for their relief, and therefore supplies but a small proportion of the rest of the land, being that in almost all market-towns, villages, hamlets, and private houses in the country throughout the land, all the inhabitants brew for themselves, at least by much the greatest proportion of what they use (though these may better afford to pay the imposition of excise laid upon these their drinks than those who now only pay the same,) viz. than gentlemen and labourers in those great towns where they are provided of these drinks from public brew-houses, and than travellers and the peasantry in the country who buy the same, being it is to be supposed the brewer must have a profit out of his industry, a charge which is saved by those who brew for themselves; so unequal it is, that these only should escape this impost, who being so great a proportion of the whole land, may be the half or more, this impost of excise is proportionably short to what it is equal it should be.

II. Every proportion of malt to be made throughout the land may with much more

certainty be known by survey, than the several proportions of beer and ale brewed in the land [a]

Every brewer, great as well as small, may surreptitiously, at least, dispatch some considerable portion of their brewings, (so quick is the expedition of that work) and give such supplement to their liquors, that it is impossible, without an officer's minute attendance of each brewing, (a charge not to be borne throughout the land by the profit arising thereout) certainly to know the proportion of each brewing, though an indifferent good account may be taken of what those great brewers brew, who brew to sell by great measures, yet there is much deceit familiarly in them, which is unavoidable; whereas, first all malt requires so much time to be made in, as the grain whereof it is made must lye steeping in a certain vessel, easily measureable by gauge, for so long a time, viz. two days, so as a survey of the quantity of the same may be taken without fraud, as demonstratively as a yard of cloth may be measured to be so by a yard wand, and the same proportion of grain requires above a fortnight's time longer, that it be made into good malt, to lye couched and spread in great open floors made for that purpose, obvious without fraud to every man's eye, who shall be employed and impowered to survey the same, so very ready, if occasion shall require, to be measured again for so long a time together.

To the third, This impost may be advanced upon the maltster with much less charge than immediately upon him that brews, being one maltster familiarly supplies at least ten brewers, who brew to sell in the country, and many more private houses, who brew for their own private use only, whereby one man may, by survey, take an account of above ten times so much, if this excise shall be immediately charged upon the maltster, as he can take accounts of, if charged upon the brewer, to answer for the same, &c.

To the fourth, This impost upon malt may be charged upon the whole land indifferently, to answer with much less clamour than the impost upon beer and ale, as it is now charged, is charged upon a portion of the land only.

There is a necessity of the maltster's having a great stock, whereas he that brews to sell in the country hath frequently no other substance to subsist by, than the credit of two or three quarters of malt from the maker thereof, unto whom the brewer stands constantly so particularly obliged, that such brewer will, in probability, chearfully discharge his part to his maltster, without any distinction in the price of what is paid for the grain, what for the excise thereof, whereby this imposition of excise, being charged upon the maker of the malt, will steal insensibly upon whomsoever buys it, together with the price thereof as a portion of the same, as amongst the commons the impost of custom is now happily mistaken for the intrinsical value of the commodity itself, whereas so great are the necessities of those who brew to sell in the country, that this impost of excise being immediately charged upon them, though with an unquestionable honesty and evenness, according to the rules thereof, (which cannot be performed without a greater charge than the profit arising thereout can amount unto) yet shall it not escape the murmur and clamour of those poor brewers upon whom it is so immediately imposed, when it comes to be discharged, they being ever so unfit to discharge the same; and if this impost of excise shall, by composition, be imposed upon the brewer in the country after any sort, at the will of the officer employed to advance and collect the same, as hitherto it hath been imposed and must be imposed again, if the establishment of excise (which hath been) shall continue, or nothing be advanced thereout above the charge. It is known by experience amongst us, especially when the excise hath been in farm, the farmers usually regarding the profits of the same with much more exaction (as well for the safety as improvement of their fortunes) when they execute it for themselves than when for others, that not only discontent and clamour,

[a] *I have heard a brewer of London say, that he knew brewers who gained by the excise ten pounds per week. Orig. Note.*

but insurrections also have been often made hereby, before what hath been thus contracted for could be levied; whereas, imposed upon the maker of the malt, it is not only imposed upon a people who are in as great a plenty as any subjects of the nation of any condition whatever are, but the same may, at an easy charge, be imposed upon them according to the rules the same shall be directed to be levied by, and shall not need an arbitrary composition, which is necessary for levying of the excise as now it is established upon ale and beer in the country, whereby all clamour will be taken off, they, viz. the maltsters, being generally so well able to discharge the same, and being imposed upon them to discharge it without any other burden than what they bear equally with all their fellow-subjects.

It is not to be understood, that there can be public brewers established in this land for all his majesty's subjects to have their drink from, as in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, where all live in so much neighbourhood to each other by situation of their houses, and commerce of their rivers; whereby it may be most convenient amongst them to have their drink from common brewers; yet the much greatest share of our land being so well appointed of these their drinks by their own brewing, with much more conveniency than they can have the same from any establishment of common brewers in this land, where so many villages and private houses are at so great distance from each other, (wanting that familiarity of rivers which are in the United Provinces to bring all commerce to them by) the same cannot be established amongst us for all families of force to have their drink from common brewers.

The lords and inheritors of lands are the sole persons liable to the burden of wardships, and what reason is there why these should discharge themselves of this their burden upon the shoulders of the commons beneath the same?[1]

The person who proposeth this translat on of the excise from beer and ale, as now it is established, unto malt, hath prepared a platform ready to be prescribed for levying of the same according to his propositions.

Animadversions upon a Paper, intitled, Considerations touching his Majesty's Revenues of Excise.

When, after his majesty's glorious restoration, it was under consideration in parliament to continue an excise upon some liquors, both native and foreign; the distillers did give many reasons, and such as they hoped would have satisfied, that the product of their art and mystery might at last have been discharged of that heavy and vexatious burden, introduced thereupon by the long oppressors of this nation, and the trade thereof, instancing and insisting chiefly how impracticable it was to be brought under charge by the same rules as beer and ale, and how destructive it would be to all of their faculty, through the narrow inspection into their several ways of operation, and how little it would contribute to the public revenue, if it were charged with no more than the same could reasonably bear.

But the said parliament nevertheless judged it fit, that every gallon of strong-water,

[1] And there is scarce a lord, gentleman, or free-holder throughout the land, of any continued family, who have not only been more liable to suffer, but really have suffered more, by being once in wardship, than the excise of this commodity could have charged the same family in two hundred years.—*Orig. Note.*

or *aqua vitæ*, made and sold, should be charged with 2d. and every gallon of spirits made of any kind of wine or cyder imported, with 4d. to be paid by the maker, and to oblige the distiller, equally with the brewers of their own drink, and retailers thereof, once in every month, to make particular entries of all strong-waters by them made, and to subject them to gauge, and all other ways of check and discoveries, and to make them equally liable to all penalties and defaults, as any other makers and retailers of the liquors therein specified: And these acts have been confirmed by this parliament, and the distillers did acquiesce, as they do still, in the courses which the commissioners first appointed by his majesty took and observed for levying of the duties of the distillers.

So when the distillers heard, that, according as is declared in the said acts, the Lord High Treasurer of England was in treaty to farm, among other liquors, this of their making and retailing, they, foreseeing that they might be exposed to the same absurd, violent, and unreasonable courses as they were under the late usurped powers, and well understanding the difference between farmers and commissioners, did humbly address to his lordship to be admitted farmers of these duties of excise upon strong-waters made within London, and twenty-one miles about, which is the extent of their incorporation; setting forth, how they were well informed, that within the limits aforesaid there was never yearly, by all the extremities used to advance the same, collected more than 800*l.* and that at least 300*l.* thereof was expended in charges; and therefore offered 500*l.* per annum in certainty; but it being not thought fit to farm any part alone by itself, the distillers' said proposition was not accepted: And since the farm of the whole duties of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, it will be acknowledged they have not been otherwise treated than they were before by the preceding commissioners of his majesty.

But now they find, by a printed paper which walks abroad, and is intitled, Considerations touching his Majesty's Revenues of Excise, that under colour of improving thereof, it is sought to introduce again the same intolerable courses, by which the distillers were formerly infinitely afflicted, and their lawful art and trade, against all reason, pryed into, discovered, and disturbed.

As first, under pretence that the powers, authorities, and directions given by the acts for excise, to the officers thereof, for the charging of the particular persons subject to the duties therein contained, are insufficient as to all, and not appliable as to some of the commodities themselves, upon which the said duties are laid, this paper doth instance, as to the commodity the distillers make, that the gauge cannot be applied, but with infinite charge and attendance, if it could at all be, in regard of the great multitude of the poor retailers. And herein much truth is acknowledged, but not all: For indeed it is impossible to make any gauge at all upon the operations of a distiller.

But the remedies which are offered in this case are the worst, and the most impracticable and absurd that ever could be devised. For, as to the first, That no distillers may be permitted to sell strong-waters without security first given to pay the duties of excise, it is humbly hoped, that no such slavery shall be ever introduced on citizens, and such as are incorporated, and a guild of London, and keep no tipling-houses, no more than the like is imposed upon the common brewer: And that it will be considered, that it would be no remedy at all; for that nothing can be discovered thereby, more than in the present course, nor can it ever produce a charge, nor will at all reach so far, as the present obligation on the distillers to enter monthly of themselves, and to pay the duty within a month after, upon the penalties of the law.

And as to the second remedy, viz. That distillers shall not deliver without ticket, (by which the least that can be meant is, that they shall not deliver the strong-waters they make without ticket) there could nothing have been contrived of more vexation

and worse absurdity. For a sick person sends for the eighth part of a pint every hour in the day, shall the distiller so often be obliged to send his own servant, or the weak man's messenger, to the office of excise for this ticket? And if the distiller is knocked up in the night, as it often happens, who will be at the office to deliver this ticket? As much might be said, as to passengers in the street, and in many other instances, to shew with what little reason this remedy is represented. But here it may, perhaps, be replied, that these small and necessary supplies to persons under these accidents, and other unavoidable occasions, are not intended in this proposition, but only great parcels: And hence may be inforced again, to give therefore the bond propounded in the first remedy. But what need all this caution? Is not the distiller obliged by the law already to enter his monthly makings? What shall the condition of this bond be that can secure further? And what course will be taken to distinguish between foreign strong-waters perfectly made before, wherein the distiller may, and doth also deal, and what he also makes himself?

But there is one general head more of this paper, whereunder the deficiencies which concern the disposition of the coercive and judicial power are comprised: And, among others, it is instanced, that the commissioners have no power to punish contempt in any witness neglecting, or refusing to appear upon summons, to give testimony in any case of excise in his majesty's behalf, or that appearing shall refuse to be sworn, or declare his knowledge: And in this case the remedy is propounded, That the commissioners, &c. may be empowered to punish the contempt of any person summoned as a witness, who shall refuse to appear, or to be sworn, or to give testimony. Hereupon the distiller is put in mind how this word *any person* hath been strained, viz. to their apprentices, and sworn servants, to discover upon oath what strong-waters his master hath made from time to time, and so to make it sure he shall be once forsworn. But the distillers will be humbly confident, that however, by the specious representations that have been made, that strong-waters might both bear and produce a good charge and great revenue; and so a parliament hath been induced to insert the liquors of their trade amongst others to be excised, yet that parliament, though they found a precedent of the like nature, and under like general term, in former ordinances so called, in those times, did purposely reject this course of inquisition, for the abomination thereof. And the distillers, though they can well submit that all lawful means may be provided in behalf of his majesty, whereby all frauds and evasions may be reasonably discovered, and all good means made use of to recover and secure this revenue, yet they will humbly hope that no more extraordinary course shall be induced upon them to either of these ends, than is consonant to the laws of God and man, and than will consist with traffic, and is precedented and used in any case of his majesty's greater and ancienter revenue of tonnage and poundage, &c. or than is practised in his majesty's courts of justice, in any case of a penal law wherein his majesty is made a party.

But still there is yet more upon the stocks, which is a model framing how the trade of the distillers shall be circumscribed in the future in relation to the excise, the printing whereof shall be attended. In the mean time, this paper is adventured abroad, that at one instant, if possible, it might come to public view with the printed paper before mentioned in behalf of the farmers, and to prevent all prepossession upon any man's judgment or understanding.

To the Right Honourable the House of Commons, now assembled in Parliament,

The humble Petition of Sir Job Harby, Knight and Baronet, Sir John Jacobs, Sir Nicholas Crisp, and Sir John Harison, Knights,

Shewing,

THAT they, with some others deceased, did, anno 1640, contract with his late majesty for the two farms of the customs, called The Great and Petty Farms, and at his majesty's instance did advance on the rent agreed upon 253,200*l.* as may appear by tallies or constants out of the Exchequer; which money was disbursed to the navy, and other public uses:

That upon the meeting of the late Long Parliament, it was interpreted a great fault to have farmed the customs; and at that time the necessities of the nation being very pressing, in assurance to free themselves from their great debt due from the king, they thought it no ill means to condescend to raise for the public service (which was then to disband two devouring armies) 165,000*l.* and the houses then promising to provide for their re-payment when they considered the settling the king's revenue, they thereupon found credit to raise that money; which, with what they had lent before, sunk them and many more families, whose cases to this hour are as grievous to your petitioners' thoughts as their own miseries, which, in respect of their persons and estates, and extremities of law put on both, have been as remarkable as any case can be instanced.

Therefore, not for themselves only, whose conditions merit pity, but for those thus involved with them, and for the honour of the king, and justice of the parliament, and in consideration of the public good service the money was raised for, they humbly pray their debt of 253,200*l.* may be fixed and assigned out of the remaining excise, in the power of the houses yet to dispose.

And they shall ever pray, &c.

JOB HARBY,
JOHN JACOBS,
NICHOLAS CRISP,
JOHN HARISON.

On the Thunder happening after the Solemnity of the Coronation of Charles II. on St George's day, 1661.

22 April, 1661, "The king went early in the morning to the Tower of London in his coach, most of the lords being there before. And about ten of the clock they set forward towards Whitehall, ranged in that order as the heralds had appointed; those of the long robe, the king's council at law, the masters of the Chancery, and judges, going first; and so the lords in their order, very splendidly habited on rich foot-cloths; the number of their footmen being limited, to the dukes ten, to the earls eight, and to the viscounts six, and the barons four, all richly clad as

their other servants were. The whole show was the most glorious, in the order and expence, that had ever been seen in England; they who rode first being in Fleet-street when the king issued out of the Tower, as was known by the discharge of the ordnance: and it was near three of the clock in the afternoon when the king alighted at Whitehall. The next morning the king rode in the same state, in his robes and with his crown on his head, and all the lords in their robes, to Westminster-hall, where all the ensigns for the coronation were delivered to those who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of Northumberland being made High Constable, and the Earl of Suffolk Earl Marshal for the day. And then all the lords in their order, and the king himself, walked on foot upon blue cloth from Westminster-hall to the Abbey-Church, where, after a sermon preached by Dr Morley (then bishop of Westminster) in Henry the Seventh's chapel, the king was sworn, crowned, and anointed by Dr Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, with all the solemnity that in those cases has been used. All which being done, the king returned in the same manner on foot to Westminster-hall, which was adorned with rich hangings and statues; there the king dined, and the lords on either side at tables provided for them: And all other ceremonies were performed with great order and magnificence."—*Contin. of Clarendon*, p. 99.

Exhilarant ipsos gaudia nostra Deos. MART.

HEAVENS! we thank you, that you thundered so!
As we did here, you cannonado'd too.
A brave report! as if you would outvie
Vollies discharged by Charles his cavalry.
'Twas still in clouds and tempests your voice came:
For less than that could not have spoke his name.
Thus mighty Jove, copartner in our joy,
Out-sounded what we cried, *Vive le Roy!*
A sacred kind of rivalship; for here,
We gladly feign what they are doing there.
'Tis a bold challenge, (but I'll make it good)
Whether our flames were lesser than their flood?
As if St George's bonfires would have done
More than they could by inundation.
Avaunt philosophy! we plainly prove,
The world must burn, but—'tis with Charles his love.
Well! let us think upon't! who e'er did view
The sun in's glory, but 'twas cloudy too?
Great lights eclipse the less: Nor were you made
To shine so clear, as not t'admit a shade.
You are our light, our comfort, and our hope;
Every good subject is your Heliotrope.
Two suns, at once, within our horizon!
Whilst we dispute, which was the fairer one.
A pretty emulation! Both did strive
Who should receive most beams, who most should give;
Till th' upper lamp shrunk in his useless ray,
And left the conquering Charles to rule the day.
'Twas his discretion, for had both shone bright,
Heat had surpass'd the comfort of the light;
Then did he weep for joy,—A lovely weather!
It rained as heaven and earth would come together:

And yet—these April tears would have us know,
They griev'd above at malecontents below.
To see that Heaven should design a court
For us like theirs, and some—not thank them for't.

HEN. BOLD, olim e N. C. Oxon.

A Narrative of the Manner of Celebrating his Majesty's most glorious and joyful Coronation in the City of Bath, April 23, 1661, *by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens thereof, and their adjoining Neighbours of the Gentry and Commonalty. Sent in a Letter from John Ford, Esq., Mayor of the City, to William Prynne, Esq., one of their Elected Citizens for the approaching Parliament.*

Honoured Sir,

HAVING yesterday solemnized his majesty's coronation here within our city of Bath, I thought it an obligation upon me to give you a short account thereof, which you may please to take as followeth, viz. Whilst the morning was ushered in, and welcomed by the bells, the drums beat, calling to such as would demonstrate their good affections to the king, to shew themselves in arms: For the celebrating the day, whereupon all men that had arms fit for that employment appeared by this time, (that we might the better mix our joys with pious contemplations of prayers and thanksgivings unto the King of Kings for returning unto us, and crowning this our unparalleled earthly king) myself and the aldermen in scarlet, attended on by the rest of our corporation in their gowns, went to church, the streets being guarded by these forementioned persons in arms, on both sides, leaving a passage for us to pass between, and crying out, God save the king, with great acclamations of joy; after us, followed above four hundred virgins, most in white waistcoats and green petticoats, going two and two, each two bearing aloft in their hands guilded crowns, and garlands made in the form of crowns, bedecked with all manner of rare and choicest flowers: These ushered mistress mayoress to the church, who was attended on by the aldermens wives and common councilmens wives, and diverse other gentlewomen of the city: These being passed, the soldiers marched after, and having laid by their arms, came into the church, as generally the whole city did; so that our church was never fuller, all persons expressing as much piety towards God, as loyalty towards their king. After Mr Masters, our minister, had given us a most excellent and learned sermon, instructing us both in our duty towards God and towards the king, taking his text out of Matt. xxii. and 21st verse. The sermon being ended, the soldiery again made a guard for us, and we having now the loud musick playing before us, and being followed by the said 400 virgins, and the gentlewomen beforementioned, we passed from the church to the conduit in the market-place, being also guarded by the way with a company of foot, (from the parish of Weston a mile from us) led by Capt. Sheppard of the same parish, and also by a troop of horse, being volunteers, commanded by your nephew, Mr George Clark: Having passed these and come to the conduit, it began to run with claret; where we drank a health to his majesty, which was seconded with loud acclamations of loyalty, each person crying out, God save the king. From thence we passed to the Guildhall, where having entertained the gentlemen of our city, and such gentlemen as came out of the country to us, we with the soldiery marched from thence,

with the loud musick playing before us, through every street in our city: In the mean time, the gentlewomen and their virgin attendants were entertained by my wife at home. All which being performed, with many vollies of shot, and loud acclamations of joy, the night began to participate of our mirth, which we entertained with bonfires and flying fireworks, prepared by certain persons sent for to that purpose from Bristol, who excellently well performed their undertakings for several hours; which being done, the people civilly dispersed, and the whole day's work carried on with great sobriety and temperance, I hope to the great credit of our city. This day again the soldiery, having part of their yesterday's allowance of powder left, and resolving not to rob his majesty of that honour they ought to do him therewith, met together, and spent this day also, marching about the city, giving several vollies of shot, and great expressions of loyalty, and are now concluding the day with more bonfires: Thus do all people give great expressions of their loyalty to the king, for whose prosperous reign (according to my bounden duty) I most heartily pray. And now craving excuse for troubling you with these relations, I take leave, and subscribe myself, as I truly am,

SIR,
Your faithful friend and servant,
JOHN FORD.

Bath, April 24, 1661.

An humble Representation of the sad Condition of many of the King's Party, who since his Majesty's happy Restoration have no Relief, and but languishing Hopes; together with Proposals how some of them may be speedily relieved, and others assured thereof, within a reasonable time.

Printed in the Year, 1661.

The difficulty of providing for the distressed and impoverished cavaliers, augmented also by their own irregular habits, are very well pointed out by Clarendon, on whom much of the obloquy fell that was attached to the neglect of them:—

"I have thought myself obliged to renew the memory of all the particulars, that the several vicissitudes and stages may be known by which the jealousies, murmurs, and disaffections in the royal party, amongst themselves and against each other, had mounted to that height which the king found them at when he returned; when in truth very few men of active minds, and upon whom he could depend in any sudden occasion that might probably press him, can be named who had any confidence in each other. All men were full of bitter reflections upon the actions and behaviour of others, or of excuses and apologies for themselves, for what they thought might be charged upon them. The woful vice of drinking from the uneasiness of their fortune, or the necessity of frequent meetings together, for which taverns were the most secure places, had spread themselves very far in that *classis* of men, as well as upon other parts of the nation in all counties, and had exceedingly weakened the parts, and broken the understandings of many who had formerly competent judgments, and had been in all respects fit for any trust; and had prevented the growth of parts in many young men, who had good affections, but had been from their entering into the world so corrupted with that excess, and other license of the time, that they only made much noise, and by their extravagant and scandalous debauches brought many calumnies and disestimation upon that cause whichthey pretended to advance. They who had suffered much in their fortunes, and by frequent imprison-

ments, and sequestrations, and compositions, expected large recompences and reparations in honours which they could not support, offices which they could not discharge, or lands and money which the king had not to give; as all dispassioned men knew the conditions which the king was obliged to perform, and that the act of indemnity discharged all those forfeitures which could have been applied to their benefit: And therefore they who had been without comparison the greatest sufferers in their fortunes, and in all respects had merited most, never made any inconvenient suits to the king; but modestly left the memory and consideration of all they had done or undergone to his majesty's own gracious reflections. They were observed to be most unfortunate who deserved least, and were least capable to perform any notable service; and none had more esteem of themselves, and believed preferment to be more due to them, than a sort of men who had most loudly began the king's health in taverns, especially if, for any disorder which had accompanied it, they had suffered imprisonment, without any other pretence of merit, or running any other hazard."—*Continuation of the Life of the Earl of Clarendon*, Oxford, 1759, fol. p. 19.

WHAT miseries and persecutions we royalists have suffered for nineteen years past none I presume is a stranger to that could see or hear. The war began with the plunder of our goods and seizure of our rents, and it ended with the sale of our estates, or (at best) a composition, which engaged us in debts; the burthen whereof, where the parties were either indebted before, or had families to provide for, could not but be ruinous to them; such of us as had no lands, but lived by their honest endeavours, were not only thrust out of their proper employments, but made uncapable of any other that could afford them a tolerable subsistence, so as many (the most deserving of their country) have been forced to part with their inheritances to buy them bread, others (of free and generous minds) have languished in tedious imprisonments, few in comparison of the rest, by singular providence and frugality, have preserved themselves.

With what courage and constancy of affection we have owned our cause and party, even then when but to name them civilly was treason and worse (if worse could be!) With what faith and perseverance we have expected our king's return! With what invisible comforts we have supported our feeble hopes, at their lowest ebbs of outward possibility, whilst all the politicians derided us, as fond and credulous persons, who, with the purgatory of wise men, purchased only the paradise of fools, a kind of alchymists or Jews, who looked for a Messiah that would never come; and this confidence (grounded chiefly on our integrity) how it engaged us in attempts, which perhaps were more honest than prudent, by opposing plots to counsels, and tumults to the best armies, will not, I trust, be forgotten by Englishmen in our days.

Let it not be once objected, That our endeavours were not successful; rather let be construed to our advantage, that though our valour was at first unfortunate, yet, through God's blessing, our chearful patience hath at length fulfilled our hopes, by degrees inclining the hearts of the most obstinate to a relenting; wherein as our trials were, so our triumphs are now the greater; for to prevail by loyal sufferings, is the prerogative of true desert.

We joyfully, indeed, partake in the glory of his majesty's restitution; the peace of our country, the security of laws, and the prospect of future settlement is most pleasant to us: But, alas! we are still exposed to the same necessities; nay, many of us are in worse condition, as to livelihood, than ever; partly by exhausting ourselves with unusual expences, that we might appear, like ourselves, concerned in his majesty's welcome and coronation; partly by prosecuting honest but fruitless pretences; chiefly by the fate of poverty, which seldom continues without encreasing, and (for accomplishment of our misery) hope (which hitherto alone befriended and supported) hath now forsaken us.

Were our pressures moderate, or common, we should never mention them, but wait

yet further upon Providence; for we reckon our martyrdom so honourable, and our cause so dear, that none but extreme exigents would be sensible on that behalf, such poverty being, we are sure, without reproach. Had we complied with any of the late usurpers, otherwise than as prisoners must comply with gaolers, we should not have dared to look backward, nor presumed to look forward; but innocency and extremity together embolden, or rather compel us to utter our complaints where we think we may challenge, at least, a favourable audience.

For since the cause we so earnestly contended for was, indeed, least of all our own, (who might easily have saved our stakes, as many others of the same persuasion did) and but in part the king's, principally our country's, whose liberty, and even its being, was at stake, it may seem a hard piece of justice, that the price of public freedom, when restored, should be the ruin only of such as with their utmost perils chiefly asserted it; and the nation will appear, at least equally with his majesty, concerned in an expedient, lest if the martyrs and champions of their country be now by it forsaken, they being disabled by their sufferings, and others by their ill success discouraged, hereafter, in the like exigent, which God prevent, our liberties should find neither champions nor martyrs.

It grieves us, in all serious companies, to meet with these and the like reflections: How will it discourage our tender plants of loyalty, to be the spectators of its ruin! How will it multiply neuters, to observe noble families extirpated, and their estates possessed (as many will be apt enough to collect) by wiser men, viz. such as took the strongest side! And may not the next generation, from such premises, draw this conclusion, He loves danger too well, that loves it for its own sake?

Certainly, it were too much ignorance in us to suppose, that his majesty is able to contribute, in any proportion, to our relief; rather we are sensible, that should he impoverish himself to gratify us, he would soon be in a condition neither to support us nor himself; besides, we are satisfied of his kindness towards us; but our recourse is properly to the parliament, who, being equally concerned, can relieve us more powerfully, and with less exception, wherein we doubt not of his majesty's gracious concurrence and furtherance.

Wherefore, not to importune his majesty, (who no doubt hath a real and tender sympathy for us) we do, with much freedom, but with all submission, declare to our representatives, as good Englishmen, that as we, on our part, shall for public good as chearfully subscribe to the general indemnity, (when by their wisdoms confirmed) as any that have benefit thereby; so if they, on their part, shall, by confirming it, intercept those remedies which the law (our great birth-right) would afford us, we conceive they oblige themselves to study somewhat of recompence, lest they give us subject of complaint, that (in such an oblivion) they did but too well remember our enemies, and only forget us.

And in truth, we hope, that the people in general, whose peace is thereby established, our friends in particular, whose honour is thereby asserted, but *especially* our late adversaries, whose interests are thereby redeemed at our expence, *will* frankly approve of such moderate satisfaction to us, as the parliament in their wisdom shall think reasonable.

The rather, for that the arrears of the late army and navy (though contracted most of them in times of usurpation) being in effect discharged; those of his majesty's party in Ireland provided for by special allotments, in his majesty's late gracious declaration concerning that kingdom; the purchasers of the crown and church lands protected by his majesty's commission in their favours; the clergy, not only restored to their improved possessions, but to fines of twenty years growth; many private persons rewarded with great gifts, offices, and honours; we only shall seem abandoned as worthy of nothing but pity from those that will vouchsafe it, unless our condition may be considered by our country in this parliament.

Wherein, for their encouragement, we assure them our pretences are not lofty, we covet not to engross the plenty of the nation, by purchasing palaces and parks with our debentures; No. The sum of our misfortune is, that in this estate we are not only burthensome to ourselves and friends, but useless to our king and country. Alas! we have too long conversed with ruin, to conceive vast hopes; and if, upon serious scrutiny, greater difficulties should appear than we imagine, it is our known fundamental to acquiesce in the judgment of our superiors; only we beg, that our case may be judged to deserve some public consideration; for, however, it will much enliven us to find ourselves not wholly despised, but that expedients to relieve us are at least debated; for which we humbly offer these our proposals:

I. That the greatest services may be most rewarded, but the greatest necessities first relieved.

II. That his majesty would be graciously pleased to take an account of all his gifts and grants, and suspend the conferring of any more, till persons of the highest sufferings and deserts be, in some sort, accommodated.[1]

III. That the sufferings, wants, and merits of pretenders, may be examined by select committees, and certified to his majesty, and that his majesty would accordingly provide for their relief, by giving express order for their admittance to such vacant employments as they are capable of, without referring them to subordinate officers, whereby they may be wearied with attendance, and his majesty's grace to them frustrated.

IV. In case vacancies be not found competent, that then reversions may be assured to others.

V. That such as have plentiful estates, or have already obtained any considerable grant from the king's bounty, may be postponed, in his majesty's and the parliament's consideration.

VI. That such as shall appear to have unworthily betrayed, or any ways deserted his majesty's party, may be from thence wholly excluded.

VII. That deserving tenants of bishops, deans, and chapters, &c. may be generally and effectually recommended to the church's favour, in their great plenty, to accept of moderate fines from them.

VIII. That the like public recommendation may be to all his majesty's chief ministers, officers, and commanders, for the employing, countenancing, and encouraging, (by all lawful means) such as have eminently deserved or suffered for his majesty.

IX. That for such soldiers and sufferers of his majesty's party as are old, maimed, without callings, or stocks to exercise them, provision may be made, according to their conditions, viz. for some of them good hospitals, the founders whereof, doubtless, (could they speak out of their graves) would so direct; for others reasonable sums, or small annuities, but duly paid, that they may no more depend on private alms, which many cannot find, and some cannot seek; this, we suppose, will prove rather matter of care than much charge.

X. That the parliament would lay some public assessment, such as they shall think reasonable, (our country's poverty being considered as well as ours) to be distributed by his majesty's direction amongst the surviving officers and soldiers of his majesty's armies, and those of the late king, of blessed memory, who never received any recompence for their service, whose number being much contracted by time, and other accidents, the bulk will not prove so great as perhaps it seems.

[1] On this subject the king had taken very wise resolutions while at Breda; but they were abandoned and forgotten amid the pleasures which succeeded his restoration, and favours were distributed according to the caprice of the moment, without considering either the merits or services of the person promoted. The Duchess of Albemarle encouraged this grievance, by selling to the best bidder the advantage of her husband's recommendation.

XI. That the children of such as have been sacrificed, or died in the bed of honour, and in memorable action for his majesty, (whose catalogue is easily known) may, in due time, reap the fruits of their fathers' martyrdom, and for the present receive some character of signal favour from their country, to be transmitted to posterity, for the encouragement of them and theirs, to follow the footsteps of their noble progenitors, to stir up in others an emulation of such loyalty and virtue, and leave the justice of his majesty's arms sufficiently vindicated to future ages.

An Appeal to the Parliament concerning the Poor, that there may not be a Beggar in England.

Printed in the year 1660.

It is natural to suppose, that the civil wars had immensely increased a disorder, always too incident to the state of England. The following tract proposes some remedy for a disease, which has often occupied, though to no great purpose, the attention of the best patriots of England.

In the midst of many and great undertakings, let not a settlement for the poor be forgotten, but revive, add, and execute all wholsome laws, and encourage all good means to supply poor people with labour and relief, and so prevent the ill breeding, wicked life, and bad end that many thousands have fallen into through idleness: To this end, give order that the ensuing plat-form may be fully executed: Although this thing be warrantable, yet if there be not an absolute necessity laid on them (whom it doth concern) to execute their office, this work may fail and come to little or nothing, notwithstanding the means may be sufficient; but if carried on as it ought, the cure is certain, no beggar in Israel.

The Plat-form, or Way how poor People may be supplied with Labour and Relief.

Every parish, according to the various places and employments, and as their poor are increased, agree with some able man or men that rightly understandeth their work, that may undertake, and by the parish be assisted,

I. To take notice how many old, impotent, and young children be in the parish, and supply them by collection; and also help such whose labour is not sufficient to yield them maintenance: But if any in the parish want employment, that are able to work, set them to work according to the wholsome laws of the nation.

II. To take the most orderly way for the manner of doing, according to the variety of places and kinds of work: If there be twenty persons in a country village that want employment, then the parish agree with some clothier, stuff, or stocking-maker, to furnish them with so much work as they can do; so in great towns, and places of cloath-

ing, one clothier take ten, another twenty, being brought in by authority; for though there may be work enough, yet the idle will not come for it; to have work and want government, is as if they wanted work; some parishes have means enough, and yet the poor want work, food, and government.

So in great cities, where is much trading on silk, wool, hair, winding, weaving, button-making, &c. every parish, or division, agree with some tradesman, or men, to provide for ten or twenty as aforesaid, and so may rise to hundreds or thousands by the same rule; so in parishes where the poor are much encreased, and have no trade, or where some great trade is wholly decayed, there some other is to be sought for with discretion: In parishes where are no poor, their account is soon given, and they fit to help others. Some near London said, they had not a beggar dwelling in their parish, and yet have had thirty travelling beggars in one week.

III. To settle a poor man's office. First, where handicraftsmen and labourers that want work, and such as want workmen may enquire. Secondly, where boys that would, or are fit to go apprentice, may enquire of masters; and such as want servants in city or country, or whom they have spoken to, may enquire. Thirdly, where maids that would, or are fit to go apprentices, or covenant-servants, or some that want such, may enquire; but none to be put to service until they be first taught to spin, knit, sew, learn some trade or way of livelihood; who else are neither fit for service, nor can in after-times do any thing for themselves. Fourthly, where all poor people that are in distress, or danger of perishing, may make their condition known, that means may be used to supply their wants.

IV. That all persons whatsoever may have free access and acceptance, without molestation, to give in true information concerning any neglect of the poor, to any in authority, justice of the peace, or any in power, as there may be cause: And that every one that neglecteth his duty, restore to the poor so much as they have done them wrong; and that distress be made, if they refuse to pay presently.

V. That all judges of assizes and sessions lay open the sad condition of the poor in their charge, and what the law provides, and take accompt what is done, and receive all true informations concerning any neglect of the poor, and see the penalty justly executed. The law is made for the lawless and disobedient.

VI. That no poor people be denied their former liberty, nor strict course taken against them, until some good means be used to supply their wants.

Much might be added concerning the means how there may be work enough; how to order things to the best advantage in cities, towns, and villages; how to take a list, or the just numbers in great cities, out-streets, and alleys, tenants, in-tenants and in-mates, where may be many perish, many idle hard to be found, and settled in order; how to encounter with the great charge this may amount unto; but honest labour and good government may save the rich from charge, and the poor from hunger. And to speak to particulars may be more seasonable when this work is come into practice, and more suitable to the divers places, persons, and various kinds of trading. If any object the trouble: to have such multitudes of beggars in this fruitful kingdom, is not that trouble? To hear them cry, and not give; is not that trouble? To hear their cry and give, is trouble also; not knowing whether it doth good or harm: But if every parish keep to their own, the condition of the poor may be known. I have considered of cities, towns, and villages, but no place have I found where this platform may not be suitable, with little or no alteration; although it be short, it concludes enough to effect the work, and with little trouble or charge, in comparison of some proposals concerning the poor; and being faithfully executed, there may not be a beggar in England, which is the desire and hope of one that hath no intention of evil to any, but wisheth the good of all, who, having been many years exercised;

among the poor, and much desired their good, and through long experience have seen the ground of their misery, the easiness of the remedy, and the benefit.

T. L.

POSTSCRIPT.

This work of charity doth not concern parliament-men and officers for the poor only, but all other in authority, to exercise their power in their respective places, for the general good: And all, not in authority also, rich men to encourage it every way, being best able; and the middle sort do their endeavour, lest they, like small iron creepers in a chimney, who bear the burden and heat of the fire until they be wasted to cinders; and the poor to avoid idleness, which is oftentimes the cause of begging, and hearken to the counsel of the wise man, Ecclesiasticus xl. "My son, lead not a beggar's life, for better it is to die than to beg," ver. 28. "The life of him that dependeth on another man's table, is not to be accounted a life," ver. 29. "Begging is sweet in the mouth of the shameless, but in their belly there burns a fire," ver. 30. That this platform, or some other, may be put in practice when the days lengthen is likely, because of the necessity, and cannot safely with good conscience be wholly omitted; but that all join in the execution, there lieth the stress. Many good things have been began, but men being selfish, careless, and unconstant, the work hath failed. I have in some measure unloaded my own conscience in this thing, and laid it before others, that all might be clear from the cry of the poor; but he that stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry and not be heard.

T. L.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament,

The humble Petition of the Prisoners for Debt,[1]

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners and their sureties being disabled by the late intestine war, and by the casualties thereof made incapable of payment of their debts; yet, notwithstanding, to the utter ruin of your petitioners, their persons have, and are arrested by Capias, bills of Middlesex, and Latitates, as well upon feigned actions as real, and cast into noisome gaols and dungeons, to be tormented and enslaved by the keepers and gaolers, by whose cruelties all your petitioners had is by unlimited fees extorted and wrested from them, to the absolute beggary and perdition of your petitioners, their wives and children, contrary to the laws of God, nature, most nations, the Magna Charta, Petition of Right, and other the known laws of this land.

Wherefore your petitioners pray, That their sad and languishing condition may be

[1] The increase of the miseries arising from personal imprisonment for civil debt, was another consequence of the disorders and distresses of the Civil War. If, even in our own peaceful and well-ordered times, the situation of these unfortunate persons has been found subject of frequent investigation and deep complaint, we may easily guess what it must have been immediately subsequent to the confusion of the great Civil War.

considered and redressed, and your petitioners, now in durance for debt, may be set at liberty, and all arrests for the future taken away; that imprisonment may not obstruct their endeavours, either at present or hereafter; but that they may have their liberty, and industries for payment of their debts, as God shall enable them; (especially now in this day of England's great jubilee and universal grace extended to all offenders and offences) your petitioners being chargeable with no other crimes but poverty, (occasioned by the distractions aforesaid) may not be the only persons cast off, and set by, as incapable either of memory or mercy.

And your petitioners, &c.

Reasons offered in order to the passing an Act of Parliament against Imprisonment by Arrests upon the Writs of Capias, Bills of Middlesex, and Latitates.

All pleas are either[1] *placita coronæ*, otherwise called *criminalia*, or *communia*, otherwise called *civilia*.

In all criminal causes whereto the king was always a party, the bodies of men at the common law were subject to arrests and imprisonments; so where the action was *vi et armis*, a Capias lay in[2] process, and in such case a Capias lay after judgment, the king might have a *Capias pro fine;* and where a man was a debtor or accomptant to the king, his body, goods, and land, were liable to the execution of the king.

Mr Kitchin saith, That[3] by the ancient common law of the land, the process in common pleas, was summons, attachment, and distress infinite, the *Distringas* being successively distant fifteen days one from another.

At the common law, where the subject recovered a judgment for debt or damages, he could not (except in some particular cases) take the[4] body of the defendant in execution, or his lands, but his goods and chattels, and the profits of his lands; for which purpose the law gave two several writs, one a *levari facias*, whereby the sheriff was commanded, *quod te terris, et catallis, levari faciat*, &c. and the other a *fieri facias*, which was only *de bonis, et catallis.*

This being the ancient common law of the land, That the body should not be taken in execution for debt or damages, unless it were in special cases. The Lord Cook saith, that the reason thereof was, That the person should be at liberty not only to follow his affairs and business, but should be ready to serve the king and the country, when need shall require.

Magna Charta confirms the law and usage in this particular, Chap. 29. which was made in the 9th year of H. III. and Anno Domini, 1224, which establisheth *quod nullus liber homo capietur aut imprisonetur*, &c. *nisi per judicium parium suorum vel per legem terræ.*

The first act of parliament that made the person liable to an arrest in common pleas was Marlebridge, cap. 23. made 52 Hen. III. and Anno Domini, 1267, whereby a Capias was given in accompt, if the accomptant had not lands whereby to be distrained.

The mischief before this statute, saith the Lord Cook, was, that the accomptants,

[1] Mirror. cap. 1. Sect 4. Stamf. l. pl. cor. f. 1. Cook, 2 instit. f. 22.
[2] Sir William Herbert's, c. 3. Rept. Cook, 2 Instit. f. 394.
[3] Kitchin, return. bred. f. 4. tit. Com. Banc.
[4] Sir William Herbert's, c. 3. Rept. Cook, 2 Inst. f. 394.—*Orig. Notes.*

seeking subterfuges, did withdraw themselves, and became vagrant, flying to secret places, sometimes into foreign countries, and had no lands or tenements whereby they might be distrained, so as the lords were in a manner remediless.

By Westminster, 2. cap. 11. made the 13th Ed. I. Exigent is given against accomptants, as bailiffs and receivers, but not against guardians in soccage, as the Lord Cook saith; so might such accomptants be committed to prison by auditors, being found in arearages.

There was a mischief amongst merchants and tradesmen, for want of a more speedy recovery of their debts than the common law gave, by reason merchants and tradesmen could not trade without ready money, and merchant-strangers were enforced to stay here longer than their tradings required, for recovery of their debts. And therefore the statute of Acton Burnel was made the 11th of Edw. I. whereby a statute-merchant was devised, and the body of the conizor made liable, if his moveables were not sufficient whereupon to levy the debt, and afterwards the statute of Mercatoribus, made 13th Edw. I. adds further strength to this law, and makes the body, goods, and lands of the conizor liable in a statute-merchant: These two laws were then made for the more speedy recovery of debts between merchants.

The next statute was the 25th Edw. III. cap. 17. which gives the like process in actions of debt, as in accompt, and in detinue of cattle, and taking of beasts.

By the 19th H. VII. cap. 9. like process was given in actions upon the case, as in actions of trespass or debt, in the King's-Bench or Common-Pleas.

By the 23d of H. VIII. cap. 14. like process in every writ of annuity and covenant is given as in debt.

Thus by degrees men's persons, by several acts of parliament made in the reign of several kings, became liable to arrests and imprisonments in common pleas,[1] namely actions of debt, accompt, detinue, trespass, annuity, upon the case covenant.

It is said in Sir William Herbert's case, 3d report in the argument upon this subject, that the common law is founded upon the perfection of reason; and surely there be many great and important reasons why the ancient common law should be again restored in this point.

Not to insist upon that which the Lord Cook says was the mischief that introduced the Capias upon the said statute of Marlebridge, which was the first statute made for such process, which was because accomptants withdrew themselves out of the power of the lords; and therefore the lords obtained a Capias to take them where they could find them to bring them to an accompt: Now, if the accomptants withdrawing themselves was a good reason for obtaining a Capias, if this process make debtors and accomptants more to obscure and withdraw themselves, so as they dare not appear to follow their business, or manage their estates to the best advantage, thereby to enable themselves to pay their debts, for fear of sheriffs, bailiffs, serjeants, &c. who lie in wait for them, it may seem to be a good reason for taking away that process; for when a statute is made to remedy a mischief, and that mischief is encreased by it, that may be a ground to take away that statute, as well as to make it.

The grievances which the act of the 25th of Edw. III. and other acts (on which the writs of Capias, &c. are grounded) have introduced upon the people and subjects of this nation are such, that they languish to utter ruin in the execution thereof, as daily appears by these ensuing evils committed upon arrests by Capias, bills of Middlesex, and Latitates.

First, Men[2] are often-times for pretended great debts, when in truth the persons arrested may owe nothing; but this violence offered is upon spleen, revenge, or malice.

[1] The Capias being near two hundred years before admitted against all persons.

[2] All noblemen's younger sons are liable to arrests, as well as others, upon a common writ of Capias, bills of Middlesex, or Latitate.—*Orig. Notes.*

The persons thus arrested (whether the action be real or feigned) if worth one thousand pounds, more or less, when committed to prison, are suddenly reduced to nothing, by the unsatiable rapacity of gaolers; by which imprisonment the prisoners sustain the loss of credit, exposed to cheats and oppression, by friends, by tenants, by servants, &c. bereft of all endeavours and employments, besides the loss of health, separated from their wives, children and families, and what else is dear to any man; left only to be buried alive, to be tormented with the debaucheries of the prison, and their own discontents; by which it appears this weapon (at the pleasure of any man to use) doth devour and rob the kingdom of [1] as able and active persons to serve their country, in peace and war, in any condition whatsoever, as any other living in it; by destroying thousands of them in holes and dungeons, to satisfy private interest, to the great and unheard of oppression and ruin of the subjects and people of this nation.

Secondly, If the arrest be in a corporation (if a stranger) he must there lie in prison, if not bailed by freemen of that corporation; and if the person so arrested will not lie in prison, the prisoner must remove himself by Habeas Corpus, by which charge and fees to gaolers, under-sheriffs, bailiffs, and serjeants, &c. (increasing in a large proportion) the debtor becomes greatly disenabled for payment of his creditor.

Thirdly, If the prisoner [2] arrested be removed by Habeas Corpus, and brought up before the judges, and be not there able to put in bail, the prisoner is then sent a prisoner to the King's Bench or Fleet.

If to the King's Bench, then must he lie there three terms before the party that arrested them, by the rules of that court, is bound to declare upon what cause of action the party so arrested is imprisoned; which time, before a declaration is filed (as it may happen) will be three quarters of a year, to the destruction of the person thus causelessly and maliciously arrested.

If committed to the Fleet, there [3] can be no declaration filed against the prisoner, unless by Habeas Corpus brought up to the Common Pleas bar first, there to be charged; and whether the action be feigned or real, the prisoner hath no remedy at all for such arrests, wrong, oppression, imprisonment, breach of credit, and damages sustained in his estate, (it may be) to the utter ruin and undoing of his wife, children, and family.

Fourthly, The words of the action for debt, is but a surmise, and it is a most desperate thing for a man to be imprisoned upon a surmise only. [4]

Fifthly, Arrests and imprisonment take away all industry and endeavours from all men; and by the want of men's liberties, the kingdom sustains great damage, the parts and abilities of men's minds and bodies, in their several capacities, being stifled and buried alive in dungeons and loathsome prisons; whereas men's liberties and industries hath enabled thousands of men to pay their debts and raise their fortunes, which by restraint is impossible; imprisoning and immuring men, fitting them only to have all they have torn from them, to satisfy the extorted fees of cruel gaols and their adherents.

For, if a poor labouring man, or mean tradesman, borrow, or become engaged for ten or twenty pounds, more or less, upon his own security, or otherwise, by his liberty and freedom to follow his calling, or labour, perhaps earns thirty pounds or forty pounds a-year, and he thereby is enabled to disengage and make payment of his debts, and provide for his family while he is at liberty; but when once arrested, and cast into prison, his credit is lost, his endeavour in his calling or labour taken from him, and suddenly bereft of

[1] The number of prisoners in the several gaols of this kingdom being conceived to be at least ten thousand. This ruins most men, but loss of credit to all; besides, if it be remote from London, it may cost 50 or 60*l.* charges.

[2] If the arrest be made after Trinity term, the party need not declare till Easter term following.

[3] Contrary to the Common Law and Magna Charta. c. 29.

[4] The words *Debt ut dicit.—Orig. Notes.*

all he has, and himself, wife, and children, left to perish by beggary and misery, which poor man, before his arrest and imprisonment, was able, by his liberty, labour, and endeavours, to have maintained his credit, paid his debts, and provided for his wife and children.

Sixthly, Arrests are dangerous in their consequence; for many times murders and manslaughters do happen to the ablest of men, both of parts, estates, and qualities, thereby subjecting them to the force, rudeness, and vilest usage of the worst of men, merciless and cruel; for bailiffs, sergeants, and marshal's-men, regard neither age, sex, nor condition or quality; for that the arrests and violent attempts made to enslave men, serve only to enrich the under-sheriff, bailiffs, sergeants, catch-poles, gaolers, and such like, and for the maintenance of their riot, excess, drunkenness and debauchery, for which cause they extort unreasonable fees, taking bribes of all hands, buying and selling both creditor and debtor for their own profits, apprizing and under-hand selling, to their own uses, for the tenth part of the worth of the poor prisoners goods and chattels; so that the greatest part being devoured by those cannibals, the prisoner and his family is thereby utterly undone and destroyed, and the creditors, in all things but their malice, left altogether unsatisfied.

Seventhly, Great damages are frequently recovered against sheriffs upon rescues made, and escapes, as every day's experience brings forth.

All writs, and process in law, are truly intended for remedy and redress, not for revenge, oppression, and wrong, as the practice is now-a-days: And is it not monstrous in nature and reason, that a man shall be allowed a replevin to save a beast from starving in the pound, and that man himself only should be shut up in prison to perish without hope or relief?

Quest. How the poor borrowed money before the act of 25 E. 3.?

Quest. Whether any person be enabled to pay their debts by being arrested and imprisoned?

Thus far the evils of the bills of Middlesex, Latitates, and Capias.

The Mischiefs attending the Outlawries transcend that of the Capias, Bills of Middlesex, and Latitate.

Outlawed persons are said to be[1] *Utlagati;* that is, *extra legem positi,* deprived of the benefit of the law; the penalty whereof was great, and so great, that in the reign of King Alfred, and a good while after the Conquest, no man could be outlawed but for felony, the punishment whereof was death.

In Bracton's[2] time, and somewhat before, process of outlawry was ordained to lie in all actions that were *quare vi et armis,* which Bracton calleth *delicta,* for there the king should have a fine.

By divers statutes since made, as the imprisonment of men's persons by Capias, bills of Middlesex, Latitates, and *Cap. ad satisfac.* After judgments hath by degrees crept in, to the alteration of the common law, in actions of account, debts, detinue, covenant actions upon the stat. of 5 R. II. and actions upon the case, and in divers other common or civil actions; so outlawries of men's persons thereupon hath ensued; but the mischiefs that attend the outlawry of men's persons, do much transcend those of arrests and imprisonment of men's persons. For,

[1] Mir. cap. 1. Sect. 3. cap. 5. Sect. 1. Cook, 1 Inst. f. 128b. Cook, 2 Inst. f. 46. Cook, 1 Inst. 128. 6.
[2] Brac. lib. 5. f. 521.

First, By [1] outlawries before and after judgment, the debtor suffers more than in any other thing yet known in England; yea, more than by manslaughter, or petty-larceny; for in all those things the subjects are allowed a defence, but for this none. In all courts, and for all actions, the persons concerned must have cognizance of the proceedings, something must be committed: But an outlawry, though supposititious and fictitious, is sufficient done to serve the turn for the destruction of the party outlawed. The delinquents in criminal acts, for some causes, forfeit but chattels, and personal estate only, and for those a pardon of course for suing out; but upon an outlawry, the debtor's chattels, and personal estates are wholly lost, and the real estate seized and extended for the king, who is not six-pence a-year benefited, nor the creditors one farthing; the mean profits not being in any part discounted for the debt, and yet the outlawed persons destroyed, and all his creditors defeated of their just debts. If the debt be small, the cure is worse than the disease; if a great one, the debtor is never able to give in-security to reverse the outlawry, and free the extent upon the outlawry, but perishes inevitably, and * not a penny of the debt lessened to the creditor, or abated to the debtor, nor the king's majesty above 5*s.* or 10*s.* a-year enriched, and that consumed in fees also.

Secondly, The poor outlawed debtor can neither sue for, or recover any debt or rent due to him, or try any title for recovery of any estate, or let any lease, or make his last will [3] and testament, or do any other act to help himself or his family, after his death; neither can the son reverse the father's outlawry after his death; so that once outlawed after judgment, or otherwise, and the whole family is ruined for ever, and none but sheriffs, bailiffs, gaolers, and their officers, one farthing the better; neither can the outlawed person sue or implead his oppressor, and all for debt, which is no crime; and yet criminous persons are not subject to, or oppressed with such merciless extremities; neither is it possible for, or in the power of, any man, how provident or clear from debt soever, to prevent, or free himself from this snare and pitfall of destruction.

Thirdly, A ward might call his guardian to account, and was privileged from being sued in other courts, and had protection both of his person and estate; but here is no account for profits, nor right for wrong; no protection of person, but oppression in all, and barred from all relief and remedy, (yea even so much as to complain) so as the mischief of the Outlawry incomparably transcends the Capias, in that the Capias attaches the person only; the Outlawry, body, lands, and goods. [4]

Fourthly, If two or three join to lend 100*l.* or 1000*l.* more or less, to a third person, and one of the creditors outlawed, (though perhaps unknown) the whole debt is forfeited to the king, and the debtor can pay neither of the three, or two, which lent the money; so as those that are not outlawed have lost their money, and forfeited their debt, as well as he that is outlawed.

The like for tenants in common; if any of them are outlawed, the whole estate of the other tenants becomes forfeited and seized for him that's outlawed, and the other tenants not outlawed shall have no remedy, nor can reverse the other's outlawry, being none of theirs: And any man may be outlawed on pretence of debt, detinue, or trespass, whether true or false, and never know of it; the outlawry may be undiscovered, and the person die under that danger, to the destruction of his posterity. [5]

Fifthly, Forfeitures by outlawries go to the crown, without benefit to the party whose satisfaction the law intends; and the parties thus outlawed are without remedy

[1] All the nobility and peers of the realm are liable to this as well as the commonalty; and the person of a peer being outlawed, is liable to arrests and restraint, as well as the commoners.

[2] Cheq. Leases.

[3] 4 H. VII. 17. Brook. outl. 41. Litl. Sect. 197. Cook, 1 Inst. 128. 6. 8 E. IV. 6.

[4] 18 Edw. IV. 4. Nichols, Vr. Nichols, Plo. 487.

[5] 9 Hen. VI. 20. 49 Edw. III. 5. 4 Hen. VII. 17.—*Orig. Notes.*

against the party that doth the wrong, and without relief as to the king, for forfeited goods and chattels, if not (*ex gratia*) besides the injury done in fleecing those goods by bailiffs, and their under-sheriffs, who share with the king in the greatest proportion of such forfeitures; by which his majesty loses a million of pounds yearly, and the people ruined.

Sixthly, Outlawries brings the freehold under seizures and extents, and is exceeding chargeable to plead unto, and to reverse; and the use which is made of seizures and extents thereon, is known to be little available towards satisfaction of creditors their just debts, but absolute destruction to the outlawed person; the parties outlawed may be sued, but cannot sue for his own, outlawries being disablement in law. It is hard to pay, where men cannot receive.[1]

These mischiefs, by the corruption of practice, have crept in under this act of 25 Edw. III.; notwithstanding, upon complaint of the people in the 44th year of the same King Edw. III. it was repealed, and the subject remitted in their right, according to the Common Law, and Magna Charta, save only to such as were accomptants to the king.

It is not unknown to all judicious, that by the common law of this nation no man's person could be arrested in debt or detinue, &c. the lands, goods, and chattels of the debtor were only liable to execution, which the law allows for satisfaction of creditors: And former times, in cases of debt between party and party, rested thereupon, the person of the debtor being in strict imprisonment, pays not the debt to the creditor, but most times satisfies the malice of the creditors only. And it cannot be denied, that the lords now living, and as peers freed from arrests, yet pay their debts out of their estates, as well, and better than such as are prisoners can do, which very precedent, obvious to all, makes it appear that imprisonment neither advantages nor prejudices the creditor, but serves only to enrich the gaoler, and by him the prisoner is ruined. The foregoing mischiefs, trouble, loss, oppression, and damage considered, which doth daily happen by the villainous crew of bailiffs, sergeants, gaolers, &c. to the enslaving and oppression of the subjects; and all derived from that act of 25 Edw. III.[2] and how repugnant the present practice is to the known laws of this realm; it will plainly appear, that this one nation is impoverished yearly by sheriffs, bailiffs, serjeants, marshal's-men, process-makers, Habeas Corpus, day-writs, rules, waiters, keepers, gaolers, wardens, with bribing sheriffs, and their deputies, and bailiffs for intelligence, and for forbearing of arrests, and prosecutions, besides the personal villanies and injuries put upon men of all conditions by these tormenters, more than one million of pounds yearly in ready coin, for which the creditor is not the better one penny; which were better disposed of, and paid for the defence of the nation, and payment of navies, &c.

In short, that this practice now on foot upon the Capias, bills of Middlesex, Latitates, and Outlawries, may be the more triumphant to the enslaving of all, it speaks thus:

Outlaw a nobleman, and he is made incapable to sit in the house of peers, till the outlawry be reversed; and may be arrested as a common person, being outlawed; and all his goods and chattels forfeited, and appraised by every under-sheriff, and sold, and brings his real estate under extent.

Outlaw a clergyman, of what degree or qualification soever, and their living and personal estates are both forfeited together, and by any under-sheriff sold as aforesaid, if it be in his bailiwick, and his person imprisoned, if arrested.

[1] 38 Edw. III. 22. 16 Edward IV. 4. Brook, utl. 17. 20 Hen. 20. 21 Hen. VII. 13. Ass. p. 5. 5 Hen. VI. 20.

[2] Cook, 2. Inst. f. 394. Vid. Cook's, Part 2, 3, 12. 13 Hen. IV. 1.

[3] Malebridg. c. 23.—*Orig. Notes.*

Outlaw any gentleman, and it is the same; his person and estate, both real and personal, forfeited, and himself, if arrested, a prisoner.

Outlaw any lawyer, and he is made uncapable to plead at bar; his person, if arrested, imprisoned; and his estate, both real and personal, the one extended, the other forfeited.

Outlaw any citizen rich in stock, as a merchant, jeweller, goldsmith, or any other eminent tradesman, what he hath is forfeited, and himself a prisoner, if arrested.

All men may be arrested and outlawed under feigned actions, by created and suppositious names, to their utter undoing, and never find out either plaintiff or attorney to recover their damages.

Now the freeing, discharging, and setting at liberty all prisoners now in prison, and under restraint for debt, and the repealing of this act and all others of 25 Edw. III. and the taking away of all arrests and outlawries, and the sad consequence and effects thereof, so much contrary to the Magna Charta, Petition of Right, and the Common Law, elder than both, is the matter aimed at, and humbly prayed for, that so the subject may be remitted and restored to their former laws, *ab origine*: And it is no new thing, when the continual repealing in all ages of divers statutes, when found inconvenient, or against the common law, makes it manifest.

As, Tenure in villainage,
Mortmains on abbeys,
Knights Templers and St John's,
Bishops' courts, for being burthensome and chargeable to the people, 80,000*l.* per annum,
The High Commission Court,
The Court of Star-Chamber, and divers others.

And that it may be enacted in the future, That no person whatsoever shall be arrested or outlawed for any matter or thing whatsoever (not criminous) in the act of 25 Edw. III. and other acts contained, for the avoiding the manifold mischiefs aforesaid, and the slavery, in general, introduced upon the whole nation. The deep sense his late majesty (of blessed memory) had of his people's sufferings, occasioned by the writs and process as aforesaid, made his majesty intend to have recommended the enlargement of prisoners for debt, and the abolishing of all arrests and outlawries for the future to the then parliament, could his majesty have received any recompence for the remitting of forfeitures and other profits arising to his crown, which, by an act now tendered to the honourable house of commons, is provided for.

How much terror and sorrow of heart the people and nation in general lies under, who now hide themselves and languish to death under the fear of imprisonment and arrests, consuming all their fortunes, not daring to shew themselves to manage it to their best advantage toward the payment of their debts, or otherwise, for fear of sheriffs, bailiffs, sergeants, marshal's-men, gaolers, &c.; the subject and their posterities by this means being born slaves, liable to all arrests, imprisonment, and outlawries, and on all accidents to beggary and bondage, at every man's will and pleasure: On the contrary, upon the passing of this act of grace depends the good and welfare of the people, the whole nation being manumitted and enfranchized in their persons, restored in laws, secured in estates, and of a base and slavish nation made noble and free, as they were before the act of 25 Edw. III. other acts was had.

To conclude, if traitors and felons of all sorts expect remission and pardon of their offences upon the blessed restoration of his sacred majesty, how is it to be doubted but that the good subjects of this land and nation (not criminous) shall find remedy and redress, and be relieved from their sad and lamentable thraldom and bondage, espe-

cially when the known law or equity affords the creditor power, for recovery of his just debts, upon the debtor's real or personal estate, which is at the dispose of the creditor for his satisfaction. And this one act of grace will be accounted by all good men and their posterities a sufficient recompence for all the subjects past sufferings, being the greatest mercy that ever king of England extended to his subjects since they were a nation.

The humble Addresses of several close Prisoners in the Gatehouse, Westminster, to the King's most excellent Majesty and Council, to the Lord High Chancellor, and the Lord Chief Justice and Judges of the King's Bench; to manifest their Innocency, and to obtain their Liberty.

PSAL. xxxvii. 12, 13. "The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth. The Lord shall laugh at him, for he seeth his day is coming."

PSAL. lxxxviii. 8, 9, 10. "Thou hast put away mine acquaintance far from me;—I am shut up, and I cannot come forth." &c.

Printed in the Year 1662.

"There was cause enough to be jealous of the publick peace, there being every day discoveries made of private meetings and conferences between officers of the old army; and that correspondencies were settled between them throughout the kingdom in a wonderful method; and that they had a grand committee residing in London, who had the supreme power, and sent orders to all the rest, who were to rise in one day, and meet at several rendezvouses. Hereupon several persons were apprehended and committed to prison; and the king himself often took the pains to examine them, and they confessed commonly more to his majesty himself than upon any other examination. Proclamations issued often for the banishing all officers who had ever borne arms against the king twenty miles from London, which did more publish the apprehension of new troubles.

"There can be no doubt but that there were many seditious purposes amongst the people, of which there often appeared so full evidence, that many were executed for high treason, who were tried and condemned by the judges at their general sessions at Newgate: Yet there was often cause to believe that many men were committed, who in truth had not been more faulty than in keeping ill company, and in hearing idle discourses. Informing was made a trade, which many affected to get money by; and as the king's ministers could not reject in a time of so much jealousy, so the receiving them gave them much trouble; for few of them were willing to be produced as evidence against those they accused, pretending, sometimes with reason, that if they were known they should be rendered useless for the future, whereas they were yet unsuspected, and admitted into all councils. All the sects of religion spoke with more boldness in their meetings, and met more frequently than they had used to do in the times that Sir Richard Browne and Sir John Robinson had been lord mayors, and the officers who succeeded them proved less vigilant. A general despondency seemed to possess the minds of men, as if they little cared what came to pass, which did not proceed so much from malice as from the disease of murmuring, which had been contracting above twenty years, and became almost incorporated into the nature of the nation."—*Contin. of Clarendon's Life*, p. 192.

ALBEIT, our illegal apprehending, and cruel close detainer, administred to us and our families just occasion of sorrow, yet that which aggravated our misery, was the odious infamy cast upon us and our relations, both in city and country, as if we,

amongst others, were actors or contrivers of some horrid plot, and being publickly aspersed as those who necessitated the loading the nation with more taxes, by which our credits and reputations were not a little wounded; and even our friends in many places blaming our silence, as if we had neglected our humble addresses to his majesty, or applications to the honourable judges of the law, for the vindication of our innocency and fidelity; for whose better information and satisfaction we have caused our proceedings to be published, whereby it may appear that, the circumstances of our condition considered, there hath been no means left unattempted.

We shall forbear to mention the addresses of our wives apart to his majesty and council, taking no pleasure to remember how many weeks, some coming from far, and continuing here to no little charge, they attended the council every day of their sitting, reaping no other benefit thereby to this day, than order for some of them, in the presence of the keeper, to see their husbands; by converse with whom, being fully confirmed of what before they were not in the least suspicious, (viz. their innocency and integrity) were further encouraged to present their joint petition to his majesty and council, as followeth:—

To the King's most excellent Majesty, and to the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council,

The humble Petition of the Wives of several Persons close Prisoners in the Gate-house,

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners' husbands were apprehended by messengers at their own houses, about twelve weeks since, and carried to the Gate-house, where with all patience they have endured a close and chargeable imprisonment, not knowing any accuser or accusation; nor can they by any means address themselves to this honourable council, being denied pen, ink, and paper: Some of your petitioners, by order, have obtained leave to visit them, and do find that they are altogether ignorant of any plot or design against his majesty's person or government, and that if any thing of that nature be charged on them, they would be glad that they might be brought to a legal trial, that so their innocency might be vindicated. And forasmuch as your petitioners' husbands, for the most part, are very poor, having nothing left but their own industry to maintain themselves and families; and that as it hath been their care, so we are confident shall be, to live peaceably under his majesty's government.

Therefore your petitioners do most humbly pray, that your majesty and this honourable council would be pleased to grant your petitioners' husbands their liberty, or otherwise, that they might be brought to a speedy trial according to law, that so them and their families may not utterly be destroyed, and that for the future they may have the protection of the law, to encourage them to follow their callings.

And your petitioners shall pray, &c.

Susanna Lytcott,	Sarah Wilkes,	Elizabeth Packer,
Alice Read,	Martha Kenwrick,	Jane Mason,
Mary Gladman,	Sarah Wansey,	Susanna Newman.
Anne Chaffin,		

Which petition being read, answer was returned by one of the clerks attending the council, that a committee would be appointed to give their husbands a speedy dispatch, which caused their further constant attendance; but not hearing of any such committee, they about a month after humbly presented to several of the lords, as they were going to sit in council, the following memorial:—

Right Honourable,

BE pleased to remember the sad and deplorable condition of our husbands, close prisoners in the Gate-house, presented by our petition to his majesty and council about a month since, they having been near sixteen weeks under a severe confinement, and not conscious of any crime; so that except your honours, out of tender compassion, give a speedy answer to our humble and just desires, they and their families must suffer inevitable ruin.

And upon their attendance that council day, answer was given, that nothing would be done at the council, the business being referred to the lord chief justice; but hearing nothing further thereof, the term also near the end, we did humbly conceive, by the advice of our friends, it might be most satisfactory to his majesty, and expeditious for ourselves, to be brought before his lordship by the writ of Habeas Corpus, which being sued forth and made returnable immediately, was also served upon the keeper, Sir Edward Broughton, on Saturday the 8th of February, 1661, our solicitor having acquainted the attorney-general with this proceeding, desiring there might be no delay; but if any thing were against the prisoners, the court might be acquainted therewith on their appearing at the bar, which they expected should be the Monday following, the deputy-keepers having told them the writs would be obeyed, unless their master, Sir Edward Broughton, received orders from the secretary to the contrary; who notwithstanding disobeyed his majesty's writs, and injuriously broke his promise with us, which lost our opportunity of taking out second writs, and occasioned our humble address to the honourable the judges by the following letters presented to, and read by them, the court sitting.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench at Westminster, these humbly present.

MAY it please your honour to be informed, that ourselves, and divers others within this prison, have, by our wives and friends, petitioned and solicited his majesty and council these sixteen weeks and more to procure our enlargement, but can neither obtain that nor so much as knowledge wherefore we are committed, nor a copy of our mittimus, but were some few days since informed by a clerk of the council, that we and our case were referred to your lordship, the which hath invited our friends to procure an Habeas Corpus to bring us this day before your bar; but our keeper, Sir Edward Broughton, having abused us, by exacting of fees and chamber-rent, refuseth to bring us before your lordship.

We therefore humbly desire, that a tipstaff may be sent to-morrow for such of us as have sued out our Habeas Corpus, so that your honour may not only be informed of the cause of our close imprisonment, (the which we are ignorant of) but also of the cruel usage we have and do daily suffer in our persons, estates, and names, even to the utter ruin of some, and almost undoing of the rest, as the inclosed case of one of our number will more particularly manifest, who was forced thus to present it, fearing the keeper will not bring him to your bar with the rest. The truth of all which will be made good, if we shall have the happiness to be brought before your lordship, which is the humble petition and desires of your lordship's most humble servants,

From the Gate-house, Westminster, Feb. 11, 1661.

WILLIAM KENWRICK, JOHN MASON, HENRY WANSEY, LEONARD LYTCOTT, TIMOTHY WILKES, WILLIAM NEWMAN, JOHN CHAFFIN.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench at Westminster, these humbly present.

Right Honourable,

Upon the 26th of October last, being in my shop in Threadneedle-Street, London, I was taken by pursuivants, or messengers, who said they had orders to carry me before one of the secretaries of state at Whitehall, to answer the breach of a bond I had formerly given when discharged from my imprisonment in the Tower of London; but they, without carrying me before the said secretaries, or any other magistrate, had me to Sir Edward Broughton, the keeper of the Gate-house prison, who said to me, You are my prisoner, and to be kept close. I asked him by what authority, and desired a sight and copy of my commitment: He read me the first line of the warrant, and said, It was enough for me to know it was his majesty's pleasure I should be so kept. I then told him, That my estate was taken from me, and but little left besides my watch-making trade to keep me alive, and that if I had my tools and accommodation to work, I could both pay him my chamber-rent, and maintain myself, and otherwise I could not do it. Sir Edward Broughton then promised me upon his honour, that, except my imprisonment, I should have all the civility I could desire, and wished me to send my mind to the secretary. To which I replied, Sir, how can I do that, which am immediately to be your close prisoner? He then promised me to acquaint the secretary Nicholas with my desires: Notwithstanding he sent me to lodge upon a very hard flock-bed, much worse than are some mats, whereon, after I had tired my body for some nights, I desired a truss of straw rather than such a bed, and offered him payment for it, yet could not obtain the same; and because I could not comply with his exactions, to pay ten shillings a-week for a bed; twenty shillings for turning the key; five shillings for the use of a pair of sheets; five shillings garnish; and five pounds for iron fees, at nine days end (although, in all that time, neither wife, children, nor friends were permitted to see or come near me,) I was carried down two pair of stairs into a very strait room, not above two steps wide, without a fire-place, and there locked up for ten days, not permitting me to come forth to ease nature in fifteen or sixteen hours together; and often when I called for ale, either the bottom of some old barrel, or ale and urine mingled, they brought me to drink, which after tasted by two prisoners wives, I was enforced to throw it away, and for divers days to drink fair water: But at length, when they understood I was about to petition his majesty for relief, I was put into another room for twelve days time, whose windows were sore broken, and no means, by glass, paper, or otherwise, afforded to stop them, although daily promised; all which ill usage had so much distempered my body, that my life was thereby endangered; and because I could not comply to answer their exactions, I was often threatened to be put into the hole, when as I had neither money to buy myself or family bread; and by their own defaults in keeping me without my tools, I was disabled to pay the premises: And, to manifest their further cruelty, when as my wife by petition obtained his majesty's order to have my tools into the prison, and be continued in the room I was then placed in, for the better accommodation of my trade, Sir Edward Broughton, by his deputy, took from my children my tools, not only depriving me of the use of them for these fifteen weeks past, but doth yet detain them in his hands, and will not restore them to my wife or children; so that herein by the keeper I have suffered the loss of fifteen pounds that I could have gotten by my labour, and my tools are of value near five pounds, which he hath in his hands or possession, and further demands seven shillings a-week for a bed, in a room heretofore set but for seven groats, with the aforesaid fees; whose due, and much more than the law

doth direct, for quietness sake, I have often offered to pay, so as h
my goods, and give a receipt under his hand to manifest a full discharge, (because 'tis usual to demand chamber-rent there after it hath been once paid) or else refer himself (as I desire) to any magistrate that he shall chuse: But this my keeper refuseth to agree to, and twenty-four days ago, notwithstanding the king's order, he caused my bed, bedding, and mats, to be all taken from me, and refused to permit me to have in a bed of mine own, or so much as a truss of straw to lodge on; and his deputy, the 18th of February last, openly said, That whereas all the close prisoners wives had petitioned his majesty, desiring their husbands liberty, or that they might be brought to a speedy trial, according to law, he said, their petition should be spoiled, and that Sir Edward Broughton was gone to Whitehall for that purpose. And two days after they had taken from me my bed, four of his officers and soldiers, his deputy-turnkey, attendants, and the very tapster (being soldiers) took me up, being upon a mat I had procured to lodge on, and by force carried me out of my room through the gallery to a close room in the remotest part of the house, called the Troploft, allowing me but the boards to lodge on for these twenty-four nights past; nor would the keeper permit my son to bring me a bolster of straw, but doth threaten often to board up my window, so as then I shall have no air to breathe in. My lords, it was the Bishop of Worcester's good counsel to his majesty at his coronation, "A prince should say, as Nehemiah, should such a one as I, representing God in greatness and goodness, rewarding such as do well, and punishing such as do evil; shall I do any thing that is mean, base, sinful, unjust, cruel, or dishonourable to him whom I represent?" Now, my lords, shall you the judges of the law know these cruelties to be exercised on me under his majesty's government, and not relieve me? God forbid. Examine the truth of my complaint: Once I have sworn; twice I have given security; four times I have been imprisoned by malicious contrivances; I have my Habeas Corpus granted, but cannot be brought forth; I desire your lordships to release me, or remove me from this wretched place of torment; and if I must be detained, after above fifteen weeks imprisonment, not knowing any cause thereof, let me be dealt with as a man, and used and provided for as the king's prisoner ought to be by law, during my restraint: which is all at present from your lordship's most humble oppressed prisoner,

HENRY WANSEY.

From my close captivity in the abominable prison of the Gate-house, Westminster, February 11, 1661.

Which letters being read by the judges, the lord chief justice demanded who was the presenter of them, and being owned by our friend, he also humbly prayed that his lordship would be pleased to hear a motion upon them; which being granted, Mr Sergeant Bearmould seeing the said keeper of the Gate-house had not only disobeyed the first writ, but also an order of court made the day before for bringing the prisoners to the bar, under the penalty of forty pounds, that an attachment might be granted against the said keeper, or that the prisoners might be brought before the lord chief justice (this being the last day of the term) at his chamber, that bail might be put in before him there; but could not be obtained: But the court did agree that it was fit to grant an *alias* Habeas Corpus, returnable fifteen days after Easter, with a lusty fine, because that keeper usually disobeyeth the orders of the court; which was done accordingly, under the penalty of one hundred pounds: And the prisoners doubting that their usage was like to be worse from the keeper than before, by Mr Sergeant Newdigate moved the same day, that an order might be made for their solicitors, attorneys, and friends to come to them, and to allow them the liberty of the prison house: Which was granted, as desired, and being translated into English, is as followeth:—

Wednesday, eight Days after the Purification of the blessed Mary, in the fourteenth Year of King Charles the Second, our Lord the King; against the Keeper of the Prison of the Gate-house.

It is ordered, That the keeper of the said prison permit the solicitors, attorneys, and friends of William Kenwrick, and the other prisoners in his custody, to come and speak with the aforesaid prisoners; and to allow them the liberty of the prison house, upon the motion of Mr Serjeant Newdigate.

By the Court.

Which said order being the next day served on Sir Edward Broughton the keeper, he seemed to yield obedience to it, affording the benefit of it for one day; but, by his deputies, the day following exercised as much strictness as formerly, locking us up from the liberty of the house, denying our nearest relations, and servants with necessaries, access to us; our solicitor also being then with us, was uncivilly commanded away, and threatened to be made a prisoner the ensuing morning: For all which, when we demanded a reason, urging the judge's order to the contrary, they replied, The secretary would bear them out, and that the keys for locking them up in the day time was their order.

Being thus, after all our expences and endeavours to be brought forth to trial, and for obtaining our liberties, through the injurious dealing of our keeper, and his high contempt of authority, frustrated in our expectations; and our taking this legal course, after other humble submissive means failed, made rather as an aggravation of a crime against us by our mercenary keepers, who are all soldiers in pay, and in their own esteem out of the reach of the law; we were necessitated to represent our sad condition to the right honourable the lord high chancellor, and to the honourable the lord chief justice, and other the judges of the King's Bench, in these following addresses:

To the Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellor of England, these humbly present.

May it please your Lordship,

We take the boldness, being not a little oppressed, humbly to spread before your lordship our complaint, who have been kept (as we conceive) through misinformation, four months close prisoners in the Gate-house, and more severely dealt with than those taken in open hostility, or guilty of the highest treasons. And, my lord, to clear ourselves, and make our innocency appear, we have (by our wives) used all imaginable submissive petitionary means to his majesty and council, who, through their weighty affairs, neither admitted us a hearing, nor afforded us relief, or so much as answer; but only his majesty's secretary acquainted our wives, that we and our case were referred to my Lord Chief Justice Foster, the which necessitated our relations to endeavour by writ to bring us last term to the King's Bench bar, that his lordship and the whole nation might publickly know that we are faithful, peaceable, and obedient subjects. But, my lord, the writ being disobeyed by our keeper, Sir Edward Broughton, we have no means left us to endeavour our enlargement till the next term, save only by our addresses to your lordship, the seat of equity, being much encouraged thereunto by the act of indemnity and oblivion, and your honour's many favourable speeches thereupon.

Now, forasmuch as we are innocent persons, and not guilty of the breach of any known law, having been lately, in like manner imprisoned, (some of us three or four times) and that my lord chief justice (to whom we apprehended ourselves referred) is prevented at present (through the wilful and injurious neglect of Sir Edward Broughton) to afford us relief, other than ordering us the legal favour of converse with our friends,

and the liberty of the prison-house to breathe in; the which, by our keepers was, after one day, denied us with more strictness than before.

We therefore humbly pray, that your lordship will, in tender compassion, represent our sad condition to his majesty, minding his majesty of his gracious act of indemnity, and mediating for our present liberty and future protection, so that sudden and speedy destruction do not utterly ruin those, who, through their many late great losses and imprisonments, have hardly left wherewith to buy bread: Thus craving your honour's charitable and favourable aspect on our condition, we are your lordship's most humble servants,

Feb. 15, 1661.

WILLIAM KENWRICK, HENRY WANSEY,
LEONARD LYTCOTT, WILLIAM NEWMAN,
TIMOTHY WILKES, JOHN CHAFFIN.
JOHN MASON,

To the Honourable the Lord Chief Justice, and other the Judges of the King's Bench, these humbly present.

My Lords,

WE cannot but with much thankfulness acknowledge your just favour upon our motion made by Mr Sergeant Newdigate upon the last day of the term, ordering the keeper to suffer our sollicitors, attornies, and friends to come to us, and allowing us the liberty of the prison-house, after sixteen weeks close imprisonment; in which time our friends have been detained from us, to our great impoverishment, and almost utter undoing; only one day the gaoler yielded obedience to your order, but the next day they pretended order for our close confinement, as formerly, which they put in practice, not shewing, upon our demand, any order for the same. Might we but obtain leave to make our just grievances known to your lordships, we believe they are unparalleled. Endeavours are used (as is privately intimated to us) to prevail with your honour to make a new rule, which, if once done, will extend to a confirmation of our close imprisonment, as if done by law: This we are not easily induced to believe, that your lordships should suffer our bonds to be made stronger by any proceedings from that court from whom we expect relief. Whilst we were preparing to present these few lines to your lordships, by our sollicitor, the under-keeper forceth him from us, and openly declared before witness, That your lordship, with the rest of the judges, denied you made any such order, although the sollicitor proved before his face he delivered it to Sir Edward Broughton, and the under-keeper had confessed the day after the term it was delivered to Sir Edward; and further said, He was as glad as if he had an hundred pounds given him, it would not rejoyce him more than that we had such liberty granted, as our freedom from close imprisonment: Yet since, our servants are denied to bring us necessaries, or to let us know, whether our wives and children are dead or alive, some of them being very sick; the which usage doth not only encrease the afflictions of all our relations, but much aggravate our own sufferings, who are your honours most humble servants,

From the Gate-house, Westminster, Feb. 15, 1661.

WILLIAM KENWRICK, HENRY WANSEY,
LEONARD LYTCOTT, WILLIAM NEWMAN,
JOHN MASON, JOHN CHAFFIN.
TIMOTHY WILKES,

It was our intention to have inserted the answer to these last addresses; but hearing it was the design of some great persons, instead of making us reparations, to send us to remote places; we are disappointed: only our friend that presented them, conceives

the lord chancellor disapproved of this injurious dealing with his majesty's peaceable subjects, and that the judges discovered a purpose not to recede from the order for taking off our close imprisonment, both in respect of the justice and legality thereof, and likewise, being granted the last day of the term, it could not be duly altered; and until we see a better order than this granted by his majesty's judges in Westminster-Hall to the contrary, we hope to be excused in our daily continuing to demand our liberty therein allowed us, though the insolency of those soldiers (our under-keepers) is such, as still to debar our friends, sollicitors, and attornies access to us, shewing us (when demanded) the keys for their order; and, in a provoking manner, snatched a pen out of the hand of one of our number, whilst writing out some part of our former addresses, the benefit and supply of pen, ink, and paper being gained upon the order for taking off our close imprisonment, and whereof we are unwilling (but by violence) to be deprived, which we could little have expected from those hands, remembering, that when we made known to them our purpose of endeavouring our liberty this way, they not only professed how glad they should be if we might attain it; but one of them brought us word, that after the first writ was served upon Sir Edward Broughton, he was sent from him to the secretary, from whom (if his master received not orders to the contrary) we should be brought to the bar; and both at that time, and formerly, told us his master cared not if we were discharged, knowing where to find others to fill up his prison.

Thus having in all reality discharged our conscience, and humbly endeavoured to manifest to his majesty and council, the lord chancellor, and the honourable judges, our innocency and faithfulness, and also, in part, the causeless sufferings of his majesty's peaceable and quiet subjects, we shall in all christian patience wait till the Lord in his mercy shall graciously send deliverance, being encouraged, both from his word and promises, to hope and expect seasonable supports; as also by the experiences of some, our next chamber-fellows, who have lain more than thirteen months close prisoners in this wretched house of bondage, under the threats and menaces of our gaolers, having for some season worn very weighty iron chains on both legs, day and night, and to this time knowing no more than we, either accuser or crime laid to their charge.

Yet if, by the good providence of God, our happiness shall be made so great by some charitable hand, as to present this our suffering condition to his majesty's view, with this assurance, that neither directly nor indirectly we have acted any thing against the present government, but have lived in all peaceable submission thereunto; as also acquainting his majesty the great disservice done by those persons that make and continue distinctions amongst his majesty's good subjects, or endeavour to withdraw his majesty's affections from them; we cannot then but hope his majesty will no longer suffer us to be thus severely used, but will afford us liberty and protection, according to our native right, and the good old laws of this kingdom.

Feb. 20, 1661.

The several Speeches of Sir Edward Turner, Knt. Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, to the King's most excellent Majesty, delivered on Friday the tenth of May, 1661.[1]

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

The knights, citizens, and burgesses of the commons house of parliament, being there assembled by virtue of your majesties most gracious writ, have been pleased (I dare not say to choose, but) to name me their speaker.

It is an undoubted priviledge of every member in that house to be heard speak, much more when he speaks for, or against himself. But, sir, whether more out of favour to me, or injury to themselves, I cannot tell, they were not pleased to hear, at least they would not accept, my just apology and excuse from this service.

Therefore, from this their judgment, if I must call it so, I do most humbly appeal to your soveraign justice, beseeching your majesty, for the errors that are too visible and apparent in their proceedings, that you will review and reverse the same.

My inexperience in the customs and orders of the house, my inability to collect their sense, and state the questions rising upon long and arduous debates, do justly render me unfit, and therefore unworthy of this weighty imployment.

Your majesty well knows, when a ship puts forth to sea she should be provided with mariners of all sorts; in case a storm doth arise, some must trim and lower the sails, some must watch aloft the decks, some must work at the pump, but he had need be a very good seaman that is the pilot. Sir, I hope I may be useful to this your soveraign vessel in some of these inferior places, but I dare not undertake to be their steersman.

I do most humbly, therefore, beseech your majesty, that you will not take us at our first word, our second thoughts are best; pray, therefore, be pleased to command the members of the house of commons to return into their house, to recollect themselves, and to present your majesty with a better choice.

The Second Speech, after the Lord Chancellor had declared the King's Approbation of the Choice of the House of Commons.

He that knows his master's will, and doth it not, is worthy to be beaten with many stripes: I shall therefore humbly and cheerfully, to the best of my poor skill and knowledge, apply myself to the performance of my duty; not doubting therein to obtain your majesties gracious pardon for all involuntary transgressions; for 'tis a rule in law, and in conscience too, *Actus non facit reum, nisi mens sit rea.*

And since I have found this favour in the sight of my lord the king, pray let me beg your majesties patience for a while, to make a stand, and from this place to look about me: Sir, a weak head is soon giddy, but the strongest brain may here be turned: the presence of this glory, and the glory of this presence, do transport me: Whilst I contemplate the incomparable beauty of this body politick, and the goodly order of this

[1] Sir Edward Turner was member for Hertford town. He was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer 23d May, 1671.

high court of parliament, where at once I behold all the glory of this nation, I am almost in the condition of St Paul when he was taken up into the third heavens, all that he could say upon his return was, He saw things unutterable.

God, that made all things for the use of man, and made him governour over all his works, thought it not fit to leave him to himself, nor to live without a law and government. The forms and species of governments are various, monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical; but the first is certainly the best, as being nearest to divinity itself. Aristocracy is subject to degenerate and run into faction; but democracy naturally runs into confusion: Then every man becomes a tyrant over his neighbour, *Homo Homini Lupus: Homo Homini Dæmon.*

This famous island, historians tell us, was first inhabited by the Britains, then by the Romans, then by the Saxons, then by the Danes, then by the Normans; and during all these successions of ages, and variety of changes, though there was sometimes *Divisum Imperium*, yet every division was happy under a monarchical government.

Since the entrance of the Norman race, 25 kings and queens, famous in their generations, from whom your sacred majesty is lineally descended, have swayed the royal scepter of this nation.

The Children of Israel, when they were in the wilderness, though they were fed with God's own hand, and eat the food of angels, yet they surfeited, and murmured, and rebelled against Moses.

The same unthankful spirit dwelt in this nation for divers years last past; the men of that age were weary of the government, though it was refined to the wonder and envy of all other nations: They quarrelled with our Moses, because he was the Lord's anointed; *Nolumus hunc regnare*, was their first quarrel; but levelling party and confusion followed, then tyranny and usurpation was the conclusion.

We read of the Emperor Adrian, when he lay a-dying, he complained that many physitians had destroyed him; meaning, that their contrary conceits and different directions for his recovery had hastened his death.

So it was with us, we were sick of reformation; our reformers were of all ages, sexes, and degrees, of all professions and trades: The very cobler went beyond his last: These new states men took upon them to regulate and govern our governours: This was the sickness and plague of the nation: Their new laws were all written in bloody letters, the cruelty of their tribunals made the judgment-seat little differ from a slaughter-house; The rich man was made an offender for a word, poor men were sold for slaves as the Turks sell heads, twenty for an asper: Yet for all this villany there was at length found a protector.

No amendment at length would serve these reformers' turns, no concessions, though the most gracious that could be imagined, would satisfie these usurpers; but root and branch, all must go; our late sovereign lord, of blessed memory, must be offered up a sacrifice to their lusts; your sacred person (great sir) proscribed, and all the royal family exiled: Monarchy itself was voted burdensome, and therefore they must try a commonwealth, and the better to digest it, the people were intoxicated with a belief that they should all like themselves be princes in their turns.

Amongst the Persians, after the death of their governour, there was used to be ἀναρχία πέντε ἡμερῶν, a five days lawlessness, in which time every man might do what he listed: During these five days there was such killing, and robbing, and destroying one another, that before they were ended, the people longed again for their old government.

After the death of your majesty's most royal father, here was the like licentiousness; but alas, it continued more than twice five years: Liberty they called it, but it was *Libertas quidlibet audendi.* Your loyal subjects were a prey to wolves and tygers, and to the most cruel of all beasts, unreasonable men: Every man did what seemed good in his own eyes, for in those days there was no king in our Israel.

But as the former spirit of reformation at first brought us into this misery; so the spirit of giddiness, which God sent amongst our reformers, at length cured us. The brazen serpent was the best cure for those that were bitten by the fiery serpent: The divisions and subdivisions of those that exercised dominion over us, weakened their own power, and stirred up the hearts, and strengthened the hands of your loyal subjects, to restore our ancient government, and to bring your sacred majesty back to your royal throne in peace, as to the joy of all our hearts we see it this day.

This was the work of God alone, and it is admirable in our eyes. And as we have cause at all times to bless God that he hath thus brought your majesty to your people; so we have just cause at this time to return our hearty thanks unto your majesty that you have thus brought your people to yourself.

The sun exhales the vapours from the earth, and then sends them down again in showers of plenty; so we, to our great joy, do find that our obedience and affection to your majesty are returned upon our heads in plenty, peace, and protection.

The last meeting here in parliament was happy in healing the bleeding wounds of this nation; they were blessed also, even for their works sake; your sacred majesty did bless them, and therefore they shall be blessed to all posterity.

But, sir, we hope you have a blessing left for us too: That was your parliament by adoption, but this is yours by birth-right; this parliament is free-born: I hope this honour will beget in us an emulation to exceed the actions of our predecessors, and not only to meet your majesty as our sovereign, with the duty of subjects, but with the love of sons to a most indulgent father.

Next to the glory of your majesty's royal throne, I cannot but observe the brightness of this —— second orb, this firmament is richly deckt with stars of several magnitudes, each star appears like the morning star, and yet each star differs from another in glory.

You cannot want commanders, either by sea or land, to manage your designs, whilst all these sons of Mars stand candidate to serve you in the wars.

You cannot want counsellors to advise you in the great affairs of the nation, whilst all these states-men, senators, each fit to be a consul, contend who shall most ease you in the thorny cares of the government.

Amidst those noble English barons, are placed the reverend judges of the land, the sages of the law, men so learned and expert in the customs and statutes of this land, that if Wat Tyler, or Jack Cade, or the new phanaticks of this latter age had burned our books, they were able to restore our laws in purity and perfection.

And next to these, though in a lower orb, appear the worthy knights, the prudent citizens and burgesses of the house of commons, being the third estate of parliament.

When the fame of Solomon's wisdom had filled the neighbour nations, the Queen of Sheba could not contain herself at home, but with many camels laded with spices, with gold and precious stones in abundance, she comes to Solomon to commune with him of all that was in her heart. Great sir, whilst this your native country was unworthy of you, foreign nations were made happy in the knowledge of your person, your piety and your wisdom: And now the Lord our God hath brought you home, and set you on your throne, your subjects long to see you.

What striving and rejoycing was there at your first landing, to see our rising sun?

What striving was there at your coronation, to see the imperial crown set upon your royal head?

What striving hath here lately been, in all the countries, cities, and burroughs of this nation, who should be sent up to hear your wisdom, and confer with you in parliament?

Royal sir, these chosen worthy messengers are not come empty handed, they are laden, they are sent up to you, heavy laden, from their several counties, cities, and burroughs.

If the affections of all Englishmen can make you happy; if the riches of this nation can make you great; if the strength of this warlike people can make you considerable at home and abroad, be assured you are the greatest monarch in the world. Give me leave, I beseech you, to double my words and say it again, I wish my voice could reach to Spain, and to the Indies too, you are the greatest monarch in the world.

I fear your royal patience may be tired, I will therefore no more speak my own words, but in the name of the commons of England, humbly present unto your majesty their accustomed petitions, when first they are assembled in parliament, and so conclude.

1. First I do beseech your majesty, that for our better attendance on the important service of the house, ourselves and our necessary servants may be free, in our persons and estates, from all arrests and troubles.

2. That debate and disputes being necessary to the disquisition of many matters in the house, your majesty will be pleased to vouchsafe us liberty and freedom of speech: Which I doubt not, we shall use with loyalty and sobriety.

3. That if the great affairs require it, your majesty, upon our humble suit, will vouchsafe us access to your royal person.

4. That the proceedings of the house may receiv a benign interpretation, and be free at all times from misconstructions.

[From Lord Somers's Collection.]

His Majesty's gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Monday, July 8, 1661. *Together with the Speech of Sir Edward Turner, Knight, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.*

Printed in the Year 1661.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is a good time since I heard of your passing this bill of money, and I am sure you would have presented it to me sooner, if you had thought I had desired it; but the truth is, though I have need enough of it, I had no mind to receive it from you, till I might, at the same time, give my assent to th s other very good bill that accompanies it, for which I longed very impatiently: I thank you for both with all my heart. And though there are other good bills ready, with which you will easily believe I am very well pleased, and in which I am indeed enough concerned, yet I choose rather to pass these two bills together, and to pass them by themselves without any other, that you may all see, and in you the whole kingdom, that I am at least equally concerned for you and them, as for myself; and, in truth, it will be want of judgment in me, if I ever desire any thing for myself, that is not equally good for you and them: I am confident you all believe that my well-being is of some use and benefit to you; and I am sure your well-being, and being well pleased, is the greatest comfort and blessing I can receive in this world: I hope you will be ready within few days to dispatch those other public bills which are still depending before you, that I may come hither and pass altogether, and then adjourn till winter, when what remains may be provided for; and I would be very glad that you would be ready by the twentieth of this month, or thereabouts, for the adjournment; which methinks you might easily be, if you suspended all private business till the recess: The last parliament, by God's blessing, laid the foundation of the happiness we all enjoy; and therefore I thought it but justice to the memory of it, to send you bills for the confirmation of what was enacted then; and I cannot doubt, but you will dispatch what remains of that kind with all convenient

speed; and that you will think, that what was then thought necessary or fit for the public peace to be enacted, ought not to be shaken now, or any good man less secure of what he possesses, than he was when you came together: It is to put myself in mind, as well as you, that I so often (I think as often as I come to you) mention to you my declaration from Breda, and let me put you in mind of another declaration published by yourselves about the same time, and which I am persuaded made mine the more effectual, an honest, generous, and christian declaration, signed by the most eminent persons, who had been the most eminent sufferers, in which you renounced all former animosities, all memory of former unkindnesses, vowed all imaginable good-will to, and all confidence in, each other.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let it be in no man's power to charge me or you with breach of our word or promise, which can never be a good ingredient to our future security: Let us look forward and not backward, and never think of what is past, except men put us in mind of it, by repeating faults we had forgotten, and then let us remember no more than what concerns those very persons.

God hath wrought a wonderful miracle in settling us as he hath done; I pray let us do all we can to get the reputation at home and abroad of being well settled. We have enemies and enviers enough, who labour to have it thought otherwise; and if we would indeed have our enemies fear us, and our neighbours love and respect us, and fear us enough to love us, let us take all the ways we can, that as the world cannot but take notice of your extraordinary affection to me, and of the comfort I take in that affection, so that it may likewise take notice of your affection to, and confidence in, each other, which will disappoint all designs against the public peace, and fully establish our joint security.

The Speech of Sir Edward Turner, Knight, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, to the King's most excellent Majesty, delivered on Monday the eighth Day of July, 1661.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE writ of summons whereby your majesty was pleased to call together the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the commons house of parliament, gave us to understand that your majesty had divers weighty and urgent matters to communicate to us: Such as did concern your royal person, your state and dignity, the defence of the kingdom and the church of England: and in the same method propounded to us by your majesty, we have applied ourselves to offer you our best counsel and advice.

We found your majesty miraculously preserved by the hand of God from the hands of your enemies; we found you peaceably seated in the throne of your ancestors; we found the hereditary imperial crown of these nations auspiciously set upon your royal head; and all this after a sharp and a bloody civil war.

We held it our duties, in the first place, to endeavour the safety and preservation of your majesty's person and government, and to that purpose have prepared a bill.

Next to the safety of your majesty, we took into consideration the state and power that is necessary for so great a prince; and do hope, ere long, to settle your militia so, that, by the blessing of God, you need not fear storms from abroad, or earthquakes here at home.

Your majesty was pleased, at the opening of the parliament, to recommend unto us two bills; one for confirmation of public acts, another for the private acts that passed the last parliament; they were so many in number, and great in weight, that hitherto we

could not consider of them all, but some we have perused: The act for confirmation of judicial proceedings; for taking away the court of wards and liveries, and purveyance, and also all those that do relate to your majesty's customs and excise: And that we might with some chearfulness see your majesty's face, we have brought our brother Benjamin with us, I mean your act of oblivion: I take the boldness to call it yours, for so it is by many titles; your majesty first conceived it at Breda, you helped to contrive and form it here in England, and we must all bear you witness, you laboured and travelled till it was brought forth: And since it had a being, some question being made of its legitimation, your royal heart is not at ease until it be confirmed. And now, sir, give me leave to say, by the suffrage of a full, a free, and a legal parliament, it is presented to your majesty to be naturalized. Your majesty's desires are fully answered by all the representatives of the people; and their hearty prayer to God is, that all your subjects may be truly thankful to you; and that your majesty may long live to enjoy the fruits of this unparalleled mercy.

Your majesty was pleased to intimate to us on Saturday last, that you so valued the quiet and satisfaction of your people, and the keeping of your royal word with them, that although divers other bills were made ready for you, you would vouchsafe the honour to this bill alone, your favourite, to come and pass it. Sir, hereby you have made this a great holiday, and we shall observe it with joy and thanksgiving. Upon such solemn festivals, there used to be a second service, an anthem, and a collect, or at least an offering; my anthem shall be, *Quid tibi retribuam Domine?* and my collect, a short report of your revenue. We know, great sir, that money is both the sinews of war, and bond of peace; we have therefore taken care of your majesty's revenue, and do desire to make it, in some good proportion, suitable both to your grandeur and your merit.

We do believe the state of our king is the honour of our state; and the best way to preserve our peace, is to be well provided for war: Our time hath not permitted us to finish this work; but as an earnest of our good affections, we desire your majesty to accept an offering from us.

We cannot enough admire your majesty's patience, providence, and frugality abroad; you did not bring home a debt for us to pay, great as a prince's ransom. And since your return, you have not, with King Edward the Third, after his wars in France, or Henry the Fourth, Henry the Seventh, or Henry the Eighth, desired new and great aids, and heavy subsidies, from your people for your supplies.

No, sir, you have been so far from asking that part of the money which was given you last parliament for your houshold provision, you have issued out towards payment of our debts, you have robbed your own table (I had almost said, given the meat out of your own belly) to feed the hungry seamen.

Dear sir, these things have a just influence upon the people, they fill our hearts with joy and affection to your majesty.

I do not pretend much to physiognomy; but, if I mistake not greatly, the faces of the people do promise great frankness and chearfulness in your present supplies.

What would not your majesty's friends have given within these eighteen months to have seen your majesty thus happily settled? And what can be too much for those to return, who have received all they enjoy from your majesty's mercy?

Great sir, to conclude this solemn service, the commons of England do, by me their servant, humbly present you with this bill, intitled, "An Act for a free and voluntary Present," and wish it a success answr able to your royal heart's desire.

The Declaration and Remonstrance of the Earls, Lords, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Gentlemen of the Roman Catholic Religion in the Kingdom of Ireland: With their Protestation to the King's Most Excellent Majesty; and a List of the Names of the Subscribers that have openly disclaimed and renounced the Pope of Rome, and all other Foreign Powers.

Printed in the Year 1662.

Your majesty's most faithful subjects, the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, out of a deep sense of those prodigious afflictions under which the monarchy of Great Britain has, before your majesty's happy restoration, groaned these twenty years; and out of our sad thoughts, which daily bring more and more sighs from our breasts, and tears from our eyes, for, not only, the still as yet continued miseries and sufferings of the Catholic natives of that our unfortunate country, even amidst, and ever since, the so much famed joys and triumphs of your sacred majesty's most auspicious inauguration, but also of the causes, whereunto we have made the most narrow search we could, of these our own peculiar unparalleled calamities; and upon reflection on that allegiance we owe, and ought by all divine and human laws, and which we are, and have been always ready to swear and perform to your majesty, our only sovereign lord on earth, and on the scandal (notwithstanding) which some persons (who are unwilling to understand aright our religion) cast upon it, as if it were not consistent with all dutiful obedience and faith to the supreme temporal magistrate; and upon a consideration likewise of a further tie of conscience on us for endeavouring, as much as in us lies, to clear your majesty's royal breast from all fears and jealousies whatsoever, if any peradventure your majesty entertain of us, through the suggestion of such as hate our communion or nation; and to wipe off that scandal, and allay the odium under which our church hath lain this last century of years among other Christian people in these nations, of a different way from ours in the word of God, we humbly crave your majesty's pardon to vindicate both ourselves and our holy belief, in that particular of our allegiance, by the ensuing protestation. Which (in imitation of the late good example given by our clergy, and pursuant to the general doctrine and practice of the Catholic church) we make in the sight of heaven, and in the presence of your majesty, sincerely and truly, without equivocation or mental reservation.

We do acknowledge and confess your majesty to be our true and lawful king, supreme lord, and rightful sovereign of this realm of Ireland, and of all other your majesty's dominions. And therefore we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged, under pain of sin, to obey your majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as much as any other of your majesty's subjects, and as the laws and rulers of government in this kingdom do require at our hands. And that notwithstanding any power or pretension of the pope, or see of Rome, or any sentence or declaration of what kind or quality soever, given, or to be given, by the pope, his predecessors, or successors, or by any authority spiritual or temporal, proceeding or derived from him, or his see, against your majesty or royal authority, we will still acknowledge, and perform to the utmost of

our abilities, and our faithful loyalty and true allegiance to your majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free, discharge, or absolve us from this obligation, or shall any way give us leave or licence to raise tumults, bear arms, or offer any violence to your majesty's person, royal authority, or to the state or government; being all of us ready, not only to discover and make known to your majesty, and to your ministers, all the treasons made against your majesty or them, which shall come to our hearing: but also to lose our lives in the defence of your majesty's person and royal authority, and to resist, with our best endeavours, all conspiracies and attempts against your majesty, be they framed or sent under what pretence, or patronized by what foreign power or authority soever. And further we profess, that all absolute princes and supreme governors, of what religion soever they be, are God's lieutenants on earth; and that obedience is due to them, according to the laws of each commonwealth respectively, in all civil and temporal affairs: And therefore we do here protest against all doctrine and authority to the contrary. And we do hold it impious, and against the word of God, to maintain that any private subject may kill or murder the anointed of God, his prince, though of a different belief and religion from his. And we abhor and detest the practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

These being the tenets of our religion in point of loyalty and submission to your majesty's authority, and our observance and veneration of, or communion with the see of Rome, in matters purely spiritual, no way entrenching on that perfect obedience, which by our birth, by the laws of God and man, we are bound to pay to your majesty, our natural and lawful sovereign.

Prostrate at your majesty's feet, we most humbly beg that all your majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, who shall, by subscription or consent, concur to this public protestation of loyalty, be protected from persecution for the profession or exercise of their religion, and all former laws, upon that account, against them repealed.

Luke Earl of Fingal,
Morrogh Earl of Inchiquin,
Donogh Earl of Clancarty,
Oliver Earl of Tyrconel,
Theobald Earl of Carlingford,
Edmund Viscount Mont-Garret,
Thomas Viscount Dillon,
Arthur Viscount Iveagh,
William Viscount Clane,
Charles Viscount Muscry,
William Viscount Taaf,
Oliver Baron of Lovith,
William Baron of Castle Connel,
Colonel Charles Dillon,
Matthew Plunket, Esq.,
Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent,
Edward Plunket, Esq.,
Nich. Plunket, Knight,
Matthew Plunket of Dunsany,
Christopher Plunket,
James Dillon, Knight,
Colonel Bryan,
Robert Talbot, Bart.
Ullick Burk, Bart.
Ed. Fitz-Harris, Bart.
Valentine Brown, Bart.
Sir Henry Slingsby,
Sir John Bellew,
Colonel William Burk,
Colonel John Fitz-Patrick,
Colonel Brian Mac-Mahun,
Colonel Miles Reilly,
Colonel Gilbert Talbot,
Colonel Milo Power,
Lieutenant Colonel Pierce Lacy,
Lieutenant Colonel Ullick Burk,
Lieutenant Colonel Scurlog,
And above sixty Esquires and Gentlemen.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, together with the Lord Chancellor's, to the Two Houses of Parliament, at their Prorogation, on Monday the 19th of May, 1662.

Printed in the Year 1662.

"The king having received the express of the queen's landing, prepared to be gone forthwith to salute her upon her arrival; but his great affairs of state, and bills to be ratified by him into acts of parliament, which were not quite ready for his royal assent, delayed him at Whitehall till Monday night, the 19th of May, having sent before him the Bishop of London, who departed the 17th, in order to the solemnizing of the marriage aforesaid.

"Which bills being numerous, and very important when passed into acts, set us right where we were the same time twenty years, designing and enacting remedies against those mischiefs which prevailed against the happy estate of the kingdom before, such as their act passed in their former session against armed or army-like multitudes, and number of petitioners, which are not to exceed seven or eight; and have, as far as human wisdom can, provided against the like dangers of our late confusions.

"There passed likewise many several private bills for selling of lands and alienating them for payment of debts, which gave his majesty occasion to take notice of the depravity and corruption of manners in the late times; and to declare that his goodness in passing them now should not be brought into precedent for the future, and he himself would become an example of frugality, and would provide sumptuary laws against the excess and vanity of the age, whose looseness and superfluity did so sadly affect him. But to return.

"His majesty having signed all the acts, which are now so many wholesome and good laws as no age of our forefathers can boast of, to adorn and honour his queen's arrival, posted away at nine o'clock that night with his ordinary guards, in the Earl of Northumberland's coach, Prince Rupert with him only, to Kingston, where he came soon after ten; and at the end of that town entered into the Earl of Chesterfield's, there set ready for him, and the Duke of York's guards to attend him, and came before twelve at night to Guilford, being twenty-five miles, where he lodged that night, and next morning posted with the same speed to Portsmouth, where he arrived about noon; and because of the queen's indisposedness, which yet held her in her chamber, the king satisfied himself by giving her a visit privately that day, and then withdrew to his own apartments."—HEATH'S *Chronicle*, p. 508.

My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I THINK there have been very few sessions of parliament in which there have been so many bills as I have passed this day; I am confident, never so many private bills, which I hope you will not draw into example. It is true, these late ill times have driven men into great streights, and may have obliged them to make conveyances colourably, to avoid inconveniencies, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and men have gotten estates by new and greater frauds than have been heretofore practised; and therefore in this conjuncture extraordinary remedies may be necessary, which hath induced me to comply with your advice in passing these bills; but I pray let this be very rarely done hereafter. The good old rules of the law are the best security;

and let not men have too much cause to fear, that the settlements they make of their estates shall be too easily unsettled, when they are dead, by the power of parliaments.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You have so much obliged me, not only in the matter of those bills which concern my revenue, but in the manner of passing them, with so great affection and kindness to me, that I know not how to thank you enough. I do assure you, and I pray assure your friends in the country, that I will apply all you have given me to the utmost improvement of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and will, with the best advice and good husbandry I can, bring my expences within a narrower compass. Now I am speaking to you of my own good husbandry, I must tell you that will not be enough. I cannot but observe to you, that the whole nation seems to me a little corrupted in their excess of living. Sure all men spend much more in their clothes, in their diet, in all their expences, than they have used to do. I hope it hath only been the excess of joy after so long sufferings, that hath transported us to those other excesses; but let us take heed that the continuance of them doth not indeed corrupt our natures. I do believe I have been faulty that way myself: I promise you I will reform; and if you will join with me in your several capacities, we shall, by our examples, do more good, both in city and country, than any new laws would do. I tell you again, I will do my part, and I will tell some of you, if you do not do yours. I hope the laws I have passed this day will produce some reformation, with reference to the multitude of beggars and poor people which infest the kingdom. Great severity must be used to those who love idleness, and refuse to work, and great care and charity towards those who are willing to work. I do very heartily recommend the execution of those good laws to your utmost diligence; and I am sure I need not put you in mind so to settle the militia, that all seditious insurrections may not only be prevented, to which the minds of too many are inclined, but that the people may be without reasonable apprehension of such insecurity. You will easily believe, that it is very necessary for the public justice of the kingdom, and even for the preservation of the reverence due to parliaments, that I make this a session; and it will be worthy of your wisdoms, when you come together again, to provide that there be not so great clamour against the multitude of protections.

I will say no more, but renew my hearty thanks to you all, and refer the rest to the chancellor.

His Majesty's Speech being ended, the Lord Chancellor began as followeth:

The Lord Chancellor's Speech.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons;

It is now little more than a year that the king first called you to attend him here, at the opening of the parliament; then you may remember he told you, that he thought there were not many of you who were not particularly known to him; that there were very few of whom he had not heard so much good, that he was, he said, as sure as he could be of any thing that was to come, that you would all concur with him, and that he should concur with you in all things which might advance the peace, plenty, and prosperity of the nation; his majesty said he should be exceedingly deceived else.

It was a princely declaration, and a rare confidence, which could flow from no other fountain but the sincerity and purity of his own conscience; which admitting no other designs or thoughts into his royal breast, but such as must tend to the unquestionable prosperity and greatness of his people, could not but be assured of your full concurrence

and co-operation with him. It was a happy and blessed omen, which at the instant struck a terror into the hearts of those who promised themselves some advantages from the differences and divisions in your councils, and hoped from thence to create new troubles and molestations in the kingdom; and, God be thanked, the king hath been so far from being exceedingly deceived, that he doth acknowledge he hath been exceedingly complied with, exceedingly gratified in all he hath desired, and he hopes he hath not in the least degree disappointed your expectation.

Mr Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

You have, like the richest and the noblest soil, a soil manured and enriched by the bountiful hearts of the best subjects in the world, yielded the king two full harvests in one year; and therefore it is but good husbandry to lie fallow for some time: you have not only supplied the crown to a good degree for discharging many debts and pressures, under which it even groaned, and enabled it to struggle with the present streights and necessities, debts not contracted, and necessities not run into by improvidence and excess; you may, when you please, receive such an accompt as will clear all such reproaches; but you have wisely, very wisely provided such a constant growing revenue as may, with God's blessing, preserve the crown from those scandalous wants and necessities as have heretofore exposed it and the kingdom to those dismal miseries, from which they are but even now buoyed up; for whatsoever other human causes may be assigned, according to the several fancies and imaginations of men, of our late miserable distractions, they cannot be so reasonably imputed to any one cause, as to the extreme poverty of the crown: the want of power could never have appeared, if it had not been for the want of money.

You have, my Lords and Gentlemen, worthily provided for the vindication and manifestation of the one, by the bill of the militia, and for the supply of the other, by the act for the additional revenue; and I am confident both the present and succeeding ages will bless God, and celebrate your memories for those two bills, as the foundation of their peace, quiet, and security, how froward and indisposed soever many are at present, who, finding such obstructions laid in their way to mutiny and sedition, use all the artifice they can to persuade the people that you have not been sollicitous enough for their profit, and wickedly labour to lessen that reverence towards you, which sure was never more due to any parliament.

It was a very natural and an ingenious animadversion and reflection which the late incomparable Lord Viscount of St Albans made upon that old fable of the giants, who were first overthrown in the war against the gods, when the earth, their mother, in revenge thereof, brought forth Fame, which he said is the same when princes and monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebellion, then the malignity of the people, the mother of rebellion, doth bring forth libels, slanders, and taxation of the state, which, he says, is of the same kind with the rebellion, but more feminine: and, without doubt, this seditious daughter of the earth, this spirit of libelling, was never more pregnant than it is now; nor king, nor parliament, nor church, nor state ever more exposed to those *Flagella linguæ*, those strokes of the tongue, from which God Almighty can only preserve the most innocent and most excellent persons; as if repining and murmuring were the peculiar exercise of the nation, to keep it in health; as if England had so much of the merchant, *Nunquam habendi fructu fœlix, semper autem quærendi cupiditate miserrima.*

Men are in no degree disposed to imitate, or remember the general excellent temper of the time of Queen Elizabeth, the blessed condescension and resignation of the people then to the crown; the awful reverence they then had to the government, and to the governors, both in church and state. This good and happy spirit was in a time beyond our memory; but they remember, as if it were but yesterday, how few subsidies parliaments then gave to that queen; how small supplies the crown then had

from the people, and wonder that the same measures should not still fill the coffers, and give the same reputation, and make the same noise in Christendom.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen, how bold soever some unquiet spirits are with you upon this argument, you are much superior to those reproaches. You know well, and you can make others know, without breaking the act of indemnity, how the crown hath been used, how our sovereign lord the king found at his blessed return to it; you can tell the world, that as soon as he came hither, besides the infinite that he forgave, he gave more, more money to the people, than he hath since received from them: That at least two parts of three that they have since given him, have issued for the disbanding armies never raised by him, and for payment of fleets never sent out by him, and of debts never incurred by him. You will put them in mind of the vast disparity between the former times, and these in which we live, and consequently of the disproportion in the expence the crown is now at, for the protection and benefit of the subject, to what it formerly underwent. How great a difference there is in the present greatness and power of the two crowns, and what they were then possessed of, is evident to all men; and if the greatness and power of the crown of England be not in some proportion improved too, it may be liable to inconveniencies it will not undergo alone. How our neighbours and our rivals, who court one and the same mistress, trade and commerce, with all the world, are advanced in shipping, power, and an immoderate desire to engross the whole traffic of the universe, is notorious enough: and this unruly appetite will not be restrained, or disappointed, nor the trade of this nation supported and maintained with the same fleets and forces which were maintained in the happy times of Queen Elizabeth. Not to speak of the naval power of the Turks, who, instead of sculking abroad in poor single ships as they were wont to do, domineer now in the ocean in strong fleets, make naval fights, and have brought some Christians to a better correspondence, and another kind of commerce and traffic with them than was expected; insomuch as they apprehend no enemy upon the sea, but what they find in the king of England's ships, which hath indeed brought no small damage upon them, with no small charge to the king, but a great reputation to the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You may, with a very good conscience, assure yourselves and your friends and neighbours, that the charge the crown is now at by sea and land, for the peace and security, and wealth and honour of the nation, amounts to no less than eight hundred thousand pounds a-year; all which did not cost the crown, before these troubles, four-score thousand pounds the year; and therefore they will never blame you for any supply you have given, or addition you have made to the revenue of the crown; and whosoever unskilfully murmurs at the expence of Dunkirk, and the other new acquisitions, which ought to be looked upon as jewels of an immense magnitude in the royal diadem, do not enough remember what we have lost by Dunkirk, and should always do, if it were in an enemy's hands; nor duly consider the vast advantages those other dominions are like, by God's blessing, in a short time, to bring to the trade, navigation, wealth, and honour of the king and kingdom. His majesty hath enough expressed his desire to live in a perfect peace and amity with all his neighbours; nor is it an ill ingredient towards the firmness and stability of that peace and amity which his royal ancestors have held and maintained with them, that he hath some advantages, in case of a war, which they were without.

It was a right ground of confidence, such an one as seldom deceives men, that the great law-maker, the wise Solon, had, when he concluded, that reverence and obedience would be yielded to his laws, because he hath taken the pains to make his citizens know and understand, that it was more for their profit to obey law and justice, than to contemn and break it. The extravagant times of licence, which I hope we have almost out-lived,

have so far corrupted the minds, and even the nature of too many, that they do not return with that alacrity they ought to do into the road and paths of order and government, from which they have so long been led astray; nor, it may be, is there pains enough taken to make them understand the profit, benefit, and ease which always attends a chearful obedience and submission to laws and government. I am persuaded, a little pains and kindness, and condescension in the wise towards the weak, half the diligence and dexterity in conversation and example, which hath been used to corrupt the people in their loyalty and understanding, will quickly reduce them to their primitive temper, which is, to be the best neighbours, and the best friends, and the best subjects of the world: and I make no question, but the great piety and devotion, the moderation, wisdom, charity, and hospitality of my lords the bishops, in their several diocesses, will, in a short time, recover the poor misled people; and though the frowardness and pride of some of their teachers may not be yet enough subdued, though some of the clergy still repeat their old errors, for which they have been glad to receive pardon, and do in truth discredit all their other doctrine, with the absence of any visible repentance for what mischief they have formerly done; yet I hope the laity will soon return into the bosom of their dear mother the church, and easily discern the fraud and imposture of their seducers; and that all diligence and dexterity will be used, seriously and heartily, to reconcile both clergy and laity, by all means which may prove effectual.

You have, my Lords and Gentlemen, like wise patriots, upon your observation, that the most signal indulgence and condescensions, the temporary suspension of the rigour of former laws, hath not produced that effect which was expected; that the humours and spirits of men are too rough and boisterous for those soft remedies; you have prepared sharper laws and penalties to contend with those refractory persons, and to break that stubbornness which will not bend to gentler applications; and it is great reason, that they upon whom clemency cannot prevail, should feel that severity they have provoked. You have done your parts, like good physicians; made wholesome prescriptions for the constitution of your patients, well knowing that the application of these remedies, the execution of these sharp laws, depends upon the wisdom of the most discerning, generous and merciful prince, who having had more experience of the nature and humour of mankind than any prince living, can best distinguish between the tenderness of conscience, and the pride of conscience; between the real effect of conscience, and the wicked pretences to conscience: who having fought with beasts at Ephesus, knows how to guard himself and the kingdom from the assaults and violence of a strong, malicious, corrupted understanding and will; and how to secure himself and the kingdom from the feeble traps and nets of deluded fancies and imaginations: In a word, a prince of so excellent a nature, and so tender a conscience himself, that he hath the highest compassion for all errors of that kind, and will never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked, and knows and understands better than any man, that excellent rule of Quintilian, *Est aliquid quod non oportet, etiamsi licet, et aliud est jura spectare, aliud justitiam.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Machiavel, who, they say, is an author much studied of late in this kingdom, to extol his own excellent judgment and insight in history, in which indeed he was a master, would persuade men to believe, that the true reason why so many unexpected accidents and mischiefs fall out, to the destruction of states and empires, is, because their governors have not observed the same mischiefs heretofore in story, and from whence they proceeded, and what progress they made, which, he says, if they had done, they might easily have preserved themselves from ruin, and prevented the inconveniencies which have fallen out. I am sure you are all good historians, and need only to resort to the records of your own memories. Remember how your peace hat'

been formerly disturbed, by what contrivance and artifices the people have been alarmed, with unreasonable and unnatural fears and jealousies, and what dismal effects those fears and jealousies have produced. Remember how near monarchy hath been dissolved, and the law subverted, under pretence of reforming and supporting government, law, and justice. And remember how many honest persons were misled by not discerning consequences, who would as soon have renounced their part in Heaven, as have concurred in the first unwarrantable action, if they had suspected what did follow: And if we suffer the same enemy to break in upon us at the same avenues, if we suffer our peace to be blown up by the same trains and machinations, we shall be held very ill historians, and worse politicians.

There is an enemy amongst us, of whom I doubt we are not jealous enough, and towards whom we cannot be too vigilant, and in truth, in comparison of whom we may reasonably undervalue all other enemies; that is, the republicans, the commonwealthsmen, who are every day calling in aid of the law, that they may overthrow and abolish the law, which they know to be their irreconcileable enemy. Indeed, my Lords and Gentlemen, there is a very great party of those men in every faction of religion, who truly have no religion, but as the pretence serves to advance that faction. You cannot be too sollicitous, too inquisitive after these men, who are restless in their councils, and wonderfully punctual and industrious in their correspondences, which they maintain abroad as well as at home: And you cannot doubt they have encouragement enough from abroad; few of our neighbours love us so exceedingly well, but that they would be glad to see us intangled in domestic broils. These men are worthy of your care and diligence, in your speedy settling the militia, which the king hath even now so particularly recommended to you.

I shall conclude with only putting you in mind, that there was scarce ever a more dangerous sedition in the republic of Rome, than in a time of full peace, when the citizens were sullen, when there was no noise but in whispers, when men neglected their trades, and staid idle in their own houses, as if they cared not which way the world went; from whence alone their neighbours, the Etrurians, were encouraged to make a war upon them. *Novum seditionis genus* (says Livy) *silentium otiumque inter cives.* Never any nation under heaven has less cause of sullenness than we, never more of joy and thanksgiving: We all know that God Almighty loves a chearful giver, and we may as well know that he loves a chearful receiver; besides all other stupendous blessings conferred upon us, he hath given us the most chearful giver that ever people hath been blessed with; a king that hath, with all imaginable chearfulness, given us all we have asked of him, all he hath to give; who would not take or retain any thing we give to him, but for our own sakes, that by receiving and retaining it, he may give it to us again in more abundance, in abundance of peace, and plenty, and honour, and all comforts which can make a nation happy.

This time hath made a glorious addition to our happiness, which ought proportionably to increase our chearfulness; we wanted only one blessing, the arrival of our queen, whom God hath now safely brought to us; a queen of such rare perfection in body and mind, of such great endowments of wisdom, virtue, and piety, that we may reasonably promise ourselves from her all the happiness we are capable of, and a succession of princes to govern us, till the end of the world: and there cannot be a more transcendent instance of the king's love and passion for his people, than that he hath staid these four days to take his leave of you; and, that he might give you this day's work, all these good laws, hath denied himself so long the enjoying the greatest comfort he is assured of in this world.

If there be not the most universal joy in the reception of these blessings; if there be not an universal contentedness and satisfaction in the hearts of all men; and if that contentedness and satisfaction do not break out, and is not visible in the looks, and

thoughts, and words, and actions of the whole nation, to the inflaming the hearts of the other nations under his majesty's obedience by our example, we are guilty of an ingratitude that is worthy to deprive us of all we enjoy, and to disappoint us of all we pray for. And therefore I do most humbly beseech you, my Lords and Gentlemen, that as there is a most noble chearfulness and alacrity visible in you, and hath shed itself over all your countenances; so that you will think it worthy of your pains to infuse the same good spirit into city and country, that they may all express that joy and delight in the blessings they are possessed of, and chearfully endeavour to improve those blessings, by their chearful enjoying them, that God may continue those blessings to us, and the king's comfort may be increased, by the comfort he sees we have in him, and in what he hath done for us; and as all princes may take a pattern from him to govern, and make their subjects happy; so that all subjects may learn from us, how to obey, and make that happiness lasting to them, by an eminent and innocent alacrity in their acknowledgment.

I am, by the king's express command, to add one particular, which his majesty meant, but forgot to say himself. You cannot but observe, that his majesty hath not passed the bill that concerns the Earl of Derby, which you cannot imagine proceeds from his majesty's want of care of, and kindness to, that noble family, which hath served him so faithfully, and suffered so much for so doing; but all parties having referred the matter to his majesty, he doubts not but to make a better end for that noble earl than he would attain if the bill had passed.

I shall only add the king's commands for the prorogation of this parliament till the eighteenth day of February, and this parliament is prorogued till the eighteenth day of February next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Monday the Twenty-first of March, 1663-4.

Printed in the Year 1663-4.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You see, God be thanked, you have met together again, at the time appointed; and I do assure you I have been so far from ever intending it should be otherwise, that I do not know one person who ever wished it should be otherwise. Think therefore, I pray, what good meaning those men could have, who, from the time of the prorogation to the day of your meeting, have continually whispered, and industriously infused into the minds of the people, That the parliament should meet no more; that it should either be presently dissolved, or so continued by prorogation, that they should be kept without a parliament. I pray watch these whisperers all you can, as men who use their utmost endeavours to sow jealousies between you and me: And I do promise you they shall not prevail with me; and I do promise myself they shall not prevail with you; and the truth is, we are both concerned they should not; and we shall then, with God's blessing, prevent all the mischief they intend.

You may judge by the late treason in the north, for which so many men have been executed, how active the spirits of many of our old enemies still are, notwithstanding all our mercy. I do assure you, we are not yet at the bottom of that busi-

ness: this much appears manifestly, that this conspiracy was but a branch of that which I discovered as well as I could to you about two years since, and had been then executed nearer hand, if I had not, by God's goodness, come to the knowledge of some of the principal contrivers, and so secured them from doing the mischief they intended. And if I had not, by the like providence, had timely notice of the very hour, and several places of their rendezvous in the north, and provided for them accordingly, by sending some of my own troops, as well as by drawing the trained-bands together, their conjunction would have been in greater numbers than had been convenient.

You will wonder (but I tell true) they are now even in those parts, and at this time, when they see their friends under trial and execution, still pursuing the same consultations: And it is evident they have correspondence with desperate persons in most counties, and a standing council in this town, from which they receive their directions, and by whom they were advised to defer their last-intended insurrection; but those orders served only to distract them, and came too late to prevent their destruction. I know more of their intrigues than they think I do, and hope I shall shortly discover the bottom; in the mean time, I pray let us all be as watchful to prevent, as they are to contrive their mischief.

I cannot omit, upon this occasion, to tell you, that these desperate men in their councils (as appears by several examinations) have not been all of one mind in the ways of carrying on their wicked resolutions: Some would still insist upon the authority of the Long Parliament, of which they say they have members enough willing to meet; others have fancied to themselves, by some computation of their own, upon some clause in the triennial bill, that this present parliament was at an end some months since, and that, for want of new writs, they may assemble themselves, and choose members for parliament; and that this is the best expedient to bring themselves together for their other purposes. For the Long Parliament, you and I can do no more than we have done, to inform and compose the minds of all men; let them proceed upon their peril. But methinks there is nothing done to disabuse them in respect of the triennial bill. I confess to you, my Lords and Gentlemen, I have often myself read over that bill, and though there is no colour for the fancy of the determination of this parliament, yet I will not deny to you, that I have always expected that you would, and even wondered that you have not considered the wonderful clauses in that bill, which passed in one very uncareful for the dignity of the crown, or the security of the people. I pray, Mr Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, give that triennial bill once a reading in your house, and then, in God's name, do what you think fit for me, and yourselves, and the whole kingdom. I need not tell you how much I love parliaments; never king was so much beholden to parliaments as I have been, nor do I think the crown can ever be happy without frequent parliaments. But assure yourselves, if I should think otherwise, I would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I must renew my thanks to you for the free supply you gave me this last session of four subsidies; yet I cannot but tell you, that that supply is fallen much short of what I expected, or you intended: It will hardly be believed, yet you know it to be true, that very many persons who have estates of three or four thousand pounds a-year, do not pay for these four subsidies sixteen pounds; so that, whereas you intended and declared, that they should be collected according to former precedents, they do not now arise to half the proportion they did in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and yet sure the crown wants more now than it did then, and the subject is at least as well able to give.

The truth is, by the licence of the late ill time, and ill humour of this, too many of the people, and even of those who make fair professions, believe it to be no sin to defraud the crown of any thing that is due to it. You no sooner give me the tonnage and poundage, than men are devising all the ways they can to steal custom; nor can the farmers be so vigilant for the collection, as others are to steal the duties. You give me the excise, which all people abroad believe to be the most insensible imposition that can be laid upon a people: What conspiracies and combinations are entered into against it by the brewers, who, I am sure, bear not that burden themselves, even to bring that revenue to nothing, you will hear in Westminster-hall. You have given me the chimney-money, which you have reason to believe is a growing revenue, for men build at least fast enough; and you will therefore wonder that it is already declined, and that this half-year brings less in than the former did: I pray therefore review that bill; and since I am sure you would have me receive whatsoever you give, let me have the collecting and husbanding of it by my own officers, and then I doubt not but to improve that receipt, and will be cozened of as little as I can.

I will conclude with desiring and conjuring you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to keep a very good correspondence together, that it may not be in the power of any seditious or factious spirits to make you jealous of each other, or either of you jealous of me, till you see me pretend one thing and do another, which I am sure you have never yet done; trust me, it shall be in no body's power to make me jealous of you. I pray contrive any good short bills which may improve the industry of the nation; and since the season of the year will invite us all shortly to take the country air, I desire you would be ready for a session within two months, or thereabouts, and we will meet next earlier in the year. And so God bless your councils.

Articles of Peace between his Sacred Majesty, Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c., and the City and Kingdom of Algiers; concluded by Thomas Allen, Esq, Admiral of his said Majesty of Great Britain's Ships in the Mediterranean Seas, &c.

Printed in the Year 1664.

Preface.

It is not needful to say much concerning the late agreement betwixt his Sacred Majesty Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. &c. and the city and kingdom of Algiers (the articles whereof are in these following papers, word for word exhibited): For certainly, that man is very little read in the world, who sees not how much this peace imports the security and benefit of the English commerce, and no less the honour of the English nation; especially considering the start it has given us of our powerful neighbours, who are still labouring under great trouble, charge, and difficulty with those people: And the accord is yet more glorious, if we observe the time wherein it was made; that is to say, it was made at a time when the English lay patiently exposed to all the inconveniences which either the fables or the councils of Holland

could give them, menaced in the very channel by an open force, and deserted in the Mediterranean after such a manner, that we are loth to make use of a word answerable to the quality of the action; the Hollanders having first invited us into a conjunct engagement with them, and afterward not only quitting the place by stealth and surprize, but invading, at the same time, our rights in Guinea: And yet so it is at last, that notwithstanding all these practices and disappointments, we have now lived to see the Hollanders swallow their own resolutions, by withdrawing their shipping, and contenting themselves with the blind passage of the North, rather than adventuring to give his Royal Highness the Lord High-Admiral of England the unmannerly provocation of pressing through the Channel. And we have likewise lived to enjoy the fruits of that peace which others have in vain attempted; and not only so, but to see ourselves acquitted of the guilt of the late war, by a solemn declaration of the government itself of Algiers, and the breach charged upon the tumults and disorders of their own subjects; they themselves not sticking publickly to avow, that an agreement with England was to them so necessary, that they were not able to maintain an intercourse and correspondence without it.

This being the sum and state of that affair, gives sufficiently to understand how great a care his majesty hath of the reputation and welfare of his people, and of the true interest of the English crown and nation: And it is our further happiness, that the orders and directions of so wise and gracious a prince are committed into the hands of suitable officers and ministers, as hath been manifested throughout the whole course and conduct of this transaction.

Articles of Peace between his Sacred Majesty Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. and the City and Kingdom of Algiers; concluded by Thomas Allen, Esq., Admiral of his said Majesty of Great Britain's Ships in the Mediterranean Seas, according to Instructions received on that Behalf from his Royal Highness the Duke of York and Albany, Earl of Ulster, Lord High-Admiral of England and Ireland, &c. Constable of the Castle of Dover, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Governor of Portsmouth, &c. Being the same Articles concluded by Sir John Lawson, Knight, on the 23d of April, 1662, *and afterwards more solemnly confirmed on the 10th of November following, and since ratified by the Grand Signior.*

I. That from this day, and for ever forward, there be a good and firm peace between his Sacred Majesty the King of Great Britain, &c. and the Bashaw, Divan, and Governors of Algiers, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and the ships, subjects, and people on either party, shall not do or offer any offence or injury to each other, but treat one another with all possible respect and friendship; and any ships belonging to the King of Great Britain, &c. or any of his majesty's subjects, may freely come to the port of Algiers, and buy and sell as in former times; and also unto any other port that belongs to the government of Algiers, paying the custom of 10 per cent. as in former times; and no man within the jurisdiction of Algiers shall give the subject of his said majesty a bad word, or a bad deed, or a bad action.

II. That all ships, as well those belonging to his Sacred Majesty the King of Great Britain, &c. and any of his majesty's subjects, as those belonging to Algiers, shall freely pass the seas, and traffick without any search, hindrance, or molestation whatsoever.

III. That all subjects of the King of Great Britain, &c. now slaves in Algiers, or any of the territories thereof, be set at liberty, and delivered up, on paying the price they were first sold for in the market; and for the time to come, no subjects of his majesty's be bought or sold, or made slaves of in Algiers, or its territories.

IV. That if any ship of Tunis, Tripoli, or Sally, or any other, do bring any ship, men

or goods, belonging to any of the subjects of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, &c. into Algiers, or any of the ports thereunto belonging, the governors there shall not permit them to be sold within the said territories.

V. That any merchant of the subjects of the King of Great Britain, &c. dying in Algiers, or its territories, his goods or money shall not be seized by the basha, aga, or any other minister, but remain with the English consul.

VI. That the English consul that lives in Algiers, be allowed a place to pray in, and no man to do him, or any of his said majesty's subjects, any wrong or injury in word or deed whatsoever.

VII. That in case any of his majesty's subjects should happen to strike a Turk, or a Moor, if he be taken, let him be punished; but if he escape, nothing shall be said to the English consul, or any other of his said majesty's subjects upon that account.

VIII. That if any ships of war of his said majesty's shall come into Algiers, or other the ports of that government, with any prize, they may sell and dispose of it at their own pleasure, without being molested by any, and that they be not obliged to pay customs in any sort: And if the said ships of war shall want provisions, victuals, or any other things, they may freely buy it at the rate in the market.

IX. That any ships belonging to the subjects of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, &c. coming into Algiers, or any of the ports in its territories, shall for such goods as they sell pay the dues according to custom; and the goods they sell not, they shall freely carry on board without paying duties for the same.

X. That no shipwreck belonging to his said majesty, or any of his subjects on the coast belonging to Algiers, shall become prize, and that neither the goods be forfeited, nor the men made slaves; but that the people of Algiers shall do their best endeavours to save them and their goods.

XI. That the consul, or any other subject of his sacred majesty, be not bound to pay the debts of any other Englishman, unless he become surety.

XII. That no subject of the King of Great Britain, &c. in matter of difference, shall be liable unto any other judgment but that of the Duan.

XIII. That the subjects of his said majesty in difference among themselves, shall be subject to no determination but that of the consul.

XIV. That no merchant, nor other subject of his said majesty's, being a passenger in or unto any port, shall be molested or meddled with.

And for the better practising of the second article, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, it is agreed, that the Algiers ships of war meeting any merchant ships belonging to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, &c. not being in any of the seas appertaining to his majesty's dominions, have liberty to send one single boat with but two sitters more than the common crew of rowers; and no more to enter the said merchant ship but the two sitters, without the express leave of the commander of the said merchant ship: that upon producing unto them a pass under the hand and seal of the Lord High Admiral of England, the said boat do presently depart, and the merchant ship to proceed on her voyage; and although the commander of the said merchant ship produce no pass from the Lord High Admiral of England, yet if the major part of the ship's company be subjects to the King of Great Britain, &c. the said boat shall presently depart, and the merchant ship proceed freely; and so, though there be strangers, and their goods on board, they shall be free, both they and their goods; and any ship of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, &c. meeting with any ships of Algiers, if the commander shall produce a pass firmed by the chief governors of Algiers, and the major part of the ship's company be Turks, Moors, or slaves, then the Algiers ship to proceed freely; and though there be strangers and their goods on board, they shall be free, both they and their goods.

That presently after the signing and sealing these articles by the governors, or chief authority of the city and kingdom of Algiers, all injuries and damages sustained on their

part shall be quite taken off and forgotten, and this peace shall be in full force and virtue; and for all damages and depredations that shall be afterwards done and committed by either side, before notice can be given of this peace, there shall be full satisfaction made, and whatsoever remains in kind, be restored.

That if any grievances happen on either side, it shall not be lawful to break the peace till satisfaction be denied.

Signed and sealed in the presence of the Great God, October 30. 1664.

This following Article added, 30*th of October,* 1664.

That the English consul, upon any breach or difference between his most excellent Majesty the King of Great Britain, &c., and the Governors of Algiers, shall have free liberty, when he pleaseth, to depart to his own, or any other country; and that the English consul shall be permitted to chuse his own druggerman; and that when the consul departs, he shall carry with him all his servants and goods whatsoever, without the least interruption or hinderance: And further, that he may freely go on board of any ships in the road, and have the liberty of the country.

The Translation of a Certificate sub-signed by the Governors of Algiers, acknowledging the breach of the late Peace betwixt his Majesty of Great Britain, &c. and the said Governors, to have been the Act of their own Subjects.

These are to certify, That we, who have hereunto sub-signed, do acknowledge, that the breach of the peace between his most excellent Majesty the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. and us of Algiers, was committed by our subjects; for which we have drowned one, banished another, some others fled to escape our justice, and divers have been imprisoned, to give satisfaction in part to his said most excellent majesty.

Signed and sealed the 30*th of October,* 1664.

Truth's Discovery; or the Cavaliers Case clearly stated by Conscience and Plain-dealing. Presented to the honourable Commissioners, and all the truly loyal and indigent Officers and Soldiers. Published for the satisfaction of all his Majesty's faithful Subjects. Written by Captain Charles Hammond, one of the truly loyal and indigent Officers.

Printed in the Year 1664.

To the Courteous Reader.

I KNOW not into whose hands this pamphlet may come, nor indeed do I much care: The proverb saith, Truth may be blamed, but not shamed. For my own part, I fear God and honour my king: I hope, at this time I shall displease neither: I will here use my pen, as I ever used my sword; which was more out of love and duty to my

prince, than lucre of pay, honour, or preferment. As I ever hated to insinuate into any one's favour, so I hope in this book I shall incur no one's displeasure.

Here is no particular person rubbed; but if any be galled, perhaps they may wince, who will be but laughed at by honest men; for my part, I fear not their kicking, but shall defend myself (I hope) with honour, having truth, conscience, and plain-dealing, to defend me; justice and equity to second me. I shall have the censures of many in reading of this book; all my desire is, that they would peruse it all over; I will own it is no bastard, decked with borrowed habit: if it wants learning or language to set it forth, pray consider it came from a soldier, and an indigent officer, who can dress it no better than he is able; confessing himself very poor in his pen, as (I believe) we are all left in our purses: Therefore, it may be better accepted amongst some of you. However, being once past the press, let it shift (as we must) for the present, to the grief of our friends, and derision of our enemies: which God, the king, and parliament, in time (I hope) will consider; to the comfort and relief of those that can clearly make themselves out to be the truly loyal and indigent party.

Which is the humble desire of him that loves and honours a faithful and constant sufferer, a loyal and civil subject, a gallant and deserving soldier,

CHARLES HAMMOND.

Truth's Discovery; or, the Cavaliers Case clearly stated by Conscience and Plain-dealing, Laid open in these four Heads:

I. Their Grievances made manifest impartially.
II. Their Faults laid open without Flattery.
III. The Causes that produceth their Faults discovered in reality.
IV. The Remedies described in Good-will, out of true Loyalty and Fidelity.

And, First, The Cavaliers Grievances made manifest.

I believe we have been a table-talk in most parts of Christendom these three years past; but much more since our dividend of indigent money hath been allotted us; not six weeks pay for six years service, and sixteen years sufferings; many censures and judgments hath been cast upon many men in the handling of this business; for my part, I shall reflect upon none, but declare the truth of what I have seen and heard, and know in it. The king and parliament did intend a better gratuity than it fell out to be. And so it would have proved, had it been shared to none but those that were truly qualified according to the act; but who would not lay claim to have an interest in the act, when there was neither penalty nor punishment for the breakers of it? If any could procure a certificate from any colonel or captain, that he was a commission officer, that certificate (with the assistance of some friends, to any one or more of the commissioners) would produce five of their hands and seals, they believing the party qualified according to the certificate that is so produced from the said officers, which officers, it is possible, are to go sharers with them they so certify for, when they receive their money; as I believe too many hath (with impudence) gone clearly off with that cheat; others have rid up and down the country, and for some money in hand, and so much in the pound (when they receive their dividend) they would secure their business, and warrant them they shall stand, right or wrong; and if they would but conceit themselves officers, they would persuade them they were so; and let the royal party (that knew they were no such men) prove it, and by oath maintain it, and turned them out; yet those men were brought in again, and have received part of this money, and it is not known which way, and if it were, we cannot help it: It hath been proved

that some had been dead six years, some ten years, and some sixteen years; yet those men have been raised again, not to receive their money, because they are invisible and not to be seen, but to make over letters of attorney, to have their moneys received for them by such as are not to learn to cheat us now, as well as they could the king formerly, by their dead musters, and so make him a great army of officers now, as they did soldiers then; but when they were to do him service, there could not the fourth part be found, no more there will be of these indigent officers if the king should call them for his service, or to have a strict account whether they be qualified according to the act.

Another sort there is of indigent officers that carried their commissions in their pockets, that either could not raise their regiments, companies, or troops, or else would not; yet these made all or most part of their officers, especially quarter-masters, which must provide their captains quarter for a troop, though he had never a man besides his officers, and their pedees and baggage horses: These would lye upon the out-quarters of the army, if there were no danger, else in one regiment or other; these would serve themselves, being under no command, never venturing their lives, unless it were to plunder, making the army odious by their actions; so that civil and gallant fighting-men were looked upon by the country where they marched, as our indigent party is here in the city, all alike; so that a truly loyal and indigent officer now is ashamed to own himself, in regard of so many counterfeits, which hath abused both the king and country, and is ranked in amongst us, and received as much as any of the best of us; whether it be their due or no, I leave that to those in time may please to consider of it, if this book come to their hands, which I hope it will.

Others there are (that have had a great share in this money) that may be termed indigent officers, but whether qualified according to the act, that I shall not judge of; and they are such as never served the king, (if they did) not as commission officers till after 1646, which was at the rising in Kent, about a week standing; or at Colchester, or in Duke Hamilton's engagements, two or three months standing; or in Sir George Booth's business; and all these petty risings and train-band officers, that never went out of their own country or garisons where they lived, that were only in a readiness to help to save themselves, not being able to endure the scent of a light match upon service; yet these are brought in for indigent officers too.[1]

[1] Clarendon seems to have been, to a certain extent, of the same opinion, and states the difficulty in drawing the line between the uniform adherents of royalty and those who had more lately suffered in its cause:—"Though it was very evident (humanly speaking) that the late combination entered into, and the brave attempt and engagement of Sir George Booth, how unsuccessful soever in the instant, had contributed very much to the wonderful change that had since ensued, by the discovery of the general affections and dispositions of the kingdom, and their aversion from any kind of government that was not founded upon the old principles; and the publick or private engagement of very many persons who had never been before suspected, whereof, though many of the most considerable persons had been, by the treachery heretofore mentioned, committed to several prisons, yet many others of equal interest remained still in liberty, and had a great influence upon the counsels both in the parliament and army: Yet, I say, notwithstanding this was notorious, a greater animosity had been kindled in the royal party, and was still pursued and improved amongst them, from that combination and engagement, than from all the other accidents and occasions, and gave the king more trouble and perplexity. It had introduced a great number of persons who had formerly no pretence of merit from the king, rather might have been the objects of his justice, to a just title to the greatest favours the king could confer; and which, from that time, they had continually improved by repeated offices and services, which, being of a later date, might be thought to cloud and eclipse the lustre of those actions which had been performed by the more ancient cavaliers, especially of those who had been observed to be remiss on that occasion: And therefore they were the more solicitous in undervaluing the undertakings and the persons of the undertakers, whom they mentioned under such characters, and to whom they imputed such weakness and levities as they had collected from the several parts of their lives, as might render them with much disadvantage; and would by no means admit that any of the good that afterwards befel the king, resulted in any degree from that rash enterprise; but that thereby the king's friends were so weakened and more completely undone, that they were disabled to appear in that conjuncture when the army was divided, and in which they might have been considerable enough to have given the law to all parties."—*Continuation of the Life of Clarendon, ut supra*, p. 20.

And then for colonels, to make their serving-men and grooms officers, to put in for the money; and captains to appoint lieutenants, cornets, ensigns and quarter-masters, (in a tavern or an alehouse) and go half snips with them; this they counted no cheat if the officers were dead: others if they served the parliament (after the king was murdered) till the restoration of the king that now is: nay, some of them proved great trapanners to the king's friends now in these times; yet these are ranked with the truly loyal and indigent officers, such as were in pay when we were in prison, and could march the streets when we were forced to hide our heads: if these be not grievances (which we have cause to lay open) let friends and enemies both be our judges; when it was proved upon oath before commissioners, that some never had command in their lives; and against others, that there was no such men known, not so much as troopers or soldiers, which claimed to be captains and commission officers, and many of them never appeared to answer for themselves, if there were any such, as I believe it will be made appear there was not: to be short, when we thought there had been 1500 at least turned out by inspection, there was 300 more than the first number taken in; so that we were sensible it was but a folly to strive against the stream, being driven more and more backward.

As for those indigent officers that leaped from corporals to quarter-masters, and from cornets to captains, majors, and lieutenant-colonels, to put themselves in colonels, and to make their brothers or kindred lieutenant-colonels and majors under them, that was accounted nothing, though it were within a week or a fortnight before the laying down of arms; and some too that never did the king service since, nor I believe will ever be chronicled for their service they did his father formerly; for their loyalty, it may be they are clear: for I believe they were like a chip in pottage, never did hurt nor good, neither for the king nor his friends, but all for their own ends: Indigent they may be termed, but by their insinuating they have gotten good gifts and rewards that hath been given by the king (and others) intended for those that were deserving and poor; but the proverb saith, "Kissing goes by favour;" and rewards bestowed upon them that can make best friends, when service and deserts either lies in prison, or dare not peep out for fear; as by some 'tis too openly known, that through want and grief together, being ashamed to make their wants known, especially since the king came in, have broke their hearts to see some of their friends slighting them for their poverty; and others that would willingly relieve them and not able, the more is their grief, and to be pitied.

Now, there are another sort of truly loyal, but not indigent; which some of them I much honour, having been much impoverished in estate by their service for the king, and never yet had any reward, that hath put in for a part of this money, that are not so indigent; but if they had thought to what a pitiful sum it would amount to, they would have left it to them that had more need: But there are some again that hath had good rewards and offices (under the king) given them, some more than their commands, their service, or their sufferings ever merited, yet hath put in, and taken share of this money too, being so covetous as to rob the spittle, (as I may term it) being ungrateful to his majesty for his favour to them formerly, and abusing his charity in this which was now intended for them that were really in want for the present: I believe there are some that hath taken of this money, that if the truth were known (as it may be made appear) that they have gotten (besides their places) near a thousand pounds a man; and some have threescore, some an hundred, nay, five hundred a-year; yet all these have put in for indigent officers; so what I have here related concerning our grievances is nothing but truth; and much more can be proved by the truly loyal and indigent party, to the shame of some persons (that shall be nameless) if once called to an account: Our wants and necessities have been so great, that it is not unknown upon what rates some men have been fain to borrow money, as at five shillings in the pound,

and a gratuity to some to help them to it: Some, indeed, borrowing so much, I believe they will never come to look for more, knowing they have no right to any of our money, if all things had been rightly carried: Besides, there hath been abundance of honest tradesmen and house-keepers undone by trusting and helping us in the time we waited for this money, not any of them thinking but it would have amounted, in some measure, to have satisfied every moderate man's debts; but falling out as it hath done, it hath undone them and us too; for some of them are not able to relieve themselves now that formerly relieved us, that of necessity, if God doth not raise friends for some, they must want lodging, food, and raiment, unless it be provided them in a prison, as too many can witness since they have received this indigent money; many being cast into prison already, others, having neither money nor credit, must of necessity either beg, steal, or starve, unless God be pleased to raise them friends, to move his majesty and the parliament to provide for them, as they out of their mercy and wisdom shall think fit, which will not be (of the truly loyal and indigent party, that can prove themselves qualified according to the act, not) the fifth part of those that have gotten their share of this last money, which I shall more clearly make out how they may be proved at the latter end of this book.

So having shewed you our grievances in part, I will now shew you the faults our indigent party are branded with, and not without cause.

The Faults of the Indigent Party laid open without flattery.

As the complaints are great of the indigent party, to the grief of many civil men, (their friends) so their griefs hath been as great to hear the complaints against them, which I confess is not without a cause: And give me leave to lay open to you those faults which are too openly seen and heard, to our shame in the world; that makes many say, we can see the motes in others eyes, but perceive not the beams that are in our own. Our sufferings were great before his majesty was restored; you will say 'tis greater now: 'Tis true our sins were great before, they are far greater now; God hath restored us to our peace and liberty, which we so long prayed for, and wished for, what returns have we made to him for that mercy? Instead of sending new praises and thanksgivings to present him from our hearts and lips for those mercies, we have invented new oaths and curses to send him: He that cannot swear and swagger, drink, rant and rogue, is looked upon (by some) as a pitiful fellow, and not worth their keeping company;[*] and if he cannot vapour, he is not looked upon to have any valour: These vices have got such a custom of late, that they are looked upon to be the only badge to distinguish a cavalier from a sectary, that you shall find in court and camp, in city and country, that those that are crept into places of profit and preferment by their purses, (which I believe serve the king more for lucre of pay than love to his person) these are now become as absolute dam-me boy sas the best, (or the worst, I may say) which formerly would as soon cut a cavalier's throat as swear an oath, and esteem-

[*] We have had repeated occasion to remark the general depravity of manners which succeeded the restoration. "All relations were confounded by the several conjunctions which discountenanced all forms of reverence and respect, as reliques and marks of superstition. Children asked not the blessing of their parents, nor did they concern themselves in the education of their children, but were well content that they should take any course to maintain themselves, that they might be free from that expence. The young women conversed without any circumspection or modesty, and frequently met at taverns and eating-houses; and they who were stricter and more severe in their comportment, became the wives of the seditious preachers, or of officers of the army. The daughters of noble and illustrious families bestowed themselves upon the divines of the time, or other low and unequal matches. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents; but every one did that which was good in his own eyes."—*Continuation of Clarendon's Life, ut supra*, p. 21.

ed it a less sin, unless it had been the covenant or engagement; but I have no more to say to them.* But how can we look for mercies from God, or favour from the king, when we (who should shew such good examples for the glory of God, who hath delivered us, and the honour of our king, whose cause we fought for) are now so accustomed to these odious sins, that we neither fear God's judgments, nor the king's laws, which are both enemies to such counterfeit cavaliers (I can term them no other, nor ever did) who hath done the king more harm by their debauchedness, than ever they can do him good by their service, if he should have occasion to use them; therefore, you that make your service and sufferings out for his majesty, shew it in your carriage and behaviour, for your future happiness and his majesty's honour. We have enemies enough, we had need make God our friend, and that can never be with such courses: I believe, if some thought there was a God, they would not call upon him to damn them so often as they do; it is an oath so common, it is grown a custom by rich and poor, men and women, old and young; we can talk against the pride of the gentry, the covetousness of the clergy, the deceit of the citizens, and the corruption of the lawyer; but swearing, cursing, lying, back-biting, and insinuating are counted no sins amongst us; and that I must be bold to tell you, that those that profess themselves the indigent party, are greatly guilty in this, and by jarring and quarrelling one with another, every one thinking his own wit best, till at last some outwitted all those that are truly indigent; and well they may, having four to one against us, and good backers to second them: These, and such like, are the faults of the indigent party, which I have here declared, not out of envy or hypocrisy, but out of the love to them that are of the right party, hoping you will better accept of it from a friend than from an enemy: For others, let them think what they will, and speak what they list, I have done what I can to make it appear who are the truly loyal and indigent party, and who the counterfeit, that the cheat may be found (though the gamesters be hid) for the satisfaction of our friends, which are grieved for us; and likewise for our enemies, which rejoiceth at our poverty, and would work upon our necessity if they could; but I hope they shall find us more contented with our rags of loyalty, with a quiet conscience, than they can be in their robes of sedition, which they have gained by our ruin, not doubting but God's mercy, and the king's clemency in time may relieve us, when it is clearly known who hath faithfully served and suffered for him; in the mean time, I desire all them that fear God and honour the king, not to let their grievances and poverty move their passion so much by their cursing and swearing, which makes us stink in the nostrils of God, and odious in the company of civil persons, and become a laughing stock to our enemies, that hath nothing else to look for but the judgments of God to fall upon us, such like sins, which are too much used by those that profess themselves the king's friends.

So having now shewed you the faults of our party, I will shew you the causes, which

* "Cromwell had been most strict and severe in the forming the manners of his army, and in chastising all irregularities; in so much, that sure there never was any such body of men so without rapine, swearing, drinking, or any other debauchery but the wickedness of their hearts: And all persons cherished by him were of the same leaven, and to common appearance, without the practice of any of those vices which were most infamous to the people, and which drew the publick hatred upon those who were notoriously guilty of them. But then he was well pleased with the most scandalous lives of those who pretended to be for the king, and wished that all his were such, and took all the pains he could that they might be generally thought to be such; whereas, in truth, the greatest part of those who were guilty of those disorders were young men who had never seen the king, and had been born and bred in those corrupt times when there was no king in Israel. He was equally delighted with the luxury and voluptuousness of the presbyterians; who, in contempt of the thrift, sordidness, and affected ill breeding of the independents, thought it became them to live more generously, and were not strict in restraining or mortifying the unruly and inordinate appetite of flesh and blood, but indulged it with too much, and too often, scandal, from which he reaped no small advantage; and wished all those who were not his friends should not only be infected, but given over to the practice of the most odious vices and wickedness."—*Continuation of Clarendon's Life, ut supra*, p. 22.

are many; I will instance a few, and though they be great, I desire to remove them, that our faults may be mended.

The Causes that produceth their Faults discovered in reality.

We can plead no cause we have for our sins or faults, but what produceth them, we may; and that I shall declare, which is pride, poverty, and passion. You will say, 'tis strange that the indigent party should be tainted with pride, for they have cause enough to be humbled; yes, but the counterfeits are proud in conceit, that they have out-witted, out-vapoured, and can out-swear the truly loyal and indigent party, as by woful experience we have found. I must tell you, that they take such pride in their swearing, that they think they are not looked upon as gentlemen and cavaliers, unless they can swear to all they speak, whether it be truth or lies; nay, I dare say, that there are many hundreds that have received their portion of this indigent money (with the best) that have discharged more vollies of oaths in the faces of the king's friends, than ever they discharged corns of powder gallantly in the faces of his enemies. If the greatest swearers and vapourers could prove themselves the best soldiers and the greatest sufferers for his majesty, they then may be proud of their loyalty to the king; but they cannot boast of their good service to God. I must tell you, 'tis the greatest honour that can redound to a soldier to be counted religious, as well as valorous; and humility is the truest badge of gentility. You must not blaze every man's arms now by the coat he wears on his back; if you should, poverty procured by loyalty would be a great blot in the scutcheons of many a gallant soul, and well-bred gentleman, which can patiently see every day rich coats worn by such as cannot find a coat of arms to blaze, unless they fetch it from the heraldry of rebellion, or buy it, as many hath done places of honour and preferment, with the purses they have gained by the plunder, purchase, and utter ruin of some of his majesty's best subjects, which in their eyes, and in their hearts, they think and will speak a far off, that our poverty is a just reward for our loyalty, terming us fools that we did not turn knaves as they did, and then face about with them, having but money in our purses they say it would have procured us friends enough at court. I hope every rational man may clearly see that I have spoken nothing but truth, and you may give losers leave to speak, having nothing more to lose now but our lives; for few of us can boast of being sure of our liberty, not daring to walk the streets in the city for fear of a compter scuffle, nor out of the city for fear of a worse party, which hath taken many of our indigent officers, and conveyed them to such garrisons, where they must lie till God in his mercy take them away, or the king in his clemency find exchanges for them, which some of their hard-hearted creditors had rather see starved to death, than relieved or released by them; and this is the poverty that hath caused many a civil soul to fall into passion to see his fellow-sufferer ready to starve, and not able to relieve him, to see him carried to prison, and cannot help him, to hear him laughed at, scorned, and derided by others, and dare not vindicate him without the venturing your life, or flying your country, or suffer yourself to be vilified in taking his part, by such as with their insinuating into some men's favours that are in authority, shall smite you secretly, (if it be possible) and you shall never know who hurts you, and shall ruin you in your credit, as they have done in your estate, if their tongue or their purse can do it. Are not these sufficient causes to move passion in civil men to break out beyond reason sometimes? when our poverty for our fidelity shall make us ridiculous, our inferiors predominating over us, our superiors more countenancing our enemies than hearkening to us, and our own party not able to help one another, our complaints being kept from his majesty's ear, as our persons, by our poverty, are kept from his presence; so that I believe some of us may compare with Job for patience, and outstrip him too

in some points, as I shall take a little leave to parallel. Job was a rich man, had wife and children; God suffered Satan to afflict him in body and estate to try his patience, he endured to the end, and was restored. We cannot read that ever Job wanted bread, nor was forced to fly from his own house and home, or ever stood in danger of his life every hour by the hands of the rebels, in his own country: He had his liberty, (though in sores and misery) no debarring of any friends that would come and visit him: How many of the king's friends have lost all, many have been starved for want, and at this time wants bread, having neither house nor habitation of their own to go to, and now when the time of restoration was expected. How many have been forced formerly to fly their own country, every day in danger of a gaol, if not their life; their friends not daring to visit them without being in danger of being undone for them, being plundered and robbed by their own native country, their kindred (not Chaldeans) professed enemies to our country, as Job's was to him; yet enduring to the end with patience, never cursing the day of our nativity, nor the cause that brought us this misery, as willing still to venture our lives for his majesty that now is, as we hazarded our lives and estates formerly for his father of blessed memory. Give me leave to think if Job had lived in these times to have been an indigent officer, and endured so much slavery and poverty, and afterwards been delivered to his former liberty, and a reasonable provision provided by king and parliament for his present necessity, and that being ordered and handled so that it produceth him to more misery, by the close sinister ends of those that profess to be his friends, and of his own party, I believe it would have urged his patience, and with some us, think that (if it were to be searched out) they would find in it much partiality, and that the main ends of some covetous parties hath brought many to misery, and highly abused the king and parliament's clemency, which was never intended for such as hath received it, which are above three thousand not qualified according to the act, which hath formerly declared, and can be clearly made out by civil rational men, that are neither vapourers nor flatterers, and will prove it the greatest cheat that ever was acted against so needful an act of charity as this was.

So having shewed you our grievances, our faults, and the causes, I shall now propound some remedies, which being applied to these sores, may open abundance of corruption to the sight of those (in time) may pity our condition, and use some remedies to cure our lingering disease.

Remedies described in Good-will (out of true Loyalty) for the Recovery of the truly loyal and indigent Party.

The remedies that I shall produce are but few; yet being applied with the help of these we look for relief and redress from, which are these honourable persons (the parliament I mean) that (under God) hath already, and will heal, I hope, our tottered and once almost ruined kingdom, which we may justly claim to be members of; though some, by age and wounds, and others by poverty, are not able to do as they have done, yet are willing still, and I dare boldly say, (in the behalf of some) if tried, are as able now, by their knowledge and courage, to do the king as good service (if there were occasion to use them) as they did formerly for his father of ever-blessed memory: But for the remedies in hand; some things that are past I shall not propound, which were to recover a thing unpossible, which is the money that was allotted among us, it being dispersed into so many greedy and needy hands, which I believe (and 'tis thought, by not rash, but rational, men) that a good handsome part of the three-score thousand pounds will fall into the hands of but a few persons that will be made by our undoing; but the letters of attorney will skin over that sore, and it can hardly be remedied; for the office-money, how that hath been handled, none can justly tell, though give a

shrewd guess; but if the raters and receivers were but thoroughly purged and searched, that corruption may be fetched out, and a remedy in time may be procured; but I must confess it is but folly in me (or any other of our poor party) to propound any remedies for such old sores that are too deep for us to search into; therefore I shall leave those things that is past my finding out, and prescribe a few remedies that may do well for the future, to help those that are the truly loyal and indigent party, that if ever the king or parliament, or any other, should be willing to help heal us, that those may be looked on, whose service, sufferings, and deserts, deserve pity; and that should be made appear by a new certificate, from the hand or hands of the chiefest officer of the regiment now living, that is known himself to be a deserving gallant man, and it was a compleat fighting regiment, and then to certify that he knew such a man, and he had a real command so long, as he can testify of his own knowledge, and of his behaviour and carriage while he was under his command, and thus to certify the truth according to his deserts upon his credit; and likewise to get another certificate from the hands of creditable men where he lived, or from others that knew him where he had been since the wars, and would testify for his loyalty after he left the king's army to the restoration of our now gracious sovereign. I believe if none but those that could produce such a certificate should have had a share of this indigent money, we should have had no cause to declare our grievances; but I believe then it would have been a great grief to some to have seen none but honest men provided for; for then they should not have been so well provided for, as they are now, with our money. Next remedy is, if for the future there should any provision be made, either by offices or places, either martial or civil, or any money given by his majesty, or any others, that it may be put into the hands of impartial men to be distributed, such as Jethro prescribed to Moses, "Men fearing God and hateing covetousness;" that rewards, intended for deserving men and sufferers that wants, may not be distributed to particular persons in private, by letters from ladies, or great men, to their serving-men, footmen, or porters, or to such as hath had more already than ever their service deserved; being a cluster of insinuating, impudent, more-than indigent, officers, that runs up and down, hearkening after such gifts, either fawning with the favourites, or feeing them, (and the clerks that belongs to such persons that hath the distributing of such gifts) that when their own turn is served, if there be any thing left (giving them a part with you) they will make you acquainted with it. This hath been the course of most gifts that hath been bestowed since his majesty came in; that if it were openly known upon whom it hath been bestowed, it could not be made appear that it hath been half distributed according to the intentions it was given for; so that a few particular persons hath, and doth, get a share in every thing, and most of them deserves nothing, and some wants nothing: when some gentlemen, to my knowledge, that had done the king good service, hath been great sufferers, gallant soldiers, and no deserters, that could not get a penny of all this money to relieve them, not hearing of it till it was all distributed, some being brought to that condition through want, that now they are past want; such as could not make their case known to none but such as could not help themselves, but only with hopes, which keeps their hearts from breaking, thinking they are now at the worst, therefore in hopes it will mend. Another remedy would be desired for the truly loyal and indigent soldiers that served his majesty, as well as officers, which are or should be provided for by pension, according to the act, which I believe if they were clearly purged, and none to have it but such as could produce (from their officers, and the places where they have lived or been since the wars) such certificates as I prescribed for such indigent officers before, I believe then there would be a good substance for all true pensioners, widows, or others, which I believe is not many more than they have made indigent officers, if they were carefully examined; but there is as great complaints from them as there is justly from us; some that never served the king, some that served a while and run

home, others that served the rebels here in England till the king came in; yes, and received their wounds in their service against the king some of them, and had a pension for it from them; yet making friends, and getting some officer's hand, like themselves, or to keep them from the parish charge, hath gotten in to be pensioners, when, to my knowledge, there are those that hath been stout soldiers, and served as corporals and serjeants, and continued till the end of the wars, lame and wounded too, and have been faithful ever since; some can get nothing, some forty shillings or three pounds a-year, when four pounds or more shall be allotted some that can be proved as unworthy rascals against the king's friends (in the time of rebellion) as those that are always against us, and worse too, and would be as ready still to stand for rebellion, if they thought it would prove the stronger side: Thus hath the king's and parliament's clemency in the act been abused, which I hope God will put into the hearts of some of the nobility and clergy to move his majesty in our behalf, that he would appoint some noble persons to hear our grievances, and in some way relieve us, that such whom God in his mercy hath preserved their lives, and shifted for their liberty and livelihood in the worst of times as we thought, should not now complain for want of food and raiment, and liberty, and to see, both in court and camp, sea and land, places of profit and preferment bestowed upon them that hath enough to live on besides, which they gained when we lost all, when able men, and civil men as ever served his majesty, only branded with poverty, must be looked upon by these persons as unworthy men, and not fit to have any employment, by reason of the deboystness of some that hath made themselves the cavalier party.

I must of necessity conclude, and leave these remedies (and what else is wanting) to be remedied by those whom God directs and appoints, not only to hear us, but what they shall see, in their wisdom, is wanting for the advancement of his majesty, the peace and preservation both of church and people under his majesty's dominions, which shall be the prayers of him, which for this time takes his leave, desiring what you see in this book writ out of ignorance or passion, judge favourably of it, and let that real intention which I aim at, without sinister ends, plead for my infirmities which you discover here, reflecting upon yourselves, knowing there is none free from some or other.

Postscript.

I know there is many will wonder, that I should presume to take upon me to write this book, being there is many of our party that were far more able to have undertook the handling of it. I must confess it might have come from a better pen, but not a truer heart. It grieved me to see what confusion there hath been amongst us from the beginning; some drawing up remonstrances and grievances, and setting of hands to this thing and that thing; then chusing of trustees, appointing of meetings at several places, and so spend our time and money too, (them that had it) some siding for one party, some for another: every one crying out they are wronged, when some of them are as much tainted themselves as the worst, yet take upon them to right others, when they have done the most wrong, and think their pretended high commands that they have had will bear them out.

Some of those gentlemen that we chose for trustees, I much honour, whose aim and intentions I believe were right; but for some amongst them, I cannot understand that how they can be clearly for our good, that cannot clear themselves. Must not they wink at others, for fear themselves should be brought to light? I should desire every one to rest themselves contented, and not hearken after the fancies of every sinister-ended party, that are more for their own ends, than for the general good of us (if they should bring their purposes to pass.) For my part, the writing of this book was in-

tended (from me) only to give satisfaction to all loyal subjects, how his majesty's and the parliament's clemency have been abused, and we wronged and disgraced, having such a company of pitiful fellows lay claim to be commission-officers; some I believe knows not a rank from a file, nor a counter-march from a wheel; that never looked as if they had either wit or valour in them, and wanting both, they were very unfit to command; for I believe the king was never in such need of officers; and some that were more fit for a rod than wear a sword in his late majesty's service, being twenty-six or thirty years of age, hath had this dividend too; so that what long of such, and your roaring dam-me, counterfeit cavaliers, hath rendered our party so ridiculous in the eyes of some people, that they slight and scorn all civil cavaliers for their sakes: But I must tell them, there was, and is as gallant and as civil men in the king's army, which hated, and doth hate such courses, as much as the greatest zealot of them all, not out of hypocrisy, or fear of the laws, but out of the fear of God, which we should all live in; perhaps some may censure 'tis out of envy, or vain glory, that I have so often touched upon swearing. It is so often in my ears, against my will, which makes me mind it so often to you, that you may bend your mind to leave it.

For envy and vain glory, how much I have been guilty of these two sins, I leave those to censure that knows me now, or formerly in the king's service; which I was constantly in one army, and in one regiment, though under four colonels, first the Lord Mohun's, then Sir Charles Mohun's, afterwards Col. John Digby's, and last Sir Chichester Wray's; my service being most in the west, belonging to the Cornish army; and now, since his majesty's restoration, I have served in his majesty's regiment of guards, as a soldier, in the Right Honourable Col. John Russel's own company: What my service or carriage hath been from the first to the last, I leave to the censure of those that are able to report both, either for my credit or shame, desiring them to give no better nor worse a character than I have deserved, which I know can never redound to my dishonour for my service (and I hope as little for my carriage and behaviour to every man) which I shall endeavour to continue with the utmost of my power, hoping in time to see such men countenanced, if not provided for, whose service and carriage hath never dishonoured that just cause they ever fought for, which was for God's glory, and his majesty's just rights; which is the desire of him that for the present leaves you, and remains your friend to the utmost of his power, so far forth as you are loyal subjects; hoping this book may light into the hands of some near the king, that may reflect upon their own sufferings formerly, and to do now as they would be done unto, if they were in our condition.

Cabala, or an Impartial Account of the Non-conformists' Private Designs, Actings, and Ways, from August 24. 1662, to December 25. in the same Year.

Printed in the Year 1663.

To reconcile the kingdom to the Act of Uniformity, it may readily be believed that every method was used which could produce a rapid and powerful effect on the public mind, unfavourable to the non-conformists. The following tract is a specimen of the address employed upon the occasion, where the reader will find ridicule and irony distributed with no unsparing hand, to sup-

ply the want of reason and argument. Future ages have had to regret, that the veil of separation between the church of England, and of the other protestant churches, could not have been rent asunder upon the auspicious occasion of the restoration.

April 6. 1663. At a close-committee of the well-affected and ejected ministers, it was ordered, That whereas Baronius hath written martirologies for the Christians under the first ten persecutions; and whereas Bonsarchius hath written a catalogue of such faithful witnesses as suffered for the testimony of Jesus, as hath Illyricus, &c.; whereas the persecuted Waldenses, Bohemians, and other faithful ones, have their history: And whereas, Mr Fox, that good man, hath written the sufferings of such as held the word of God patiently under that great tryal in Queen Maries daies; and worthy Mr Clark hath added to that a famous martirology of those, such as suffered since in France, Ireland, and England, especially of sundry eminent men that suffered under the late bishops, as we do now; and that eminent patriot, Mr Prynne, hath taken great pains to publish his own and his brethrens sufferings in those elaborate pieces, whereof the one is called the Tyranny of Lordly Prelacy, and the other is called Canterburie's Doom, for the promotion of the holy cause, the advancement of the gospel, the strengthening of the hand of those that are weak, the convincing of gain-sayers; Mr Clark, Mr Vicars, and Mr P. be desired to exercise their gift of history, in a faithful relation of what hath happened among them that are faithful, from the 24th day of August, 1662, to this present time.

G. Griffith, Jo. Goodwyn,
Ph. Nie, Ri. Venning:
in the name of the whole committee.

An additional order, April 6. in the afternoon, by the same committee.

Whereas Josephus hath given several rules for a true historian, as that he should conceal no truth out of fear, nor utter no falshood out of favour: It is ordered, 1. That our historians be wholly guided by Mr Poole, Mr Addersley, Mr Brooks, and the rest of the committee for that purpose appointed, and that they vary nothing from the sense of the brethren. 2. That an officious lye may be allowable for the advancement of the holy cause. 3. That the infirmities of some weak brethren under this great tryal may be passed by with that charity that covereth a multitude. 4. That the Books of Wonders, the Antipathy of Lordly Prelacy, the Holy Martyrs, the Century of scandalous Ministers, Wilson's History, Bloud crying under the Altar, and all those godly books that carried on the cause twenty years ago, be consulted by the historians. 5. That when there is an holy cheat to be expressed, let it be told in scripture-phrase, let the cause of God be expressed in the word of God. 6. That Mr Clark be sent to the baudy courts to search records, and see what brethren and sisters have done penance this last year of persecution. 7. That the heathenish names of moneths, days, &c. be reformed throughout the history.

T. Goodwyn, W. Bridges,
Jo. Brice, Ed. North.

The twentieth of the sixth moneth, commonly called August, it was ordered, That there should be letters sent to the churches, and the several pastors thereof, to incourage them to be stedfast and unmoveable, that they be not soon shaken in mind, or troubled, neither by word nor by letter; and that Mr Manton, Mr Jacomb, Mr Poole, and Mr Lye draw that letter.

The 21. of the sixth moneth, commonly called August, the foresaid letter was read by Adoniram Bifield to this effect:

Brethren, and Beloved in the Lord,

It was much upon our spirit to have settled a communion between us and the churches of Christ throughout the land, especially against the time of persecution that is now approaching; and as an earnest of that communion, we unanimously agreed upon these letters, whereby you are given to understand, that our good L. H. C. our Lord A. R. S. H. M. at court, whom we waited upon, with your great sense of their favour to, and care of the holy cause, and the twenty thousand pound you presented them with; and our good brother, the B. N., together with our good friends the catholiques, have perswaded us that it was our interest to give way to the act of uniformity in parliament, where our opposition did but exasperate our adversaries to a greater severity then they were inclined to, and stand against it every man of us in our places, that we and the world may know our strength and power, not doubting but that our considerable number and interest, which will appear by the publick and general dissent to that uniformity enjoyned, may gain us an indulgence that will vacate and make void all former laws; and being confident of his majesties promise from Breda for liberty to tender consciences, and withall of that clemency and mercy which we wrought upon in his father, not forgetting that we can make it appear to his majesty that there are not ministers to supply our places; and, in the mean time, in our petition for peace, and our account of the accommodation endeavoured at the Savoy, we shall satisfie the people that offered all that we can for peace and liberty, to exercise our ministry for the salvation of their souls, and that if we be torn away from our beloved flocks, its long of unreasonable men. By these and other attempts, we doubt not but to prevail with his majesty and his council to dispense with the said act, and with the parliament in the next session of it (by that time we have incensed the gentry and commonalty against the bishops) to grant such an indulgence as may in effect repeal it: Therefore, brethren, as we pray the God of all grace to settle, strengthen, and establish you, so we beseech you to stand fast in the faith, and not to be moved from the hope of the gospel, to be faithful to your principles, and stedfast in your covenant: Cast not away your confidence which hath great recompence of reward, for ye have need of patience; for yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry; now the just shall live by faith, but if any man draw back, our souls shall have no pleasure in him: But we are not of them that draw back to perdition. Brethren, farewell in the Lord.

Copia Vera.

JA. ROBOTHAM, ADONIRAM BIFIELD.

The 22. of the sixth moneth, by the people called August, it was ordered that Mr Lewis, Mr Bifield, Mr Hickman, Mr Evans, Mr Ellis, Mr Conyers, be sent with these letters as messengers to the several churches, with instructions how to settle that correspondence and communion that may maintain a good understanding during the time of persecution: As,

1. That there be an account taken in each county of all the faithful ministers that can suffer rather than sin; what their abilities are, how useful they may be in the present exigent, according to their several capacities and interests; what their charge is, and of what value their livings are, out of which they have been ejected.

2. That there be an account taken of the well-affected gentry, nobility, and commonalty, whose hearts the Lord may open to lay out themselves in the cause of God, and of the sums they are ready to contribute towards the relief of his faithful servants in the work of the ministry, which account is to be returned to a grand committee for that purpose appointed in London.

3. That there be treasurers and receivers in the respective counties, consisting in each county of two suffering ministers, and three well-affected gentlemen, to dispose of the foresaid charitable contributions so gathered, as they shall judge most necessary and advantagious to the advancement of the common cause, and that there be commissioners of inspection that may look into their qualifications, who may claim the benefit of the said benevolence and contribution.

The 22. of the sixth moneth, it was ordered, That Mr Calamy, Mr Case, Mr Bates, Mr Spurstow, Mr Gough, &c. do meet to-morrow about the twelve thousand pound gathered among the brethren, to gratifie the right honourable and the well-affected, who own the cause of God in court and parliament, and that it should not be called a bribe, but the humble acknowledgement that the people of God make to the honourable personages that stand in the breach at such a time as this, and that Mr Cradocker, Mr Jackson, Mr Brice, do look into Newman's Concordance for three or four apposite texts of scripture wherewith this money may be savingly delivered. And it is further ordered, upon Mr Spurstow's motion, that Act. 12. 20. be one of those texts consulted: "And Herod was highly displeased with the men of Tyre and Sidon, but they came with one accord to him, having made Blastus, the king's chamberlain, their friend:" And upon Master Jenkins his motion, Act. 24. 2, 3, 4. was ordered to be another, "Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept always, and in all places, most noble Fælix, with all thankfulness;" notwithstanding, that we be not further tedious unto thee, well may thee accept of this.

The 23. of the sixth moneth, it was agreed upon, That a list of these thousands that must now lye down in heart-breaking sorrow upon the removal of their faithful guides, be prepared for his majesties view, that he may see the strength of our party, and may be convinced that the people of God is his greatest strength.

The 22. of the same moneth, it was agreed upon, That would be for the advancement of the cause, if they would take the occasion of some farewell sermons to promote it, provided that those discourses should be very quickning. And 1. That Master Lye was to bid them beware of episcopal divines, of ceremonies of popery, and to weep a quarter of an hour. 2. That Mr Jenkins perswade the people that any place is as holy as the church, and that two or three met together in a private house might do as well as a thousand in the publick congregation. 3. That Mr Caryl being to expound that place in the Revelation about them that walked with the Lamb in white, should take that occasion to speak against surplices. 4. That Mr Watson may give twenty rules which may be his congregations directory, and among other rules this may be one; That seeing they cannot have their ministers, they may yet read their books; so that if they cannot preach, they may yet live by writing. 5. That Mr Case do cry two hours together next Lord's day for the abominations of service-book, altar-worship, lordly prelacy, &c.

Vid. Lye Sermon.

Vid. Jenkins farewell Sermon.

The same day it was enacted, That some well-affected stationers do gather all the farewell sermons in city and country to one volume, and that they scatter them throughout the nation for the propagation of the gospel; the cause will not be a little promoted by the dying words of the faithful pastors. And because the twelve apostles are painted before the Bible, though we otherwise allow of no images, yet it may be very convenient that twelve reverend persons heads may be set before the sermons; and though Mr Seaman urged, that their heads set there would give occasion to the prophane to compare them to the traytors heads at London-bridge, or to that row of heads set before that prophane book called Montelion last year, yet it was voted unanimously, that they were not so fearful as not to dare shew their heads, they were ready to die, as well as to be reproached for the truth: But when it was urged, that Mr Love's head

might be amongst them, Mr Calamy, Mr Case, and Mr Jenkins, stood up, and voted it down as ominous.[1]

The 23. of the sixth moneth, heathenishly called August, there was an offer made by several well-affected citizens of Mr Seaman's, and other congregations, that were ready to oppose that mass-book, commonly called the service-book, but it was over-ruled, that those eminent persons be excused that service, and be reserved for more honorable service, and that the work of the day be carried on by the apprentices, who with such success helped the Lord against the mighty in the beginning of the wars, that sure the presence of the Lord was still amongst them; whereupon Mr Greenhil held forth upon those words of the eighth Psalm, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightst still the enemy and the avenger:" Out of Mr Mead's Diatriba, three quarters of an hour by Shrewsbury-clock, as Sir John Falstaffe speaks, in the third of Edward the fourth and the fifteenth.

It was offered by Mr Jenkins, that the Lord had often forsaken the prentices, as in 48. with Colonel Brown and Massey, and in 59. in Hewsons businesse: to which Mr Caryl replied, that it might be, their strength might fail them when they raised tumults against their brethren, and the servants of God; but if you mark it, said he, the text saith, the enemy and the avenger.

The same day in the afternoon was brought in by Mr Gurnall, Mr Ford, &c. and other latitude men, the humble petition of several young men, that had not taken the covenant, for leave to conform as their reverend fathers had done before the warrs: Whereupon Mr Case rose up in a great fury, and said, If Baal be God, serve him; if God be God, serve him.

But Mr Owen and Mr Caryl, More moderation becomes you, you know conscience is a very large thing, and you know not how far it may reach.

Saith old Mr Jackson, Brethren, it is necessary that there be some seed-plots laid for the next generation: Had not the Lord left us a remnant among the old conformists, we had been as Sodome, and we had been like unto Gomorrah: We know not but that these young men may live under the government to cast it off as we have done; they may be through reformers. Brother Calamy, Brother Ash, had not we become all things to all men we had gained none: In the episcopal times we were episcopal, that we might gain the episcopal men; in the presbyterian times we were presbyterians, that we might gain and rule over the presbyters; and in the times of anarchy we were moderate, that we might gain them that pretended to moderation.

You shall see, saith Tho. Goodwyn, the power of godlinesse root up and swallow all forms; you shall see the formalities and ceremonies of the prelatists flee and vanish before the spirit, the life and the power that is hid in a few faithful ones: You know the church is sometimes compared to an oak, whose substance is in her; *i. e.* whose heart and pith is sound, though its outside may seem to fade and decay: the outside of professors may look dead, formal, and ceremonious, by compliance in the outward dispensations with the laws of the place they live in, yet the root of the matter may be in them; there may be that inward spirit and life, that upon opportunity may devoure all form and ceremony.

Verily, saith Mr Wild, I think these young men may be dispensed with upon the same terms that Pope Sextus Quintus dispensed with the catholicks here in England, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, (*mi fili da mihi cor tuum*) O ye young men, ye may give the prelatists your hands, but give us your hearts.

Brethren, saith Philip Nie, it is necessary we leave some in the ministry, *i. e.* to

[1] The Reverend Mr Love, a noted dissenting divine, was executed under the dominion of Cromwell for acting and preaching in favour of Charles II. The prophane book called Montelion, is the burlesque tract already published in this collection, entitled, "Don Juan Lamberto, or a Comical History of the late Times, by Montelion, Knight of the Oracle."

make a division among the ministry and the people, that the people may have honest men to follow, under which pretence they may leave the church of England and ministers.

It were very well Mr Meriton did conform at Martins in the Field, to propagate the truth at the court among the choicest nobility and gentry.

Mr Venning hath done a great deal of service at Olaves, which one Maggot may undo, unlesse young Meriton (notwithstanding he hath prayed, and cried, and preached against these times) succeed him, and hold those people in play with his short *sententia pueriles*, jingles, and quibbles.

It were well Mr Glendon, Parker, Phillips, &c. did conform, that they may go to law, quarrel with, and vex all the episcopal men in England.

Mr West would do well to stay in, to instruct all the young men of his acquaintance, that are turned out of Oxford, to follow the Lord fully, and to be faithful to the end.

Mr Bucke my Lord Bradshaw's chaplain, and Mr Hibbard, having been faithful upon all occasions, I think may be trusted with the common-prayer.

But, saith honest Doctor Bates, how can they in conscience read the common-prayer?

Alas, said Mr Nie, that may be done by readers and curates, and when they are enjoyned to read it, they may read it as they do briefs, or some other impertinent things in the church: And it will be no mean service in our cause to have the service-booking by the slight reading of it.

Mr Lye said, That in vain do we provide for one or two places, when all the rest were taken up by episcopal divines.

Mr Manton replied, Never fear that, you know the episcopal divines will preach but once a-day, and if the good people will have an afternoon-lecture, they must pay for it; and therefore in reason they must choose, and you know they will be directed by us in their choice, so that the afternoon and weekly lectures shall be as effectually and powerfully performed as formerly.

But the wicked will call that engrossing of lectures, saith Mr Dolittle, as pluralities.

Yea, saith Mr Greenhill, Mr Griffith, that one man of six places, and Mr Manton that had eight places at once, God seeth no iniquity in Jacob, he observeth no perversenesse in Israel; these are the spots of God's children: We ask only against pluralities of parsonages, a man may have as many lectures as they say Doctor Downes hath lectures and coracies, and they say he hath twelve; or as Mr Hardy hath preferments, and they say he hath nine; or as Doctor Pory, who hath, as it is reported of him, (how truly, let others answer for it) sixteen places at least.

Verily and in good sooth, say both Mr Meritons, we desire no more then three lectures apiece, with our parsonages, and a private living in the countrey that no body heareth of.

Committee. Take you no further care, all the lectures in town shall be furnished with confiding and well-affected persons.

25. of the 6th moneth, 1663. It was agreed upon, That now his majesty saw the inclination of the people by the late tumults, he should be petitioned in the behalf of the faithful ministers to this effect:—

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

Whereas we are many, and our party very considerable for their interest with God and men, as you would enjoy peace and tranquillity in your kingdoms, or any quiet in your throne, we must intreat you to let us do what we please, and to set no law or government over us, for we cannot endure them; and upon condition we have what we desire, your petitioners shall pray for you.

Ed. Calamy,	Matth. Newcomen,	Tho. Goodwyn,
Laz. Seaman,	Jo. Brice,	H. Wilkinson,
W. Spurstow,	Jo. Owen,	W. Cooper.

The first of the seventh moneth. Upon the report of his majesties resolved answer it was agreed upon, That the monethly fast be revived, and that at each fast there be six appointed to carry on the work of the day, whereof the first is to confesse their apostacy to the royal party, who they knew would deceive them, and their folly in trusting in the arm of flesh, viz. my Lord Monke, my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord Chancellor, &c.

2. The second is, to pour out supplications to God to turn the king's heart, and to overthrow the counsels of the men of this generation.

3. The third is, to pray for a blessing upon the several councels that are managed for the advancement of religion, and the good old cause.

4. The fourth is to bewail the neglect of the many opportunities put into their hands to make all sure, and to intreat the Lord to trust them with the sword once more, and to unite all those that fear the Lord into one body against the common enemy, that now prevaileth.

5. The fifth is, to strengthen the weak against popery.

6. The sixth is, to gather up all the intelligence, and thence to observe such providence as tend towards a deliverance; especially that of wonders, miracles, apparitions, and conjunctions, that portend so much alteration in the Christian world

At the same time it was ordered, That there should not meet above twenty at a time in a meeting, therefore Mr Jacomb was very much blamed for entertaining above two hundred the other day at the Countesse of Exeters; and that the number met have their table laid ready, that it any surprize them, they may say, they only go to dinner or supper: and it was thought convenient, that there were a boy ready to read a chapter, that if they be interrupted they may give out, a man cannot read a chapter in his house as the times go now, but they are in danger of being called in question about it.

About this time Mr Baxter moved, That seeing he and others were silenced, their soul-saving works might be immediately reprinted, viz. Smectymnuus, Lex Rex, Holy Commonwealth, Antica Velieryme, with most of Milton and Mr Goodwyn's papers, and all the sermons preached upon public fasts and thanksgiving-dayes, before the Long Parliament, and other parliaments, from the year 1640 to the year 1658, together with Mr Cartwright's writings, and all the godly books published in Queen Elizabeth and King James his time; and because Doctor Hammond, Doctor Taylor, Doctor Heylin, Bishop Nicholson, Bishop Gauden, have written so much of late of episcopacy and liturgy, it were to be wished, that Doctor Owen were intreated from this committee to write a discourse of liturgies, when they were first composed, and when imposed, which may be privately conveyed from hand to hand, for the strengthening of the brethren in that point; and that Mr Caryl should write another treatise of separation: But least Mr Caryl should state the business of separation so, that he should set up independency, *i. e.* a separation as well from presbytery as from episcopacy, Mr Crofton may be intreated to state the case so, as that the ministry withdraw from their ministry under bishops, though the people ought not to withdraw from their duty under them; that though the minister do not read the liturgy, yet the people may hear it, and that the people ought not to divide from the church for any corruptions, though the ministers may.

Mr Jacomb, that this motion was very seasonable, because our adversaries observations, and our own experience taught us, that by the same reasons that we perswaded the people to avoid communion with the church of England formerly, the sectaries perswaded them to avoid communion with us; and therefore we must by all means hold the people to the church under the bishops, that they may hold to it under us; we must leave the church, least presbytery be swallowed up of episcopacy; the people must not leave the church, least presbytery be brought to nothing by independency.

September 5. It was put to the question by Mr Seamor, whether the good people should hear those ministers that were sent them by the bishop? Whereupon Mr Baxter stood up and said, It was dangerous to teach the people to forsake the publick assemblies.—Why, saith Mr Brooks, why should they hear the antichristian clergy?—Nay, replied Mr Baxter, if we teach the people to leave the episcopal ministers because they are antichristian, the sectaries may easily perswade them to leave us because we are antichristian.—Nay, said Doctor Manton, we need not trouble ourselves about that, there be many honest and sober men in the city; there is confiding Mr Hibbard, sweet Mr Meriton and his reader at Islington, honest Master Buck and his lecturer at St Nich. Acon, precious Mr Neast, and many more; yea, all the lectures, and places to be bestowed by the people, are to be filled up with hopeful young men.

The seventh of the seventh moneth. There was addresses from the city dames to the reverend the committee of faithful ministers, congratulating their stedfastnesse in the cause and covenant, with a resolution to stand by them with their lives and fortunes, and an assurance of their kindnesse for them as formerly, provided they held forth to them liberty of conscience to do what they list in spite of their husbands, who pretend to be kings in their families, as they take liberty of conscience to do what they will in spight of king and parliament; withall offering, whether they have any design to which they may be instrumental, in perswading their husbands, which they praise the Lord they have done hitherto very successfully, as Eve, the mother of all the living, did her husband Adam, and the zealous women have done in all ages; and particularly, whether they should perswade their husbands to pay Baal's priests no tyths?

To this address it was ordered, that Mr Venning should reply, out of his epistle to that lady, to which he dedicates Mr Stong's works; and Mr Watson, out of his epistles to the Baroness of Tilbury, and the Countess of Clare. And likewise it was ordered, that they should be stiled, the honourable women that were stirred up, as it is written in the 19 of the Acts, and that this passage should be inserted into the answer, viz. "That wherever the gospel was preached, this which they had done should be spoken of throughout the world:" Which reply being perused and drawn up with these greetings; "Greet Prissilla and Aquila, our helpers in Christ Jesus," Rom. 6. 13. "Greet many who bestoweth much labour on us. Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who labour in the Lord. Salute the beloved Persis, which laboured much in the Lord," ver. 6. 12. "Salute one another with an holy kiss," ver. 16. "All the saints salute you." Whereupon the holy sisters deputed Mrs Winstanley, Mrs Gaire, Mrs Fouke, Mrs Allen, Mrs Underwood, to invite the reverend man to enjoy the creature at a banquet at Gains, mine host in Gracious-street, as it is written Rom. 16.

As to the matter of tythes, Master Baxter went over the sheet he writ three or four years ago; for the ministry and the whole committee pleaded for the divine right of it, and concluded it very dangerous to insinuate to the people that they may withdraw their tythes at their pleasure, upon the least dislike of their minister. For, as Mr Glendon, Mr Case, Mr Sheffield, Mr Crofton, observed very well, it may be our turn next; and who knoweth what a day may bring forth? it may be our own case. Yet it was agreed, that the sisters should send in their husbands on that day seven-night. When they came, and by agreement all the old were burned, and new agreed upon to be shewed the new incumbents, with which if they rest satisfied they have not half their dues, and so cannot live; if they will not be satisfied, but endeavour to restore the church to her just rights, they shall be wearied out with suits of law, maintained by common stock, (for Act. 2. 44. as it is written, "Those that believe are together, and have all things in common,") and withall shall be publickly loaded with the said aspersions of covetousnesse and contention.

Hereupon Mr Neast, Mr Raworth, and Meriton's reader, that preacheth now at Is-

lington, and many more good mens motion, it was agreed by the confiding citizens, and the well-affected ministers, that new tables of duty should be drawn, for the use of the respective well-affected parishes.

Whereupon the ninth of the seventh moneth this ensuing table was presented and approved :—

1. For every funeral-sermon to the godly and well-affected ministers, shall be given by the master or dame, 5 li. with a gown, mourning, if the party can afford it : (for so it is written the Israelites robbed the Egyptians.)

2. To a formal prelatical man, an angel in clipped half-crowns, with a pair of sheep-skin gloves, sent by the meanest servant, for his good will, that a precious man may preach or speak.

3. For every burial without common-prayer, twenty shillings.

4. For a burial with common prayer, a shilling, and a box of sweet-meats.

5. For a baptizing without the superstitious sign of the crosse, and without god-fathers and god-mothers, an angel, with gloves and sweet-meats, and an invitation to the gossiping.

6. For the usual baptisms, a shilling.

7. For being buried at Mr Neast's, Mr Raworth's, Mr Meriton's, or at Laurence-Jury, especially near the pulpit, ten pound.

8. To the lecturers of St Antholines, for giving the Lord thanks for the sisters great deliverance in child-birth, in a prayer of a quarter of an hour long after sermon, to save the charge of that they commonly called churching, five shillings apiece, and that the rather, that godly women may not against their consciences be compelled to come to church.

9. To every moderate man, who is willing to comply with such tender consciences as can sit, but cannot kneel at the communion of Christ's body and blood ; as likewise to every tender and sober man, who, for the ease of tender consciences, doth not require them to come up to the popish rails, but wait upon them in their own protestant seats, a gratuity of an angel, instead of that superstitious stipend, by the people called, Easter-offering.

10. For every communion at an holy meeting, administred according to the directory, a gathering, not lesse then twenty pound, as it is written, Act. 2. 45 : "And they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need, and they brake bread from house to house.

11. For a brotherly visiting of those who lay under any affliction in body or mind, especially if, according as it is, any send for the elders, and they spend an hour or two with them out of Mr Baxter's Directions for the settling of a troubled Conscience, his Saints Rest, the Last Enemy, the Bruised Reed, the Soul's Conflict, the Godly Man's Ark, the Four last Things, Boulton's Direction for Comfort, with some heart-breaking Ah me ! ah Lord ! and a prayer, according to the directory, picked out of Wilkin's Gift of Prayer ; an angel, and a peasant to the minister's wife ; but if the formal priest of the parish will needs trouble the brethren or sisters, let them have a glasse of wine, and a pipe of tobacco, and a grinning God-buy-a, good sir.

12. Although matrimony be a civil contract, which a brother and a sister may make between themselves and the Lord, (as sister Edwards and brother Williams took one anothers word the other day) yet because we judge it convenient that every solemn action of our lives should be performed with prayer, and a blessing therefore for every marriage performed, according to the directory, without a ring twenty shillings, and a fringed pair of gloves, with an invitation to crave a blessing upon the wedding dinner, otherwise only two shillings.

The twelfth of the same moneth, the citizens and their wives made an humble address to the committee, to explain the word well-affected in the table of duties, and

who are the well-affected ministers; whereupon, by order of the committee, Mr Lye explained that particular thus: Beloved, a well-affected minister is one that in conscience was called to the ministry by the elders, but in prudence was since called by the bishops, who useth indeed the last call and ordination, but relieth wholly on the first; who indeed complieth with the public injunction of the church, yet professeth they are a burthen and a grief to him.

Secondly, Beloved, a well-affected person is he that, being weary of reading common-prayer, prevails with the brethren to hire a reader for that tedious work, and then preacheth and prayeth himself three hours by Shrewsbury clock.

Thirdly, Beloved, he that savours of your former faithful minister, and are endued with their spirit, and to that purpose preach those notes they have taken from them, as honest Mr Cave, who preacheth and prayeth as like Mr Meriton, under whom he read, as if he had his note: Ah! make much of these Elishas, that have the spirit of your Elijahs that are taken from you.

Mr Allen; Verily we have many gracious persons that are not defiled with the white surplices, nor abridge the liberty of their conscience by a superstitious girdle, that bow not the knee to Baal, that visit our sick after the directory, baptize our children by the spirit, and bury our dead by the gift of preaching; that will offer something for the present government in publick, but make amends for all in some holy and private conferences about the good old cause; these are a precious remnant left for us, for whom we are bound to blesse the Lord.

Sister Priscilla; Verily Mr Lewis, Mr Cave, Mr Neast, &c., do preach up the comfortable doctrine of assurance, the soul-saving doctrine of Christ in believers, the heart-supporting truth of the in-dwelling of the spirit, which are great refreshings to us, who can hear nothing elsewhere but good works, repentance, obedience, and other legal doctrines of men unacquainted with the sweet mysteries of the gospel.

The seven of the seventh moneth, Mr Neast moved, That it might be one character of a well-affected person, that he can improve a godly sermon, and have a piece for it at his own church, an angel at a lecture, five pound for it at a funeral-sermon, and a collation at a godly meeting.

A good woman of Islington the same day petitioned, that their godly minister might pass for well-affected, seeing he had no humane learning, no superstitious Hebrew, Greek, or Latine, but savoured so much of precious Mr Gurnals, sweet Mr Jenkins, holy Mr Ambrose, &c., that, as she said, you could scarce discern his sermons from their works.

The tenth of the seventh moneth. That since all men that are settled are tyed from such edifying discourses, as may promote the good old cause by their subscriptions, to the utter quenching of the spirit, it is ordered, that forty or fifty young and unsuspected persons be maintained by the brethren, and be at liberty to go up and down, and hint such things as may promote the cause of God; and that they, together with other latitude men, repair to Mr Edmund Calamy, or to the president of the provincial assembly for the time being, for such instructions that may be thought necessary from time to time; insomuch as, September 12. Mr Nie, in the behalf of the well-affected, moved, we have but one door of hope open before, viz. the choice of faithful lecturers, it might please the committee to draw up some characters whereby the well-affected might be guided in their choice of those lecturers; whereupon these following characters were agreed upon: 1. That he have a mortified countenance, with a black cap and a white one under it. 2. That he go *in quirpo*. 3. That he be turned out of another man's fellowship or living. 4. That he prayeth *ex tempore* three quarters of an hour before sermon, and half an hour after, and mention neither king nor bishop directly in neither, and sometimes without the Lords Prayer. 5. That he use four Ah Lords, and

The characters of a Lecturer.

huss in't a time. 6. That he preach moderation, bewail the sins of the times, and threaten antichrist, and tell them of what is done abroad, but the good man is sorry for it; that he presse inward sincerity, when the law calls for outward conformity; that he say, keep holy the Sabbath-day, when the church saith, observe holy daies. 7. That he deliver the flowings of milk and honey; that he pour out refreshing comforts, when carnal men preach moral honesty, universal obedience, and good works. 8. That he have a certificate from Mr Calamy, Mr Jenkins, Mr Case, Mr Seaman; that he is a confiding person, fearing God, ill-affected to the present government. 9. That he comply not with the minister of the place, but if occasion be, he set up his interest against him; and that what the minister of the place will not do he may, for the ease of tender consciences.

September 13. Notice being given at a provincial meeting of the well-affected, that St Antholines lecturers were to be chosen at the time superstitiously called Michaelmas, and that the high priest of London had a design to furnish it with men whom the ignorant call orthodox and peaceable, and upon mature consideration, that those lecturers were the seed plots of the good old cause; it was ordered, that all the honest men that are left should be picked up to stand for those places, that the holy sisters may have still in a morning some saving truth, which may, after their candle, lye next their heart; and that by the opportunity of those exercises, saints may be propagated from generation to generation, and by God's blessing on a morning exercise, babes of grace may be multiplied; for Tantlyns is beyond Tunbridge, and morning-meetings beyond Epsum waters: but because the hard laws of this land tie men to read the word of God, to pray unto God, and to praise him before they make their own sermons, it was ordered, that some poor readers should be picked up, who might excuse them that toyl, that they might be reserved wholly for their own exercises. The same day it being taken into consideration, whether the faithful should be present at the reading of the service, it was ordered, that they might hear the common-prayer, provided they did think according to the directory. Brethren, said Mr Calamy, I shall say to you in that case as the pope did in the same case in Queen Elizabeth's dayes, "You may be present, you may hear, but, son, give me thy heart."

But, saith Mr Case, that you may be distinguished from the prophane, and the precious be separated from the vile, use the liberty of your gesture, and where the church saith stand, sit ye down for the ease of tender consciences; where it saith kneel, stand, that you may not be brought into subjection to any man; and least your thoughts should be entangled with the abominations of the wicked, while they are at their porridge, feed you on the Crumbs of Comfort, or Milk for Babes, or The best Wine left until last; or you may sleep, and say with the spouse, "I sleep, but my heart waketh," till you are awakened by a soul-searching and sinner-rousing sermon.

Truly, said Mr Jenkins, it is safer staying at dore, or at home, untill you hear the good man in the pulpit; for what communion hath light with darknesse? what comparison is there between a soul-suing sermon and a formal and dead prayer?

September 15. There was a committee appointed to take the names of the faithful pastors who suffered for their consciences throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, and withall of all the well-affected, who are ready to contribute for their subsistence, that we may understand the interest of the good people of this land, and withall how many confiding persons could keep a minister in their houses, to instruct them and their tenants, and confirm them in the faith. From which committee there was this report brought in a while after, that London would contribute 4563 *l.* 10 *s.* 5*d.* yearly; besides, that several would entertain the respective ejected ministers at their own tables.

Besides, that it was reported from the close committee, that the holy sisterhood would raise among themselves, without their husbands knowledge, 1251 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* be-

sides other tokens of their love and kindnesse. And withall there was read an order of the same close committee, that in the time of exigence and distress all the holy maids and faithful widows should marry the faithful brethren now under persecution, forasmuch as the apostles in the same condition led about sisters for their wives.

R. VENNING, WILL. ALLEN, CHR. PACK,
H. HURST, JO. GODOLPHIN, P. BAREBONE.
T. HARRISON,

The same day the several persons were named who were to bring in the countrey contributions, with the names of their respective suffering ministers, with their conditions and effectual certificates concerning both; and for the more effectual carrying on of the work, it was ordered, that two noble patriots in each county be desired to assist the foresaid ministers for the maintenance and support of the cause.

September 18. It was taken into consideration, that all burroughs, cities, and corporations, which have been hitherto supplied by men of honest principles be looked after, and that such moderate men as have a licence from Mr Baxter, Mr Calamy, Dr Manton, and Mr Burgesse, to comply, may from time to time be put in those places; for which Mr Jenkins offered two reasons: 1. It is very expedient, for so we are sure to command the choice of honest parliament men; for wherever we are, we must preside in that case, as zealous Mr Fouke at Reading, discreet Mr Boules at York, publick-spirited Mr Baxter in Worcestershire; and you know the burgesses and citizens are for the major part of the house of commons, and an honest majority among the commons, with a moderate house of lords, may "be healing of our breaches, and restorers of paths."

Let me add, said Mr Boules, that towns, cities, and corporations, being well-affected, have the greatest advantage of fellowship, communion, and correspondence with themselves and the adjacent neighbourhoods.

2. Saith Mr Jenkins, Beloved, the settlement of well-affected men in towns, cities, and corporations, is very easie, for considering the great pains that must be taken there, and the little stipend that is legally settled there, the orthodox, as they call them, will not look after those places, but our good friends, you know, can labour in the word and doctrine, and withall get more by the benevolence of the well-affected then is settled upon any by the law of the land, the rulers' wives, and honourable women administring unto them of their substance; this was the way that was taken by the first reformation in 39. and 40. of blessed memory.

The same day came an express by Mr Bagshaw from Ireland, concerning their resolution there to promote a reformation, according to the covenant, and a government bottomed upon English interest, as to which great affair they did not doubt of their brethren in England and Scotlands concurrence with them, with their advice, interest, money, and correspondence in all other necessary particulars; particularly whether they should admit of those foreign supplies offered them for the relief of Ireland, by a letter from Rome to this effect:—

X. X. X.

Dearly beloved in one common cause,

It is no little grief to us, to hear how you are relapsed to your former state of slavery and bondage, and that your great design of liberty of conscience, wherein you had our prayers and best assistance, failed you, to the great grief of many of our and your way, who are like now to feel one common persecution, and we may say, in one common cause, viz. the power of the magistrate in religious causes, or over religious persons, which we and you equally deny: If you have any remainder of your former courage and noblenesse, and if you entertain any honourable thoughts for your rescue, and you may think we or our allies may serve you, impart the same, we intreat you, to Seig-

nior Bellarini, a person of ability and faithfulnesse, whom we intrust with full power to treat with you in that particular.

X. X.

Fr. d. Gomora S. S. C. Ec. S. P. R.

Verily, said Mr Jackson, I see so little hope of success, so few armes, so little money, so few friends, that I am not clear in it that they have a call from God to this work at this time; and in good sooth I alwayes thought some hope of successe the only call of God.

Nay, said Mr Watson, it is not the good successe we must look too, but the good cause.

However, said Mr Baxter, a good cause cannot be managed successfully by ill means: Do you not know that popish assistance blasted all the late king's undertakings? What communion hath Christ with Belial?

Verily, saith Mr Rutherford, we may make use of the wicked, as the Israelites did of the Gibeonites, to hew wood and to draw water for the cause; Esau may serve Jacob: besides that, they indeed of Rome are well affected to our cause; we are for liberty of conscience, so are they; we would restrain the overgreat power of kings, so would they; they would have the kings accountable for their actions, so would we; they are for an Irish interest, we are for an English one; both is one, the privilege of the subject, the interest of the people: Whereupon it was left to the Irish commissioners discretion, whether they would treat with the seignior any further or no.

And it was further thought fit, that the plot should be discovered, and that impertinent thing, my friend Bagshaw, should be secured; for indeed the whole design looked only like a trepan upon the holy cause, and a surprise upon the brethren.

September 21. This day was a full assembly, it being a day of fasting and humiliation, and seeking the lord for a right way in the present distresse and exigence. Mr Nye, Dr Goodwyn, Mr Th. Owen, praying; Mr Slater, Mr Griffith, and Mr Seaman, preaching.

Hereupon it was the day following considered, where lay the treasure and trade of the nation; and a committee to that purpose appointed, having taken a view of both, returned this account, viz. that of thirteen millions and a half, which is supposed the current stock and treasure of the nation, we are masters of seven millions and a half and above, which being taken up and carried to foreign parts, must stop the trade here, and engage this sinful nation in need, discontent, and trouble: And withall it was offered by the same committee, that they that had any interest in Ireland would repair thither, or resign it to such active and publick spirits as were qualified for the management of a common interest: And withall it was offered, that there might be at least a present accommodation of all the persecuted interests, and that (all differences apart) all be owned as brethren that are spirited for an English and a Christian liberty.

The same committee offered, that an envoy be dispatched to Mounsieur Coirs, to expedite the bargain of Dunkirk; and in case the Christian king should think it too dear, to assure him, that there are some Christian friends here that will advance 45,620 *l.* provided they may have liberty of conscience there in case of persecution here; and to that purpose they added, that our honourable friend should promote the said bargain at court.

Not long after, Dr Manton and Dr Jacomb reported, that they had it from some very good Christian friends, that it pleased God (upon the news of liberty of trade and religion allowed by the most Christian King of France) to move the king's heart (which is in God's hand as a river of water) to think of a gracious declaration about liberty of religion and trade: Whereupon the thanks of the assembly was returned to the committee, for transportation of tender consciences to Dunkirk, New England, Amster-

dam, &c.; and the fifth of November was observed as a thanksgiving day, for a door of hope opened in his majesty's gracious inclination. When Mr Fouler enlarged upon this subject, "And the fear of them came upon all the people," and Dr Goodwyn upon this, "And he reproved kings for their sakes," saying, "Touch not mine anointed ones, *i. e.* as he well opened it, "my people;" and Dr Owen on this, "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free." Dr Jacomb scrupled that the fifth of November should be a thanksgiving day for toleration of popery and all other religions.—You are very dark, said Dr Owen, as to the language of the present dispensation, which seems to speak nothing lesse then a most absolute deliverance from anti-christian slavery.—Yes, said Mr Brooks, "Old things are passed away, and all things are become new.—It may be, saith Mr Caryl, this was done, that we may say no more the Lord liveth which delivered us from the usurpation of Rome, but the Lord liveth which hath delivered us from tyranny and oppression of our own laws.—Really, said Mr Bates, we have great respects and kindness from my Lord Digby, and as we are beholding to him for that passage of his against this church, which we quoted from his letter to Sir K Digby in the latter end of our *Jus divinum ministerii* so we are obliged to him for the excellent reasons for Christian liberty he hath offered in our behalf and our brethren the catholicks, not long ago in a very solemn assembly.

A while after it was judged convenient, that some persons of integrity that attend at court should look into the bottom of that affair, and see whether indulgence was likely to go on: Whereupon Mr Seaman and Dr Goodwyn offered this, viz that there was no way better to try the king's pronenesse to indulgence, then to make use of their Christian friends aforehand at some holy meeting, or if that were not publick enough, at one of those many churches that are at our disposal. And immediately Mr Calamy was ordered to watch an opportunity at Aldermanbury, and go up and preach. Very fit this, agreed upon by the whole company, for either the king would wink at it, and then we are sure he hath a kindnesse for us, and the world may think that we are considerable in his eyes, and that we have over-ruled the law, or it may be he punisheth it; however, we have honourable friends that shall bring Mr Calamy off, and it may be five hundred pounds in his way.—Well, said Mr Brice, we have a price put into our hands, the Lord give us hearts to use it; let us redeem the time.—That hour, said Mr Calamy, had need be well spent.—Mr Calamy, Mr Caryl, Mr Lye, withdrew to consider what subject he should preach upon; and they reported, that none was more seasonable then this, either "Ichabod, the glory is departed," or "The Ark is departed." Whereupon Mr Calamy was desired to insist on all the hints of fears, jealousies, and surmises which had already possessed the people concerning the departure of the gospel. And it was ordered, that since notice should be given of this extraordinary mercy, and that Mr Calamy, being thanked by the city for his great pains, should be desired to print and publish his sermon for the common good.

And in the mean time let us promote a strict act for regulation of printing, that no orthodox books, as they call them, be published but with much difficulty as may be wrought upon by money, that as soon as we understand the method of the law, we may understand the method of affronting the law.

September 24. It being represented to the reverend the committee of ejected ministers, that there are so few honest men left that the people are at a losse as to publick meetings, it was ordered, that there should be twenty or thirty young men to supply by turns some carelesse episcopal men's pulpits, to keep the root of the matter in the good people; and that there be messengers to invite the good people to these soul-searching sermons from Dan to Beersheba; that the same course be taken as to lectures that may be preached upon week-days, especially at Aldermanbury, Allhallows Bread-street, and Laurence-Jury; and likewise as to funeral sermons, which the well-affected must take care that they be preached by none but the honest men.

About this time, notice being sent from honourable friends, that the bishops resolved upon their respective visitations, it was ordered, that the platform of government offered at, agreed upon in London, Cambridge, and Northampton, by Mr Cartwright, Mr Travers, Mr Udall, &c., and other discountenanced ministers in Queen Elizabeth's time, and petitioned for by the thousands of Israel in King James his time, and offered to the parliament by the assembly of divines in King Charles his time, should be drawn up and agreed to, and immediately exercised in opposition to that antichristian way of bishops; but the brethren of the congregation always making some difficulty of submitting to the Pattern in the Mount: it was agreed however for the present, that two elders, grave and apt to teach, should be designed for each county, to confirm the brethren, and as Barnabas, to exhort them to cleave to the Lord with full purpose of heart; and to that end it was thought fit, that the discourse concerning Liturgies and their Imposition, Mr Case and Mr Crofton of the Covenant, Bains and Ames against Ceremonies, together with the Province of London's Discourse about Presbytery, be reprinted to be bestowed by them in their respective charges, together with the Books of Miracles, Mr Brooks's God's Consolations for Saints in Affliction, and Mr Alliband's *Nubecula est et cito transibit*, The Minister's Case; for, said Mr Watson, when they may not hear us, they may read us, when they have not us, they may have our books.

At the same time it was resolved among the brethren of the baptized way, that Mr Jessey and Mr Knowles should go and visit their friends, and edifie the respective members of their congregation all over England, with letters of salutation from the friends in London, thus directed: Jer. Ives, &c. "A servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes, which are scattered abroad, greeting."

It was reported on the 24th of the seventh moneth, to the provincial assembly, then seeking the Lord by fasting and prayer, that the union among them of the congregational way was now finished, and that a great design was going on; whereupon Mr Case pressed, that they should be unanimous, now Gebul, and Ammon, and Amaleck, the Philistines, with them of Tyre were joyned together: and not long after there was an overture of accommodation between them, upon the terms of the covenant, only some other time was reserved for explaining the words, *heresie* and *schisme*. As to the design on foot, it was judged unlikely that so unconsiderable a part of the nation could do any good; and therefore answer was made by the members of the assembly to the brethren of the congregational way, that they would wait upon providence, *i. e.* see if their undertakings prospered, if not, they would disown it; for (as one said very well) experience had taught them the method of over-turning this government; and that method is this, to keep the city, and get a major part in parliament; this government must be insensibly overturned by possessing the major part of the people with such discourses as most accommodates their thoughts and consciences.

Therefore, seeing there was no likelihood of dissolving this parliament, it was offered, that the vacancies by death in parliament should be observed, and that the people be prepared upon all these occasions to make a choice according to the Lord's mind, of men fearing God, and loving and tender towards his people, and well-affected to the good old cause; for which purpose it was judged expedient to improve the spreading discontent about chimney-money and other impositions, for which we are much engaged to the discretion and faithfulnesse of our good friends, who observing the necessities former times have run the government into, promoted these unusual supplies, at once to oblige his majesty to our party for our care of his revenue, and to enrage the people against the parliament for their profuseness of their money and neglect of their interest, suggesting the danger of a French government, or a Norman slavery, whereby the nobility and gentry shall withdraw their necks, and leave the poor commonalty to the charge and slavery of subjection; with which a groan or two must be interposed touching the ark, tender consciences, and the gospel in the purity of it, and how all

good people that have an interest therein should be affected therewith; it being the great interest of the good people to keep the thoughts of the departure of the gospel warm upon the spirits and consciences of believers, conscience being the strongest tie upon reasonable souls in the world.

It was withall agreed, that two active persons should observe all the failings of state, and report them to a committee appointed to improve and aggravate them, as might most conduce to the good old cause, especially by engaging the people in conscience against the government, and in passion against the governours, and in contempt against both, and keep this warm upon their hearts, that the cause is God's.

The fourth of the eighth moneth. It being represented that there was some miscarriage in Mr Carly's meeting, so that the prosecutors had them before governour, and imprisoned them; it was agreed, 1. Hereafter that there should be no private meeting of the brethren upon any time of publick meetings. 2. That not above twelve should meet together. 3. That their meetings should be in dining-rooms, where the tables should be set so, that if any body came, they were only there refreshing themselves with the good creature. 4. That the meetings should be as often as may be in some officer's house, who, by his place, may not be suspected, and, if discovered, may lay it upon his wife. 5. That at most meetings there may be a sacrament, which may be an obligation to secrecy and faithfulness. 6. That the meeting consist of these exercises: 1. That there be an account of all transactions since the last meeting. 2. That there be a prayer poured forth suitable to the dispensation. 3. That a scripture may be opened that may speak to the present providence. 4. That every brother may open his doubt and scruple to be resolved by the brethren if it be possible, if not, to be reserved for the great congregation. 5. That after due refreshment of ourselves we forget not the afflictions of Joseph, but send portions to the poor distressed ministers and people; for it was very well observed by Mr Seaman, that the king and church have lost most of their friends by neglecting to make a competent provision for them; for it is interest, saith he, that governeth the world: the greatest prop to our cause was our care of disposing places and delinquents lands to the well-affected, whereby a hundred thousand families were engaged to live and die with us.

October 17. A bill was brought in of some well-affected persons, that would go through all the qualifications to be prescribed by king or parliament to promote the honest interest in their several capacities, as common-councel men, and other officers of the city; provided alwayes, that upon any scruple they repair to father Calamy and father Clarke to be resolved; and the bill was brought to be registred to father Clarke, that in his next volume of martyrology he may record them as the great patriots of their country, friends to the holy cause, and restorers of paths to dwell in.

But, said Deputy Ash, what if all officers for the ensuing year must renounce the covenant?

Alas, saith Mr Nye, have not we all renounced it long ago? have not we all taken the engagement? and was not the engagement a renunciation of the covenant? Beloved, did not the Long Parliament, the famous Long Parliament, that were, I am sure, at the making of the covenant, and knew sure as well as any body how far it did bind us, lay it aside as an almanack out of date: Ah beloved! said he, you must do more for the cause then renounce a covenant that hath been this many a day out of date.

October 17. It was moved by some well-affected citizens that did lie lyable to the bishops, that some confiding lawyers were consulted about their power, whether in all cases they might not escape them by appealing to the common law, where the whole cause will fall to the ground for want of prosecutors; and how far church-wardens might act without the necessity of taking an oath; and what power they had in vestries and other parish matters without their minister, that they might understand what advantages they have in their places, for promoting the discountenanced interest of the

Lord and his servants, and where a man might get in with some officers, under whose wings they may safely serve their friends and the good old cause.

The same day, Mr Baxter offered seventeen considerations touching the conveniency of Moor-fields, Islington, Hackney, &c, for habitations to the ejected minister, and withall produced the history of Philip Nerius, the father of the oratorians, among whom it was agreed, that the zealous Christians should meet a-dayes in St Jeromes oratory, and there a religious meeting should be held after this manner: first, silence being made, they began with prayer, and one of the brothers read some pious lessons, at the reading of which the father used to interpose upon occasion, explaining more fully, enlarging and vehemently inculcating on the minds of the auditors the things read, continuing his discourse sometimes a whole hour (to the great satisfaction of the hearers) dialogue-wise, asking some of the company their opinions of such a thing; afterward, by his appointment, one of them went up into the desk raised upon steps, and made an oration without flourish or varnish of languages, composed out of the approved and choice lives of saints, sacred writ, and sentences of holy fathers; he that succeeded him discoursed after the same manner, but on a differing matter; then followed the third, who related some part of the church story in the order of its several ages; every of these had his half hour allotted to him, and performed all with marvellous delight and approbation; then singing some hymn, and going to prayers again, the company broke up. Which way, together with some additions of his own, suitable to the present occasions, he offered to their consideration.

The eighteenth of the eighth moneth. A confiding lawyer brought word, that notwithstanding the act for uniformity, there was liberty left yet for the suffering brethren to undertake the most advantagious employment to them and their cause, viz. teaching of school; which (said he) may be done thus: an inconsiderate person that hath conformed may be hired to take care of a school in a brother's house, and the brother, under the notion of boarding, may instruct them himself in all parts of learning and godliness. All applauded this motion, not only as a present provision for their persons, but a likely advantage to their cause; which if we cannot, said Mr Nie, promote in our time, yet by this means it may be restored in the next generation; they that are masters of the children in this age, may be masters of the men in the next.

Having given order for translating the farewell-sermons into Dutch, for the propagation of the gospel among the reformed churches, and the keeping up of the dying cause in the world; and settled their correspondence among the neighbours abroad and at home, and established the way of supply for money and other occasions, the collectors, treasurers, registers, and all other officers, and having disposed the several brethren to their respective charges of confirming, confuting, and comforting, throughout the churches, they broke up, and adjourned until the twenty-five of December, which is appointed to be a day of fasting and humiliation, and of seeking the Lord in the behalf of his distressed cause and servants, and particularly for that there is not the same spirit among us now that was in the beginning of these times: where are our Vines, our Hills, our Marshals, our Strongs, our Bowles, our Loves, our Jeanes, our prophets? where are they our fathers, do they live for ever? It being ordered beforehand, that Mr Needham, Mr Ascham, Mr Canne, Mr Walker, have their liberty to invent and publish such things as may amuse the people as to the right state of things, and improve our cause and interest, and that they watch all publick transaction, that if any thing fall out amiss, they may make the best of it to the good people, to keep up their hearts these desponding times; however that fears and jealousies be continued, and decay of trade; for as a brother held forth out of my Lord of St Albanes, 'So many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles, and if poverty and a broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is great and eminent,' and they may work a secret contempt of the government, which may leaven

the whole masse of the people to undermine it privately, while providence denyeth the means of overthrowing it publickly; but let all this be done with that privacy that may tempt the magistrates to security; to which purpose there may be report of other matters published, to divert their care from the main danger: And withall let there be some disputes and excuses upon mandates and directions, as an essay how far we may presume, but this must be done only by men of interest and power with the honourable and the well-affected. To this purpose it was well advised, that they who are to observe things take notice of the ambitious, the covetous, the discontented, the needy, and the obnoxious, and that they secure their dangers, gratifie their passions, and promise a relief to their necessities by an hope of alteration, to wit, they may be desired to contribute, to whom may be joined the credulous and the weak. And withall it was offered, that a solemn vow be taken to quicken them in their undertakings, and unite them in the cause, and to keep the covenant warm on their hearts, which should be promoted by correspondents in Scotland and Ireland; and the people must be dealt with as if the last appeal and supreme authority were in them, and if there falls out any thing for the best, that the honourable make use of it, to extort some favour and indulgence from the supreme power, as they call it. In the mean time let scandals be improved, and disorders occasioned, and grievances aggravated; let messages be intercepted, letters counterfeited, designs be discovered, and it will go hard if we cannot fish out something in these troubled waters. These are only the offers of a close committee, whereof Ludlow was chair-man; the assembly it was thought knew nothing of it. At last, after they had dispatched some letters to the exiles at Geneva, they rose and disposed of themselves to their several provinces; particularly, Mr Crofton is to take care that the presbyterian arguments against the bishops be such, as may not be of force for the factious against the presbyterians. Mr Baxter is to go and think of more arguments and disputations against church-government. Mr Case is to say long graces, and to weep bitterly for the daughter of my people. Mr Caryl is to enlarge upon Job in these times of patience and persecution. Mr Bates, Mr Manton, and Mr Jacombe, are to wait upon the honourable that are well affected. Mr Calamy is once a quarter to appear in Aldermanbury desk, and there shake his head at the times, and tremble for fear of the ark, and to satisfie young men how far they may conform for the service of the cause. Mr Watson is to enlarge his Discourse of Comforts in Persecution, as Mr Brooks his Good Wine till last; and Mr Watson is to publish his Sermons against Popery. Neast, Cave, Raworth and Lewis are to lecture it: Lye, Wilkinson, Venning are to bring up youth in the way wherein they should walk, and they will not depart from it in their age.

The ninth day of the ninth moneth. A Welch curate, or a son of the church of England, that goeth in Welch-frize and a russet-cloak, ycliped Lewis, a soul-saving-searching-awakening usurer, broker, briber, and monopolist of livings and lectures, a servant of Jesus Christ in the work of the gospel, holding forth at the meeting-place of Allhallowes in the Wall, and pastor of a church there, was called before the reverend the committee of ejected ministers, where Mr Calamy being in the chair, told him of several misdemeanours, whereby he was a scandal to their cause: particularly, that under pretence of the promise made to them to reserve his pulpit for any well-affected brethren not conforming, who would take pains to confirm the disciples, and to establish them in the faith, he had admitted fifth-monarchy men, anabaptists, and others to his pulpit, to the great disparagement of the holy cause, which may be thought to countenance those factions and wayes. Whereunto the anabaptist, independent-presbyterian son of the church replyed: 1. That he desired to become all things to all men. 2. That though the brethren of the baptized way differed from us in some points, yet they heartily agree in the main, viz. zealous opposition of the tyranny, superstition, and prophaneness of these times, which he understood to be the present interest.

3. That because no body would hear him before these times, he must now please every body to gain a congregation. Mr Calamy urged against him further, that he being appointed to look out all opportunities of employment, and so bring in his destituted brethren to his church, allowing them what he gained abroad, only reserving two shillings in ten for his own pains, he snatched up all that was to be got in town, and imployed his brethren, but allowed them little or nothing. He replied, that he knew not how soon he should be out of all, for the high priest of London threatened him every day, and he desired to be excused if he lay in something against an evil day. Another of the committee urged against him the forty pounds it cost him in the maid's business, where he was caught in Shoreditch: to which he replied, "that the spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak;" his heart was right, he intended to propagate the gospel. When they told him he should marry and not burn, he answered, I suppose that it is good for the present distress, I say, it is good so to be. After complaint of several misdemeanours, the curate tells them, that if they would anger him any more he would be episcopal, for, saith he, I was an anabaptist, and they being too busie with me, I turned independent; the independent troubled me in Wales, I came to London, and was presbyterian; and if you will not let me alone, I will even turn, and be a son of the church. Whereupon Mr Manton said, we should not narrow our interest, nor offend the brethren, besides Mr Lewis is the most thorow-paced nonconformist in town.

And if it please you, said Lewis, I shall offer you twelve things for the propagation of the good old cause which I do:—

1. I read little or no common-prayer.

2. I not use the surplice.

3. I preach Mr Jenkins, Mr Watsons, Mr Gurnal, Mr Manton, and other works, so that while I preach they are not silenced.

4. I am in the morning at a church, and in the afternoon at a meeting.

5. At a lecture I pray an hour, and preach two hours, wherein I hint many things effectually for the good old cause.

6. Where I do one office at church according to the common-prayer, I do five at home by the directory, especially in visiting the sick, and baptizing the faithful children.

7. Upon the 30 January and May 29, I hold a private fast, and have no sermon at church, unless it be a sermon at night for preparation to the sacrament or so, for I observe that custome still.

8. I watch every vacancy in town by sickness, absence, and I bring in either myself, or some well-affected brother to that place, whereby, as the scripture saith, we take no small advantage.

9. I keep two registers, one for children baptized according to the directory, which I have at home, and the other for children baptized according to the common-prayer that I have at church; one for people I marry without licence, whereof I have married many of our dear brethren and sisters, the other for one or two in a year I marry with a licence, which licence I keep to shew for any body that is married.

10. I bring in all the intelligence that is stirring among the episcopal divines, as they call them, who take me for one of themselves, and accordingly admit me to their lectures and meetings.

11. I have a convenient chamber for private meetings and affairs at Sion colledge, where I can do no little service.

12. I receive to my church all such tender consciences as cannot keep their own churches, being enjoyned reverence, and order, and decency, as they call it; and I let them do what they will, for I tell them, if the heart be right all is well; if they will keep on their hats they may, if they will receive the communion sitting they may, which is a great ease to good men.

13. Whereas there is nothing but bitterness abroad, and railing and reflecting pon the late times, I offer now and then a word of comfort in that particular, intimating the good of the late cause, the holiness of the people ingaged in it, with a word of being faithful to the covenant.

Upon this the committee dismissed him, and wished him to walk circumspectly, and be wise as a serpent.

God save the King.

FINIS.

A true and faithful Narrative of the unjust and illegal Sufferings and Oppressions of many Christians (injuriously and injudiciously called Fanaticks, holding all the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, believing all the Articles of the Christian Faith; and whose Lives and Conversations are as consonant and agreeable to the Laws of God as theirs that persecute them) under, and by several of his Majesties Justices of Peace, and others, who are no Officers, but Informers, in the County of Devon, since the 10*th of May,* 1670, *from a pretended zeal, to put the Law against Conventicles in Execution. As also of the most malicious Prosecution of Nine innocent Persons, to take away their Lives under a false pretence of Murdering an Informer: And of the Tryals that were betwixt Matthew Hele, of Halwel, in the Parish of Pool, William Bastard, of Garston, in the Parish of West-Alvington, Esquires, and Mr Edmund Reynel, and John Bear, (called by a nick-name Cocky Bear) two Informers for pretended Neglects, of putting the Act against Conventicles in Execution, and the hard Measure they met with from the Judge, with the horrid Perjuries of the Witnesses brought against them at the Assizes held at Exon, in the County of Devon, April* 1671.

Printed in the Year 1671.

This narrative may be considered as no improper counterpart to the foregoing tract, since as the one is intended to throw ridicule upon the non-conforming divines, the other tends to shew with what animosity their conventicles were suppressed, and their hearers punished. The injuries, however, which are here narrated, are mild, compared with the violent measures by which, in the same reign, conformity with episcopacy was enforced in Scotland, and all Mr Justice Bear's exploits sink into nothing, contrasted with one day's campaign of Drummond and Dalziel.

It may, notwithstanding, be observed, that in the following tract the transgression of the existing law is scarcely denied, though the charge of oppression is founded upon the want of legal evidence sufficient for conviction. The circumstances of the times compelled the author to under-plead his cause, and to charge those acts of oppression upon the mode of executing the law, which, in fact, were the direct and necessary fruits of the law itself.

Reader,

It is not necessary that thou should know who hath composed and published the ensuing narrative; I shall only thus characterize him unto thee, that he is an enemy to none that is a friend to the Lord Jesus Christ and his glorious gospel; that he doth not value men by their most splendid profession, but serious practice of religion; not by religious notions, but by a religious nature; not by being of a party, but by the practice of piety; not by a hot intemperate zeal, either for negative or possitive superstition, or the slender circumstances, but the vital parts and substance of Christianity. He loves, esteems, and prefers an episcopal person, that's a strict and close walker with God, whose life is consonant, and whose actions are correspondent to that compleat and perfect rule which divine laws do constitute, before a prophane presbyterian, or independant, &c., and a pious, painful conformist, before a loose and lasie non-conformist, when he knows it is so; though he must confess, according to his observation, the latter are not generally so morally criminous and peccant as the former. He heartily desires that in these three nations all were of a pacate spirit, and peaceable deportment towards each other, and that every one were dispossest of a censorious devil. And as he doth not think any form of civil regiment to be of divine right, so he can honour and pray for the governments that God doth set over us; and though he earnestly desires that all may answer the end of government, which is the advancement of the common good, (this being the will of the universal rector, as his supream law or rule in politicals) and that every law of theirs may be congruous, and not contrary to the laws of the supream monarch and highest legislator; and that all may have their foundation in right reason and common equity, which may make their obligation unquestionable, and give the esse of a law indeed to them; yet when they are not so, though he cannot yield an active obedience to them, yet he can a passive subjection to the magistrate that makes them, distinguishing between the authority of his laws and of his person; so that though he judgeth not the former obliging to his conscience, (or, to speak as properly, that his conscience binds not to such laws) yet he doth the latter to his outward man, to keep it from resisting when punished, though he could avoid such punishment by resistance.

He wisheth that the smiles and favours of royal majesty may be as a soveraign balsome, to heal those many wounds that are now made in our body politick, that it may at last be reduced to an eucrasy, or a sound and healthful constitution; but if that cannot, or must not be, he equally desireth that they who feel the smart, that sigh and groan under the anguish of them, may be of a sedate spirit, and to be perswaded unto a patient tolleration thereof, till the chiefest physitian, by his infallible and unerring wisdom, contrive and provide a remedy that may infallably, and with irresistable energy, effect the cure.

He will not charge it upon any of our legislators, that they have made unreasonable and unjustifiable laws, to be as swords and spears to make these deep and dangerous wounds, to vulnerate almost mortally the greatest part of the political body, to gratifie a few members thereof; but he asserts, that an illegal execution of laws makes these fresh-bleeding wounds, which the ensuing narrative will present to thy view, and which, I hope, if thou beest but either a truly pious, or right noble and generous soul, thou cannot look upon without pitty, and a compassionate resentment. Not only piety but generosity is productive of highest compassions and commisserations. I hold it more eligible by far to fall into the hands of a man that hath a soul bravely impregnated with that principle, (supposing him to want the other) then of him whose soul was scarce ever elevated, and raised a degree above a dunghill, who lives and acts as if it were but the very origin and off-spring thereof, knowing, and affecting nothing but sordidness and baseness, such a one is most insolent, insulting, and domineering, proud, and scornful, when he hath power, most incommiserate, and incompassionate, when

others stand to his mercy, and he sees he can tread and trample upon them; he is most revengeful when he hath an opportunity, which he is ever greedily waiting for; and what ever is indecorous for a man to do, or unbecoming humanity, that will he do; or hath still an innate habit, or principal connatural with him, to act him thereunto, which will break forth and shew itself, if not curbed or restrained by some forraign force or external power; for this reason, it's alwayes better to have a truly valiant person for an enemy than a coward; because if he conquer, he will be very tender of spilling blood, unless there be an absolute necessity that compels him to it. If, therefore, this narrative can but have the honour and happiness to kiss the hand, and be viewed with the eyes of any truly generous spirit, (which hath such a law of nobleness enthroned in it, as I am sure it cannot violate) whatever perswasion he be of, I know he cannot but highly disdain the actings of some, and pitty the wrongs and oppressions of others.

Why should not sufferers hope? Our king is of that mansuete, milde, and compassionate temper, that if he did but read, and had but a right information of such things as are contained in this narrative, (But alas! there are too many which endeavour a prevention of their access unto, and arrival at his ears and eyes, or represent them in a false glass; and this is many times the misery of princes, and a considerable cause of their miscariages in government, that they cannot hear with their own ears, from those that would give a right information and true state of persons and things; nor see with their own eyes what is needful to be exposed to the view, and lye open to the observation thereof) but he would endeavour some speedy relief for the oppressed, if not grow big with royal indignation against the oppressors.

I shall not much concern myself whether this narrative be grateful or ingrateful to the reader, seeing it's composed of truth; for what I have collected and published, I have done it with awful apprehensions of the severe inspection of God's all-seeing eye, and therefore would not wilfully and wittingly send abroad falshood to travel in the world, neither would I deviate or vary from verity in the most minute and inconsiderable circumstance; but if I should, as possibly I may, yet I hope I shall be pardoned by the candid reader, and that he will become an advocate for me (seeing the best and truest historians are obnoxious to such mistakes) so long as the substance is true; which take as followeth:—

May the 29th, 1670, Mr George Reynel of Malson, in the parish of Sherford, Devon, (now a prisoner in the King's Bench) one of his majesties justices of peace (though a sufficient disturber thereof, of which you have some signal instances in the following narrative) being informed by some infamous fellows (imployed for that end) that there was an assembly of people at Mr John Hicks his house, (a non-conformist minister) in the town of Kingsbridge, came thether about eleven a clock in the forenoon, attended with divers persons, (most of which are well known to be lewd and debaucht) and most furiously attempts to break open the street-door with an iron bar or sledge of iron, which not being able speedily to do, his brother, Arthur Reynel, goes to the back-door, which being open, he enters, and hastens to the other, and not finding the key in the lock, begins to curse (judgd by some a minute crime in comparison of praying and preaching the gospel) in this manner; The plague take you, throw too it. But the key being speedily found, the door was opened to the justice and his attendants, who, without delay, having entered the house, presently ascends to the chambers (leaving his brother Arthur and some others below) and enquires for the said Mr H., being supposed, but not proved, to have preacht; whom not finding, most unbecoming a gentleman, and a justice of peace, before his wife, reviles, and calumniates, calling him then, and at the tavern after, rebel, rogue, rascal, town-bull, whore-master, bastard-maker, &c. Then he above, and his brother below, begin to take the names of the people whom they found there; but in vain was the assay, for both their hands trembled so much (which was obvious to the view and observation of many spectators, who

are ready now to attest it) that they could not scarce write one name, and so were forct to desist. What was productive or causative of this paralytical distemper, I leave the intelligent and impartial reader to judge. Yet notwithstanding, the said justice (as if he would attempt a conquest over the terrors of the Almighty, and would baffle and stifle the consternating convictions of his own conscience) proceeds, May the 30th, to a conviction of several persons to suffer, as he pretended, according to the law made against conventicles. First then, though no minister was found, nor could it be proved that there was any, much less that Mr Hicks, or any other minister, did either preach or teach, (which is the crime that incurs the penalty of twenty pound) yet he levied twenty pound upon the said Mr H. for preaching, and issues forth his warrant to the constables of Kingsbridge, to take destress upon his goods, (he judging and declaring him, upon the sight of his houshold goods the Sabbath-day, sufficient to satisfie the law;) but he refusing to open his doors, the justice then, against law, transfers the penalty from him to some of his supposed hearers; and amongst the rest, he levieth forty shillings upon one Roger Bastard, who was not the Lord's-day before at Mr H. his house when the justice came, and though he made his complaint to him of the wrong done him, yet he would not relieve him: Twenty shillings he levied upon Thomas Cole, of Kingsbridge, who refusing to pay it, he (as if he had been too merciful and compassionate before) adds fifteen shillings more to it, and commands the constables to destrain thirty sheep for it; which is a most horrid oppression, and highest injustice, contrary to all law: As the 51. Hen. 3. which saith, "That destresses must be reasonable, after the value of the debt, and demand."—52. Hen. 3. which saith, "That destresses shall be reasonable, and not too great, and he that taketh great and unreasonable destresses, shall be grievously amerced for the excess thereof." So 28. Ed. 1. 12. Forty shillings further he levieth upon Chrispin Collings, who finding himself agrieved, makes his appeal according to law: And now the injustice and oppressions that he met with at the sessions may be read. First, When he came up with witnesses to prove several things of moment, and had been at great charges, he was not suffered to travers his appeal, but (as if on purpose to oppress him the more, and because there could be no witnesses then got to prove he was at Mr H. his house) made to enter into new recognizance to do it the next sessions after; which, when he came to do, he found justice stood afar off, and equity could not enter; for there judgment principally past upon the evidence of an ignorant fellow, who swore he saw him in the said Mr H. his house, and when it was demanded at what time, he replyed, in the afternoon, and yet the pretended conventicle that Mr Reynel would convict of, was in the forenoon; and though it could not be proved that Mr H. did at that time either preach or teach, yet was the said C. Collings adjudged to part of the twenty pound, besides the treble cost, which was screwed up to the highth. The most that could be attested, was, that the voice of Mr H. was heard; and yet he that did swear this was at that distance from his house, that it rendred it very difficult either to hear the voice of a man, or so as to distinguish betwixt the voice of one man and another, and impossible to know whether it were the voice of one praying or preaching, by the most open and attentive ears; yet this was valid and authentick enough to prove that there was preaching. But as I have heard of a man that was usually of the petty jury, for life and death, in the county where he lived, and when evidence was not clear to the jury of a felonious fact, would still say, Let us hang the man at a venture; so were most of the justices at the sessions, and the jury (which is usually according to their hearts desire) resolved to do with Chrispin Collings, to make him pay part of the fine, whether there was preaching, yea, or no. And this hath been their practice from sessions to sessions, as shall, by several following instances, be proved.

Before the next Sabbath, Mr Reynel left the country, but his setters or informers continue in it; (whether they were volunteers and spontaneous actors, or stirred up by

him to this illustrious work and honourable employment, I shall not determine) who, the ensuing Lord's-day, were very active, sedulous, and industrious to discharge the trust reposed in them; after some time therefore spent in hunting, they scent a conventicle near Surly Butts, in the parish of Westalvington, to which, with great celerity and speed, they hasten, and, Jehu-like, drive most furiously, least they should miss of their game and prey: The considerable circumstances of which actions are as followeth: First, The number of persons engaged therein, which were about fourteen horse and foot. Secondly, Their quality; one or two of them gentlemen, (in that common, absurd, irrational notion and acceptation of a gentleman among us; that is, one descended from such an ancient, dignified family, when there is a degeneration from all the true noble accomplishments and behaviour of gentlemen, and a total and shameful laps from all real vertue, that true gentility is the genuine off-spring of, which it gives its first rise and being too, and which necessarily it must have its foundation laid in; when he hath scarce a rag or shadow of it left, nothing but romantick complements, pedantick postures, and legs made with some geometrical proportion) with one Mr John Bear, who is now in a probability to be lickt into some form and shape of gentility, with Thomas and Nicholas Foord; what they take themselves to be, I know not, but I think their gentility will scarce pass for currant coyn in the country where they live: The rest were the very scum thereof; a meer Cataline's crew, whose imployment did exactly harmonize and correspond with their quality; for durty fellows, or most fit for durty work. Thirdly, Their condition, which is necessitous, (for the greatest part of them) a sufficient provocative, and spur to these heroick atchievements. Fourthly, The head of this informing party, the abovesaid Mr John Beer, or Bear, (as he writes after his grandfather, the old committee-man, who usurpt and assumed the name of Bear, which is the name of another worshipful family in Devon, to dignifie his own with) of Woodmason, or Bearscomb, (as the old committee-man denominated it from his new name, Bear) near Kingsbridge; this new-stampt gentleman was the captain of, and had the honour to conduct this peerless party and squadron. Of whose unchristian, ingenerous, and disobliging deportment among his neighbours, with many of his sordid actions, you shall have a further and fuller account. Fifthly, The manner of their coming, which was with ursine rage, belluine fury, impetuous insolency, beating a youth in the way, whom they supposed gave warning to the people; to whom, in a most outragious manner, at first they approach; their renowned and gallant leader, Mr John Beer, or Bear, (but let us not deny or grudge him the latter name, it being so congruous to his nature) his first salutation being, Where is that damned rogue? (meaning the supposed minister) others of them cried out, Ride for your lives; which they did, without any respect to the people in the way: And such were their rude voceferations and exclamations, with their most foul calumniations, that well might any have judged some bedlam-madness to have possest them, or that they were some Tartarian troop, brought by an invisible hand thether. And when they could not find the said minister, Mr John Bear retreats, and advancing towards several gentle-women (whose virtue and modesty is well known and acknowledged in the country where they live, by all but those that have respect for or value neither) begun prodigiously to curse them after this manner: The plague take you, what have you done with Hicks? And then adds to it, swearing by the most sacred and terrible name of the Supream Majesty, You have hid him under your——— The rest of his words being so obscæn and filthy, I shall break off with an aposioperis.

George Bear, the younger brother, coming to a young man, demands of him ten shillings; who mildly replied, Do you want money? Whereupon the said G. B. spurs up his horse with much fury and fierceness against him, but (as if he were sensible of the inhumanity of his master) he denies obedience, and recoyls; then G. B. commands one Lucas, his informing brother, (a fellow of vast dimensions) to beat him, with these words: Beat the rogue; who presently with a great cudgel, most furiously and forcibly, gave him several blows upon his head, bruising it very much, and in all probabi-

lity had he not kept on his hat, his life had been endangered: Yet the other took hi abuse very patiently, making not the least resistance. Tho. Ford, a most busie and ac tive informer, (having his soul impregnated with such principles of matchless magnani mity, that one might suppose there was now a clear demonstration of the metempseu chosis of souls, that some Hectors or Scanderbegs had transmigrated into his body with most heroick, and invincible courage, charged three young women, commanding them with most fierce looks, and the rays of highest valour sparkling through hi sprightly eyes, to stand for their lives, minacing and threatning most formidably, tha he would run them thorow, if they would not tell where Hicks was; the words were so like thondering and lightning, that they were struck into consternation, and some of them through fear fainted, and fell down: If *ne Hercules contra duos*, What a rare son of Mars was here, that durst encounter with three at once. Certainly an army o such men would have been signally serviceable to his majesty, when the Dutch came first up to Chatham, when all the sons of Bacchus and Venus gave a clear demon stration, by their panick fear, how little of Mars was in them; no doubt if he had been then imployed, he would have merited immortal honour. And to conclude this, when these informers were together, nothing could scarce be heard but whole volleys of oaths, with a most execrable eructation, and evomition of curses; insomuch, that one would have thought infernal spirits had made use of corporeal organs. Some of them were, (as the two informing Beers) upon conviction by Mr Bastard, of Garston, punish according to law for swearing.

June the 12th, these informers, with fresh auxiliaries, and an addition to their num ber, in a very hostile manner, came into the town of Kingsbridge, and when they were near Mr Hicks his house, they drew their swords, to the terror of some of the inhabi tants that were within view thereof, and then hasten to his house to beset it; the bet ter to effect which, they violently and furiously broke open his next neighbour's street-door, and then some of them run thorow his entry and garden, and leaping over the hedge, came to Mr H. his back-door, that they might forcibly keep in the people (which they supposed were there) till a justice of peace came, and apprehended the said Mr H.; which a few days before, one of the informers (and that George Bear, if I mistake not) said fifteen of them had engaged to the Bishop of Exon to do. Now, let the reader know that those informers came (as they did the Sabbath-day before) thus armed with swords and pistols, without any warrant or authority from any justice of peace, and without any officer with them; the people therefore knowing there was no authority to restrain and deprive them of their liberty, resolved to go out at the back-door, where they found one John Lucas, a carpenter, with a pistol in his hand cockt, and presented to them (which Lucas was bound to the peace, or good behaviour, for beating the man the Lord's-day before, of which an account is given) yet thus they arm him. When the pis tol was first given him, he quickly and speedily run to the back-door of Mr H. his house, and then returning hastily again, cryed out to his informing brethren, Yonder are the rogues: But then said, What shall I do with this pistol, there is nothing in it! Upon which words, one of the informers was seen to deliver him something, which he put into the pistol, and hasted towards the back-door again, saying, Now I am fitted for the rogues: And when he stood at the door, he was further heard to threaten, that he would pistol those that came forth; which caused two of the company (viz. Ni cholas Huxome, and John Leech) to disarm him, to prevent his doing mischief, (for he that had beaten one the Sabbath before, might kill another now) which when they had done, several of the informers came, as Mr John Bear, his brother George, the valian Tom Ford, &c., to justifie him in breaking of the peace, and with drawn swords and cockt pistols they pursue some persons, threatning to kill them: One of them set his point of his naked rapier to the breast of a woman, (who saith, she thinks it was George Bear) uttering bloodily and barbarously these words: Thou impudent jade or damned whore, I could find in my heart to run thee thorow, and if I should do it

I should do God good service. The said George Bear set the point of his rapier to the breast of Nicholas Huxome, and swore he would run him thorow. Likewise Walter Campion, (of whose prodigious perjuries hereafter) a blacksmith in Dadbrook, near Kingsbridge, seised a young man in the street, (who had been long sick before, and had recovered a little strength now to come abroad) and commands him to go along with him; which he refusing to do, he forcibly drags him along; the other demanding a warrant of him for so doing, he took a pistol out of his pocket, and told him that was his warrant, threatning no less than death to him. Another of them highly and terribly threatned a young woman, bruising her arms by a forcibly hailing, and pulling her along, whereby she was much affrighted, and whereof she much complained. These are some of their brutish carriages, and savage actions at that time. After which, John Lucas (who was disarmed) to be revenged, accused several for beating him, whereof William Gilberd, of Kingsbridge, was one; accordingly a warrant was granted by Mr Hele, upon the oath that the said Lucas had taken, to convene the said W. G. before him; who when he appeared in obedience to the same, Lucas acknowledged he was mistaken, after he had thus sworn against him. When the sessions came, Lucas, who was bound over to them, makes his appearance; but the judge of the sessions, Mr Carew, would take no notice of his breaking the peace, but shamefully acquits him, justifies him in what he did, highly countenances him; the clerk of the peace refused to take any fees of him, whereby all encouragement was given him, and the rest of the fraternity, outragiously to abuse at their will and pleasure, such as are called conventiclers and fanaticks; and though this was so notorious a riot, according to the laws of England, yet the least notice was not taken of it. Had a heathen seen with what partiality, and favour towards one party, all things were managed, and with great rigour, injustice, and cruelty towards the other (that is, those whom Lucas falsly accused for beating him; and one William March, as wrongfully, for speaking some seditious words, whom Mr Carew would not give any time to provide sureties for the good behaviour, but commanded, with a most stern countenance, and in a most wrathful manner, which shewed how much his heart was filled and envenomed with envy and malice, the jaler presently to take him) he must needs have cryed out, that certainly Christianity eradicates and destroys common equity. Here the very scum of the countrey, the most abject fellows, and dross of mankind, were, by Mr Carew, suffered to taunt, vilifie, and set at naught some justices upon the bench, as Mr Hale, and Mr Bastard, (being lookt upon as favourits of fanaticks, and because they would not oppress their neighbours; but more concerning them in the subsequent part of the narrative) as if they had not been worthy to wipe their shoes: No check or controul was given them, but all was heard with much seeming delight and complacency. Here every informer was suffered to talk, as if he had been a justice of peace, or a person of greatest honour. Among the rest the magnanimous Tom Ford, taking his place upon the bench, aloud askt Lucas, if he wanted any money, he should have enough: And because Lucas, after he had taken a positive oath that William Gilberd beat him, acknowledged his errour, Tom Ford, in open court, aloud, further told him (that he might be sure not to err the second time) that if he that beat him had black hair, then it was William Gilberd, but if he had yellow hair, it was Richard his brother (as if black and yellow put a characteristical difference betwixt them and all other men) whereupon Lucas at a venture, swore it was Richard that beat him, which was notoriously false; and this desperate oath was taken, and the said Richard was bound over to two assizes, of which there is yet a fuller narrative to come.

Two Lords-days more, viz. June the 19th, and 26th, these informers hunt eagerly, but could find no game, till July the 3d, when Mr George Reynel was returned into the countrey, and then to work they go early in the morning, having the fresh scent of a conventicle in their noses at Liuckham-Hill-Head, near Salcomb, in the parish of Malborough; thether therefore they repair with all the strength they could make, being

about twenty or thirty horse and foot, armed, swearing they would have Hicks if he were above ground. As they were going to the place, they overtook a young-man of Kingsbridge, of whom Mr Reynel demanded where the meeting was: He replied, He knew not, (as he did not the particular place) and then leaves the lane, to go into a field, which Mr Reynel seeing, quickly dismounts, and ran after him; whom overtaking, (most well becoming a justice of the peace) he beat him with his horsewhip, the stripes whereof left their marks and prints behind them upon his back and shouldiers. When they came near the place, where they supposed the meeting was, they divided themselves into two squadrons, thinking by that means to encompass the minister and people, and take them all in a net at once; but when they came, they found only some few in the circumjacent fields; then they rode fiercely about, being most impetuous and eager in the chase and pursuite of Mr H. (though he had stolen neither gold nor silver.) Mr Reynel offered ten pound, or a good sum of money to one man, if he would discover where he was, and demands of another to tell him, who being silent, he either ordered, or suffered one of his attendants (I think his own servant) to beat him, which was inhumanly done, with a cudgel: Then meeting with a third person, who upon demand, refused to make discovery of Mr H. and being unwilling to go along with them, one of the company (whether by the order of the justice, or no, I cannot certainly tell) knockt him down, and then two of them, whereof the perjured companion was one; dragged him along several paces like a dog, by the heels, which put the man to great pain (he having not long before broke his leg) which extorted outcrys and complaints from him; a young woman being near him, bid him be of good comfort, and not fear, for God would be with him, (or words to that purpose) this wretched champion hearing her say so, endeavoured to bring her into trouble, saying to the justice, Hark what she saith? She saith the devil is with us, and God is with them; but some of their own company witnessed the truth, and contradicted him: Then, saith he, if she said not so, she meant so. Then after they had spent two or three hours in making a diligent search in fields, houses, (some whereof they violently broke into, without demanding any entrance, or having a denial given them) orchards, gardens, &c. for Mr H., and had wearied out themselves they depart; but conviction was made of a conventicle. Twenty pounds is levied for preaching, though it could never be proved; many did suffer, though they never knew their accusers, which is usual; and commonly there is no other evidence to ground, and bottome a conviction upon, but what is given by informers. And how unreasonable, unwarrantable, and illegal this is, let all Englishmen, yea, and the world judge, seeing they are parties so much concerned.

Now Mr Bear (the head of the informers) expects some considerable rewards for his good service done his majesty, and the church, as he accounts it; he writes therefore to the Bishop of Exon, (as he had done sometimes before, declaring his several services for the church, his endeavour to bring to condigne punishment all dissenters from her) to acquaint him he had now done what he could in that single capacity he was in, hoping to arrive at some higher pitch of honour; the merit of his zeal, and illustrious atchievements, in his own esteem, challenging no less than the reward of being made a justice of peace: Which if he were invested with the authority of, he promiseth him with what vigour and activity he would ruine, or reduce to due obedience, the churches enemies. The bishop perceiving him to be a prompt and active young man, to promote the hierarchical interest, and having had ample experience of his scorning to stick at the breaking of any law, or committing the foulest riots to advance the same. He had no reason to suspect his cowardise, if he could get him advanced to a justiceship, in adventuring soul, body, conscience, estate and all, for the preservation thereof. He therefore bestirs himself to get him into the commission of peace, which after much difficulty, by the arch-bishop, and the Earl of Bath, he effected. One might indeed have thought, that in good time there would have been a probability of his advance-

ment to the degree of a hundred, or head-constable, but few or none judged him worthy of a higher dignity, considering the inferiority of his quality, the inconsiderableness of his estate, being as his neighbours (that know it well) affirm, at the utmost but 200 pound per annum, out of which he pays his father, his brother George, and two sisters, such annuities, that he cannot have much more than 60 pound per annum to maintain, and support the grandeur of a justice. It's known likewise he is indebted, being a borrower of money: How fit is he for his present preferment, and capable of such an advancement, let all true English souls judge? I know no other reason why his fellow-justices so much scorn and disdain him, why none of them, nor any other gentleman at the chief sheriff's table the last assizes, thought him worthy to be drunk to, which was but sower sauce, I believe, to his sweet meat, and enough to hinder the good concoction thereof. But however, though he that was so lately the head of the informers, be now lookt upon but as the tail of justices, yet he is resolved to make his neighbours and the fanaticks to know his authority; forthwith therefore he begins to display its powerful beams, the scorching heat whereof he makes the conventiclers sufficiently to feel, but excentrick to all law, as the following instances will most clearly demonstrate:—

To begin then with his first conviction of a conventicle held at Linckham-Hill-Head, the 26th of July, 1670, which he exprest, in his warrant to the constables for distress, was grounded upon the oaths of two or more witnesses, but who these were is unknown; no person being convicted in the presence of his accusers, nor summoned to appear before his worship, to hear what was evidenced against them, or what they could plead for themselves, till the warrants were granted for levying fines, to the value of twenty-four pounds ten shillings, upon six persons by distress, without making demand of the money; besides several other distresses that I forbear to mention, which the sufferers groan under, they being so unreasonable, and their goods sold so much under value. Also, they were able to prove themselves elsewhere the 26th of July, which when Mr Bear understood, he gave the constables new warrants to keep the above-mentioned sums for the 3d of July, commanding them to return the money to some whose goods they had taken, and under-sold: The constables therefore of Kingsbridge, bring to Mr John Hingston seven pound ten shills, which was levied on him: He told them they had no money, but goods from him, which if they would bring back again, its likely he might receive them; whereon one of the constables threw down the money on his table, and the other catcht it up by a second warrant, he not receiving it, and the first warrants Mr Bear hath since forced from the constables.

Another conviction of his was as followeth: Mr Tooker, a non-conforming minister, living in the parish of West-Aleington, in the county of Devon, having three gentlewomen at his house on a Sabbath-day (who visited his wife, being much afflicted for the death, by drowning at sea, of her son and only child) prayed with them, it being in the afternoon when there was no minister at the parish church: and while he was engaged in this Christian work and duty, come Lucas, Campion, Arnel, with Leech, (the apostate, and Judas) all of the informing crew, with some others, and beset the house, to see that none should pass in or out, while they sent for the constables, and church-wardens of the parish, before whose coming, one of the gentlewomen's servants came with a horse to carry her home, but seeing the house beset returned again immediately; and when they came, the doors were presently opened to them, who entring the house made a general search, the informers assisting them, but found not one person besides the three aforesaid gentlewomen, and the family; this highly discontents and enrageth the informers, because they missed of their expected prize and prey. However, they said, this should not serve their turn, but they would make a conventicle of the three gentlewomens being there: Accordingly they immediately repaired to the new-informing Justice Bear, and acquainted him, that though there were but three persons in the house besides the family, yet there was a servant of one of the

gentlewomens, who came riding thether, and Mr Bevil Bastard, (who hearing that the informers were there, came to the house to see what they did, although not until the officers had searcht the house and were gone) with Joseph Tripe, who was then walking in his own ground, where it was not possible for him to hear any thing that was spoken in the house, and the informers were betwixt him and the house likewise, and this Mr Bear judged to be notorious evidence, and circumstance of fact sufficient to make it a conventicle; and accordingly the next morning (without sending for any of the persons complained of, to hear what they could say for themselves) grants his warrants for distraining of Mr Tooker for 30 pound, and Joseph Tripe for ten pound. The officers of the parish the same day, came to Mr Tooker's house, and the informers with them, without being required or commanded, who pulled and tore down all the goods in his house; and such was the inmanity and inhumanity of these rapacious harpies, and voracious birds of prey, (I mean the informers) that they did not only seise his beds and bedclothes, but the poor childrens wearing-clothes, and the very victuals that was in the house; they left no corner or place they could find unsearcht for money, neither his pockets, nor the flesh-tubs, pigs-pailes, all sorts of bottles, nor yet the very close-stool, (as if the evacuated excrements of fanaticks could be converted into coin, or were rich bullion, however these new-gold-finders judged that something more precious and odoreferous a partepost might drop from them than other persons;) ten shillings they stole, but who was the particular person that did it, I know not; but this I know, that one of the principal actors among them was John Bear or Beer, (who by a nick-name is called Cocky Bear in the countrey) a cousin of the new justices, that had sufficiently experienced the pinches of poverty, before he took up this most disgraceful informing trade, and now he with the rest live upon the spoyl of the countrey.

Joseph Tripe, having his goods destrained, immediately repairs to Justice Bear, and acquaints him that he was so far from coming to Mr Tooker's house, as that he shund and estranged himself from it, (there being a sute in law betwixt him and Mr Tooker, upon her former husband's account) and further proved, that he was within his house all that day, until that time that the informers came; Mr Bevil Bastard, and the gentlewoman's servant prove the same; upon which Mr Bear dismist them, and set their goods at liberty; (Mr Tooker's being much spoiled and dammified) but he had not his money again, which was stolen from him; and because Mr Tooker, about half a year after, complained of the damage done to his goods, and that he had reason to have satisfaction for it, Mr Bear grants a new warrant to seise all his goods, and in case no goods could be found, then to apprehend his person; which necessitates and enforceth Mr Tooker to disperse his family, and betake himself to a wandring life, to avoid his implacable wrath and malice.

September the 11th, This Gorings crew, or plunderers, went to Mr Burdwood's house, (a non conformist) in the parish of Malborough, where they found him singing a psalm with four of his neighbours, besides his own family; and having a mastiff-dog without at the door, he barks at them; a girle living near, perceiving this, sets on the dog, (it's likely understanding that though these were not of the same species or kind with the dog, yet that they were of the same disposition) which the people of the house hearing, presently call off, and opening the door to let him in, the girl, being affrighted, enters in too, and the informers with her, even upon her heels; and this Mr Bear makes a sufficient ground and reason to proceed on to a conviction of a conventicle, (notwithstanding that one of the informers did acknowledge, that the girl went in when the door was opened to the dog;) he levieth therefore twenty pound upon Mr Burdwood for his house, twenty pound more for preaching, and five shillings for each of the rest. One Chiswel of Kingsbridge, black-smith, owing Mr Burdwood three pound, had a warrant sent him from this new justice, requiring him to detain the money in his hand, which he through fear did; another warrant he sent to the constables of Cornwoody, for the

seising of an estate which Mr Burdwood had there, if they found it chattel for lives or years. April the 23d of this present year, Leech (the Judas) and Arnel, his brother-informer, (two expert and considerable setting dogs, that Mr Bear is the master of) hunt about the countrey for game, both for their master and themselves, and at last they came to a farmer's house, in a village called Leigh, in the parish of Modbury, about five or six miles distant from the place where they live; and seeing some persons pass into the farmer's yard, (it being the forenoon) one of them stops at the house to watch, the other went to call the officers of the parish, who came with all possible speed to the house, and narrowly searcht it, but found not one person in the house, or about it, besides the family belonging to it, (and the truth is, the people only passed through the court, and went to some other place, or about their occasions elsewhere, while the farmer was praying with his family.) Nevertheless, the consciences of these informers were so prodigiously debaucht and cauterized, that they took their oaths before Mr Bear and Mr Bruton, that they saw a great number of persons go into the house, and that there was at that time a great number there. Mr Bear, who called his neighbour, Justice Bruton, to assist him, (one ready enough for such an undertaking; which makes the fanaticks in those parts sometimes beholden to the rude bayliffs,) goes out of his own division to execute the law; comes therefore to Mudbury a day or two after, and makes a warrant to this purpose, That whereas they are credibly informed, that now there is a conventicle at such a place, these are therefore, &c. The informers accompany the officers to the farmer's house, this lye being forged and framed to attain their end, and violently break open the doors, there not being one person within, and enters the house, which when they had done, the informers shewed the officers another warrant immediately to take distress; to work therefore they go, and empty the man's house of all his goods, leaving him neither bed, pot nor pan, dish nor spoon; they took away his sider, and sold it for about four shillings a hogs-head, as they did all other things at an under value, and I hear likewise his very fewel, which was for the twenty pound that was levied upon him, by which the poor man is almost, if not utterly undone. Should I write all the unjust and illegal actings of this (by an antiphrasis) Justice Bear, it would make these few sheets swell to a considerable volumn: However, I will epitomize a few more before I have finished this narrative, and bring them within as narrow a compass as I can, that it may be known how much his majesty is abused and dishonoured by such oppressing and empty persons; who only prostitute authority to contempt, and gratifie a single particular interest, which will be found too narrow a basis for our vast structure, and too weak a leg for our great and bulky body politick to stand long upon.

I have in the preceding part of this narrative, told the reader of fifteen informers (or very near the number) who, as volunteers, invaded and beset in a most hostile manner Mr. H. his house at Kingsbridge, the 12th of June, 1670. Among whom, there was one John Lucas, who stood at the back-door with a pistol, threatening to kill any that came out, which was the cause why he was disarmed, being bound before to the peace, or good behaviour, and deporting himself so minaciously, without any authority. This Lucas, in the month of December last sickened, and died the beginning of January; when he was dead, his informing brethren, Mr Bear and the rest, threaten that some should suffer for murdering him. Mr H. the latter end of August, leaves the country about eighteen weeks, and near the time that the said Lucas died, his adversaries conjectured he was returned in Devon. They resolved to make him guilty of this horrid murder, as they reported it to be (though while Lucas was well, and in health, he never accused him for beating or assaulting him at the time spoken of, or any time after;) Justice Bear being returned from the sessions, presently enquires into the pretended bloody fact. Lucas his widdow, she swears before him (who was then the head of this informing party) that when he lay upon his sick-bed, he said that Mr H. came

out at the head of three-score men (or near that number) and knockt him down, and that eight persons more, viz. Mr Bevil Bastard, Mr Henry Luke, William and Richard Gilberd, —— Merrigame, John Leech, Nicholas Huxome, and John Bowen, fell upon him, and beat him so cruelly, that he was never well after, but gradually languisht, which was the cause of his sickness, and so of his death; her father Kelland (a fellow that Lucas was heard to say, not long before he fell sick, would for a great betray, or take away any man's life, or words to that purpose) swears, that when he was stript, there were the impressions of the blows, which he called stripes, upon his back. This being done, Justice Bear grants forth his warrants to apprehend all these persons upon suspition of murder; they all yielded themselves, but Mr H. (who was not at home, nor hath been for many months;) Mr Bear refused to bayl them, though the case will admit thereof, to the gaol therefore they must go; the mittimusses of some of them were made, but two other justices did bayl them, either not being so ignorant of the law, or not so malicious as himself. Now though this justice and the rest of the informers confidently report and assert, that this was a most bloody and barbarous murder, yet they bury him, never endeavouring, and it's likely never intending, to have him crowned; a coroner indeed came not long after, but did not his office (I will not confidently avere that Mr Bear, or any other, did tamper with him privately to be gone, knowing that no stripes would be found upon his back.) But the accused, knowing their own pure and spotless innocency, were resolved to have him crowned, and accordingly sent for a coroner, who came and executed his office according to law. When his jury was impaneled, witnesses on both sides, with impartiality, were examined. Lucas his widdow and her father swore as before the justice, (except as some say she accused not Mr H.) to whom was added a new witness, John Bear, (a fellow that not long before took an oath before a justice of peace that Mr John Tripe of Kingsbridge was at a conventicle, when he was sick at home) who swore, that going with Lucas to find a conventicle, he riding and the other walking on foot, and not holding pace with him, he asked him the reason why he could go no faster. To whom he replied: He was never well since he was beaten at Mr H. his house. After the evidence of these three was taken, then were witnesses for the accused examined, who were first his own natural parents; its well known in the countrey where they live, that there was much love betwixt these and their son, that he was very dear to them; insomuch, that his affectionate mother, from the intenseness and strength of her love, when her son was taken out of the grave, after he had putrified there a full fortnight, embraced him (as if by her own warm bosome she would have reanimated, or given him a second life, or breathed her own into him; yea, she abundantly wept over him, as if, with a flood of her own tears, she would have washt away the filth and corruption of his body;) certainly then, if they had apprehended or suspected these persons, or any other to have shed his blood, they could not have been backward to prosecute them; but they being convincet of the contrary, they voluntarily take their oaths, that to their apprehension their son was as healthful, strong, and lively from the 12th of June to the time he sickned, as ever they knew him, that they never heard him complain of any of the accused doing him wrong or hurt: They further sware, that all the time of his sickness they never heard any complaint of this nature, and that they did believe in their consciences he had no wrong or harm done him by the persons accused; and for the stripes upon his back that Kelland sware to, they did judge them nothing but stripes made with the folding of his shirt and wast-coat, lying much upon his back. Another witness was his phisitian, who attested upon oath, that he died of a putrid fever: A third that gave evidence, was a fellow-workman with him, who did swear that the next day after this pretended beating was, he came to work with him, and he asked him if he was hurt by beating the day before? and he answered, No; and further he witnessed, that he wrought with him seven weeks together, and that all the time he did his work (being

a carpenter) as lustily and lively as ever he knew him to perform it. William March, (who is lately dead, but while he lived was known and approved to be an honest man, and peaceable man, by all his neighbours) had not providence prevented his coming, would, as he intended, have taken his oath, that he, being next neighbour to Lucas, heard him the evening of the same day in which it is said he was beaten, speak these words as he was walking in his garden with another man; That he had no more hurt than himself; when he asked him the question, whether or no he was so beaten. And further told him, they did, or might strike one another; but they could not strike him, they stood so thick: This, William March often while he lived affirmed to be a truth; but though he was now wanting to give in such material evidence, yet the former, with Barbary Cawseys, who (being Mr H. his next neighbour) was in her own court, or garden, a spectator at that time, was so pertinent, demonstrative, and satisfactory, that there was no need of any more.

Evidence therefore being thus given on both sides, the jury advise and consult together what verdict to bring in; the far greater part presently concurred in their judgments, that Lucas died a natural death; three or four dissented from the rest, which caused a debate, and things to be argued *pro* and *con* several hours: Then one Mr Ford (who had good judgment and skill in chirurgery) being a juror, declared his opinion, that if Lucas had sickned and died of any blows that was given him so long before, they must have impostumated before that time, and this gave general satisfaction: So the verdict of the jury was, that he died a natural death, by the visitation of God.

Notwithstanding this search is not only the mortal, but immortal hatred and malice of this Justice Bear against Mr H., that about three weeks after he grants forth a hue and cry, to pursue him for wilful murder, when his ursine fury could not reach him any other way: And though, by vertue of his warrants, his house had been searcht for him several times before, yet now he is resolved to make thorow work, (supposing him to be in that countrey, when he was not.) On a Saturday night therefore about ten a clock, came the constables of Kingsbridge, with most of the informers for their guard, and many others, to the number of near thirty persons, and besets his house; to whom his wife opened the doors, a strict search then they make for him: One of the constables commanded to stab any that should go out, (a fellow lately put into that office by Mr Bear, who was never judged fit for it, or capable of it before) but not finding him there, they made a further search, very diligently all that night in the town, disturbing many families; and among the rest, they require some quakers to open their doors, (though no doubt they expected him not to be sheltered in their houses, as the sequel declares, from whom he had met with so much disturbance, and opposition in preaching;) and when they were got in, they violently took away their goods. The Sabbath-day, in the morning early, they leave Kingsbridge, and go to Westalvington, where a search was made in some gentlemens houses, but to no purpose; from thence they proceed to Milton parish, from it to Hughes, so to Salcomb, thus they spent the Sabbath: And after they had by their great labouriousness and diligence tyred themselves, they gave over, not finding their prey, having searcht near thirty houses: How unwearied, and implacable is malice, how sweet is revenge?

When the assizes began at Exon, the eight persons spoken of before, according to their recognizance, made their appearance, and the grand jury debated the finding of the bill of murder against them, which continued from Wednesday, or Thursday, till Munday, (when the assizes were nearly concluded) the gentlemen being divided thirteen against twelve; the greater number were for finding it an *ignoramus*, but the twelve were for finding *billa vera*. Now the reason why there was such a number for it, was in all probability some under-hand dealing with the under-sheriff, Mr Norman, in Exon; for Sir John Davy, the chief sheriff of the county, had sent a list of such gentlemen to Mr Norman as he desired the grand jury should consist of, with orders to warn

them; but he not liking what his master had done, without acquainting him with it, takes upon him to alter his list, leaving out whom he pleased, and warning such in their stead as he judged more fit, and such as he knew would gratifie the malice of the others, whatever it did his own. Notwithstanding, therefore, all the care of that honourable person Sir John Davy, to have a grand jury, in reference to all concernments that should come under their cognizance, of sober, solid, judicious, and honest gentlemen, it was now in a great measure otherwise constituted, there being those that without any respect to equity and justice would take away the lives of those called fanaticks. The bill being now found, the prisoners were called to the bar, where they pleaded not guilty, and then came to their tryal, which lasted about three hours; in reference to which, I shall give an account both of the prodigious perjuries of the witnesses for the king, and the partiality (to give it no worse name) of the judge, before whom the tryal was.

And while I present to the reader some of those sowre grapes, which these plants, so far degenerated from all truth and righteousness, brought forth; I shall begin with Mr John Bear, the justice, who being called to be a witness against the prisoners, swore as if he had no sense of an omniscient Deity, or a divine Nemesis, to take vengeance upon him for his unparrelelled perjuries. The sum and substance of his false oath is, that Lucas was almost beaten into the ground; that the prisoners did lye upon him, and beating him, had made a pit in the ground, enough to bury him in, (which must be very large considering his great dimensions; but its likely this gentleman was resolved to swear rhetorically, by an hyperbole) when the ground the pit was made in was only a very soft dunghil, and many people passing over it at that time, had trod it down, and made some holes, or pits in it. At this desperate rate he went on swearing roundly, and smoothly, but with such a still and low voice, that the prisoners at the bar could not distinctly hear him: Therefore Mr Luke humbly desired the judge, that he would command him to speak more audibly, which being so just and reasonable a request, was granted; in obedience to the judge, he raised his voice a degree higher, but yet not loud enough to be heard by the prisoners, (from all probability he was unwilling they should hear him, that they might not except against any thing he swore, and so all might be credited by the jury, and likewise his conscience might fly in his face, and tell him what monstruous falshood he did attest) Mr Luke therefore moved again, that he might more extend his voice; which at last doing, he desired the judge to ask him, whether he swore those things from his own knowledge? The question being asked him, he replied, No, but he was informed of it, and had heard so. Now he was pincht to the purpose, for if he had answered affirmatively, there were those present (which he was not ignorant of) that could prove the contrary, he not coming till after Lucas was disarmed and upon his legs, and when there was no person in the least that did molest him. How may the reader see what bloody malice prompted and acted this Justice Bear to precipitate and hurry himself into the absorping gulph of perjury. For supposing all had been truth which he swore, yet it is false-swearing in the sight of God, to swear what he had no certain knowledge of, (such knowledge being an essential constitution of a right oath, as the divine oracles, and casuists do determine) and it is very probable he contracted more of this dreadful guilt upon his soul: For he further swore, that a little before Lucas his death, he was with him, and that then he heard him charge his death, among others, upon William Gilberd; and yet afterwards, when the question was asked him, whether Lucas did not acquit the said W. G. before Mr Hele (then one of his majesties justices) after he had accused him upon oath for beating him, he confest he did; it being so known a truth, he could not deny it. Let the impartial reader judge, that rationally it must be dissonant from truth, that L. who had acquitted J. before a justice of peace, would so long after charge his death upon him: And though Mr Bear swore he did it upon all the rest, yet this having the ugly

visage of a lye, what may we judge of the whole, but that it was a contexture, and concatenacion of many notorious falshoods together. Now we will leave Mr Bear immerst and drowned in the dreadful guilt of his perjuries, (though afterwards we shall find him sinking deeper) and proceed to another desperate swearer, by name John Roope, in the parish of Chestow: He swore, that when he came he found Lucas lying upon his back in a wet, or dirty place, and John Leech and Huxome upon him; and that Lucas was so weak and spent when they rose from him, that he had not strength of himself to rise, but was helpt, or lifted up by him: But Barbary Cawsey witnesseth (who was a spectator, standing upon the hedge that parts betwixt Mr H. his garden and her's, under which Lucas was thrown down, and lay at that time when R. came, so that she had him full and perfectly in her view) that it is true J. R. coming immediately as H. rose from L. he took him by the arm, but by his own strength, with much nimbleness and quickness, he leaped, or sprung (but he was not pulled) up, and threw his arms about him, crying out with great vehemency, and voceferations, There's the rogue (pointing to Mr H.) that took away the pistol; and to give a clear demonstration that he was not so spent, with great force and fury (Mr Bear with some other informers being then in sight for his encouragement) fell upon Huxome, warping one hand in his hair behind, and pulling back his head with the other hand, gave him such a blow upon the mouth, that he struck him down to the ground, where he lay a considerable time before he could rise, being deprived of his senses by the force and greatness of the blow.

The next witness against the prisoners that I shall give the reader a faithful account of, is, Walter Campion, (who bears the bell away from all the rest of his perjured brethren, being a most profound sink of lies, an abyss of falshoods, to whom the precedency of all the knights of post is due) who sware he saw the print of forty strokes in the pilm upon his back. Roope swore, he hearing a great tumult in Mr H. his court, hasted with all speed thither, and it was no great distance from him, where he found Lucas down upon the ground, and lying upon his back, but saw no man strike him. It is strange then that he should have so many blows given him in so short a time, and that in a throng and crowd, where one hinder another, (as William March heard L. say in his own garden, they could not strike him, they stood so thick;) he could not have them when he was thrown down, because he lay upon his back, as J. R. swears; and it is strange he should receive so many behind, and not one before, that did appear or was spoken of; either they were most base cowards, that would only assault him behind, or he was a notorious coward, that would not face about to defend himself. But any impartial reader may see by this, if no more should be produced to demonstrate it, what a desperado this Campion is for swearing. But to evince this perjury more clearly, let it be considered what J. R. swore, viz. That he found Lucas upon his back, in a wet or durty place, which is a truth, for there many times water runs, and there is always mud and durt. The forty blows then that C. swore he saw, must be either before he fell, or after; before it could not be, because he was thrown down before R. came, who came before Campion; after, no man can rationally suppose it to be, because he lying in a wet place upon his back, the pilm or dust must be removed, or changed into durt, so that no prints or impressions of blows could be seen in it; yea, if it had been in a dry place he fell in, yet tumbling and struggling upon his back, would have defaced them altogether, or rendered them very undistinguishable; it is strange further, that so many blows should be unobserved by all the rest, as if he who had a more notorious lying tongue, should have a more quick and piercing eye than all his brethren had. And take all this in conjunction with what Barbary Cawsey swore, that she was a spectator and observer of all passsages, both at the beginning and at the end, and saw not one blow given him; and that she heard the people, or some among them say, strike him not a blow: And then the incredibility of all that he swore in reference to this particular will be most manifest. So I will leave this, and

proceed to another piece of perjury, as infernal and tremendous as the former, that he was guilty of in the open court, where he swore twice to render Mr H. as odious as he could; once when he was called to be a witness against Mr Hele and Mr Bastard, for neglecting their duty as justices, in the execution of the act against conventicles; and now when he was a witness against the prisoners, that the said Mr H., near the time that the act against conventicles was in force, threatened, that if any man came to disturb him in keeping them, he would knock him down; shewing him a club, as he termed it, near as thick as the wrest of his arm; to whom Campion said he replied, You may miss your blow, and if I close with you, I may prove as nimble as you, (or words to that purpose) and further said, he was not afraid of him: To whom Mr H. replied after this manner; Sayst thou so; and pulling out of his pocket a stelletto, or long daggar knife, turned the point of it towards him, and told him there was that which should pick his teeth. That the reader may know the matchless impudence of this fellow, and what a debaucht, profligated, and cauterized conscience he hath, which generates his most horrid, and hellish perjuries, I will give him a true and faithful relation of this matter; as Mr H. calls the searcher of hearts to witness, and *verbo sacerdotis* doth profess. Which take as followeth:

About the midst of December, 1669, Mr H. had a horse dangerously wounded, and employed Campion to cure him, who came to his house to dress him; and one evening before he went away, he asked him if he would drink, which Campion accepted of: He then put it to his choice, whether he would drink beer or sider. Campion replied, he could drink beer at home, and he knew Mr H. had good sider, therefore he would rather chuse that; which when he had drunk, he commended it. Mr H. at that time had a staff in hand, which Campion took notice of, and said it was a good one: To whom he replied, that he had rather have such a staff, than a small rapier, such as now was in use. Then said Campion, but what if one should give you a prick? Mr H. again: Possibly he might put by one thrust, which if he did, he would prevent the second, if he got one blow at his adversary that should assault him. Campion speaking of his skill in fencing, and what feats he could do with a sword, Mr H. told him (which was the conclusion of the discourse) that if a man should assault him with a sword, he would be in such a posture with his knife in his left hand, (taking it then out of his pocket) and his staff in his right; and if he put by a thrust, he would quickly pick his teeth. This knife is indeed made after the form of a daggar, with a little cross-bar, to prevent its running through the sheath; both haft and blade are but about a quarter of a yard long. And when Mr H. first had it, they were frequently and commonly used for cutting meat, and for this purpose many sober persons use them yet: But in all this discourse, there was not one word relating to conventicles, or in the least bordering upon them, it being at that time when no act was in force against them, and several months before the present act was made; and Mr H. never exchanged one word with Campion, by way of any discourse, since he payed his money for the cure he wrought, which was a few days after it was done. And now I shall leave this fellow a while, deeply abyst in his perjuries, and under the heavy pressures of that soul-sinking guilt.

Thomas Ford (that man of magnanimity and might, already mentioned) sware, that Lucas was thrown down on his back athwart a gutter, which was pitcht with sharp stones, over which, by the head and heels, they drew his body. Now that the reader may understand what a brother in iniquity this man is with the other, he must cast his eye upon what followeth, viz. That Tho. Ford was not there when Lucas was thrown down and disarmed, neither saw he in what posture he lay. He swore further, that Mr Bevil Bastard and Mr Luke cried, Kill the rogue, knock down the rogue; and yet he was not there (as before is asserted, and can be proved) when Lucas, in struggling for the pistol, fell, or was thrown upon the ground; and none can prove, or doth affirm, that one

minacious word was spoken after he got up. I need not declare the perjuries of Lucas his widow, or her father Kelland, they being much the same at the assizes that they were before the coroner, except one addition that Kelland made, viz. That Lucas not only from time to time complained of his beating, but spit blood, and brought up knots of blood as big as French nuts at his mouth, and that much blood went from him by stool. To all that hath been evidenced by such near relations, and others to prove rationally the contrary, I will add the authentick evidence of Mr George Sutehcot, (who is known to be no friend to non-conformists nor their meetings; but a most intimate and familiar converser with the informers, being judged by many to be an abettor and encourager of them) which was this. That though Lucas, the next day after his pretended beating, complained to him thereof, yet he wrought with him several months after, without failing any thing in his work, and he never heard him to complain more of it. I could write much more to confirm what hath been asserted, but let this suffice, till there be need of further evidence.

I will now proceed to the narration of the judge's partiality, I will not say injustice, and apparent malice. First, It is evidenced that the judge came prejudiced to the tryal of the prisoners, and had hearkened to their enemies informations before he came; for at Mr Heles tryal at the *Nisi Prius* Bench, when there was an occasion to speak of the conventicle held at Mr H.'s when Lucas was disarmed, and of the barbarous and rude carriage of the informers; he justified them, and said, It was well they were all armed, (or word to that purpose) or they might all have been murdered at it as Lucas was, whom he declared was then murdered for want of arms to defend himself: All which was before the tryal of the prisoners, whereby it evidently appears with what prejudice he was possest, and how little he intended to do justice.

He gave also the witnesses against the prisoners the utmost liberty to declare themselves; and when Mr John Bear swore so desperately by hearsay and information, and Roop and Campion did in their oath contradict themselves, he took no notice of it: But the witnesses for the prisoners were snibed and discouraged not a little by him, he lying still at the catch to make their evidence to interfere; he used likewise all ways to nonplus and daunt them, that they might not have boldness to declare the truth. The mother therefore of Lucas, when she came to evidence for the prisoners, he asked her, How much money was given her for her son's blood? and told her, she came to sell it for money, or words to that purpose. He tauntingly and scornfully reflected upon Mr Bastard likewise, who was desired to be a witness for the prisoners; saying, He thought it a fine thing to stand there to own a cause. So he dealt with another person, (who was a material witness in the behalf of the prisoners) floutingly telling him, that he was drest up in a coat, or cloke, with a fine made story. To another witness, jeeringly and scoffingly, he said, He did believe that she was one of them, for she did tone it out like one of them. The coroner likewise being desired to speak something of the death of Lucas, was suffered to say little or nothing, the judge telling him, that coroners were wont to be tampered with. And when he came to give instructions to the jury, and to sum up the evidence, against and for the prisoners, he omitted most of the material circumstances that made for them; and told the jury they must find it wilful murder, or nothing. And when the jury brought in their verdict not guilty, he seemed to be discontented, not letting the prisoners depart without slurring them in the open court, and rendering them as odious as he could: Telling them, that though men had acquitted them, yet there was a God that knew they were guilty of that they are charged with, or words to that purpose. I shall leave the impartial reader to judge thereof.

And now that none may *ignore*, or be unacquainted with the true ground and reason of this violent and virulent prosecution of so many innocent persons: I shall but brief-

ly relate a few passages, viz. George Bear's words, who swore desperately enough among the rest, who when he heard what full evidence was given for the prisoners, swelling with indignation, burst forth into these audible words, which contained a diabolical imprecation, to this purpose: The pox of God take them, they will be all acquitted. The widdow of Lucas returning home, did chide her mother-in-law for the evidence she gave, and told her if she had been good (or words to that purpose) she might have got her a thousand pound: The mother replied, What advantage could it be to you, if the prisoners had been hanged? The widdow replied, Rather than so, they would have given her a good part of their estates. Justice Bear, when the first examination of matter of fact was, and Lucas his own father was summoned before him, who swearing that they were but strakes upon his back, made with the folding of his waistcoat and shirt, which Kelland swore were the imprest blows; he commanded his clerk to write down stripes. The coroner that came first, (as I have told the reader) went away without doing his office: I will not absolutely determine who was the cause, or what was the reason of it; but we have another notorious evidence and circumstance of fact, from Mr Bear's sending for the coroner that came upon notice given him by the accused, who refused to go. Now I leave it to the ingenuous and judicious reader, to determine in his own thoughts, whether this eager prosecution was to vindicate innocent blood spilt, or to spill innocent blood. Now if it be questioned by any, What's the reason Mr Hicks did not appear with the other eight, that his innocency, as well as theirs, might be cleared? The answer is briefly this: That he being at some considerable distance from his own house, when Mr Bear so illegally and maliciously pursued him with a hue and cry, and never being where it came, he judged it fit, with many others, to take no notice of it, but enjoy his liberty till the assizes; when, if he were accused to the grand jury, and the bill of murder found against him, with the rest, he intended to make his appearance, and put himself upon his trial, if he could have any hopes of justice and moderation: But understanding how the judge did prejudge the fact, calling it murder, when the tryal was betwixt Mr Hele and one of the informers; and how those that were witnesses then against Mr Hele did most prodigiously perjure themselves, and who were to be witnesses against himself; and not being ignorant how active and industrious some ecclesiastieks or hierarchists were to ruine him, if they could, leaving no stone unturned for that end, some saying, if they had him, he should hang for all the rest; considering with all these things, the care and industry of the under-sheriff, to have a grand jury so constituted as the bill of murder might be found against him, with the rest; he had good reason to suspect and fear that he had also provided such a petty jury, as would gratify the malice of his enemies, and into whose hands it would not be safe for him to put his life. Upon all these disadvantages, he thought it not fit to yield, and give himself up to those who intended, and attempted so voraciously to make a prey of him. If it be said, *Hic murus aheneus esto*, &c., and that absconding and flying argues guilt; I answer, that sometimes the most unstained, unspotted righteousness, and virgin innocency, cannot stand before malicious fury and powerful malice, or devouring envy armed with power, which made the wise man say, "that sometimes the righteous doth perish in his righteousness, there being those that will justifie the wicked and condemn the other, though both be alike an abomination to the Lord;" and when it is so, it is no dishonour to any person to secure himself by flight; neither doth it administer a just ground of jealousie in any others that knows the case of guilt, which it cannot in the least infer. What Mr H. doth, many who have been in the same circumstances have done. But this is not all that he hath to plead for himself: For there is imprisonment, which his enemies design against him, so if they cannot deprive him of his life, they will of his liberty; and liberty being more eligible and desirable than restraint, he is resolved to enjoy it as long as he can. And yet this he desires may be published to the whole world, that let him

have a fair tryal before a just, upright, and unbyast judge, and have a jury of indifferent and judicious persons, not chosen by malice and prejudice; and be assured that if he be not found guilty, he shall have his liberty, he will put himself upon it, for the clearing of his innocency.

I now proceed to give the reader an account, faithfully and impartially, of the tryals that were betwixt Matthew Hele and William Bastard, Esquires, and Mr Edward Reynel, and John, called Cocky Beer, or Bear, for pretended neglects of putting the act against conventicles in execution, &c. The first informer sued Mr Hele for three neglects, and so was in hopes of having one moity of three hundred pounds, however his majesty would dispose of the other (it is likely he was not without hopes of it, as the merited reward of his signal and eminent service). Now let the world know the ingratitude and disingenuity of Edward Reynel towards Mr Hele, not only as he is his godson, but as he at that time owed him several sums of money, both on his own and father's accounts; his elder brother, Mr George Reynel, (the prisoner in the King's-Bench, and the justice) owing him likewise an hundred pound, which his lady sent for some years since to pay her phisitians with, and had it from him only on her single letter, without bill or bond, and which is not paid to this day. He is now resolved to requite Mr. Hele well for all his civilities and favours shewed to him and the family. The other informer sued Mr. Bastard for two neglects, and now thought to enrich himself with the share of the two hundred pound, thereby to get above the disgrace and contempt of poverty: *Non habet infælix paupertas durius in se, quam quod ridiculos homines facit.* In this account which I give, I shall as before methodize and digest it into this order: First, to relate the perjuries of the witnesses that sware against both the gentlemen, and the hard measure they met with from the judge, who set himself with that violence and vehemency against them, that it was observed and spoken of generally with abhorrency and detestation.

When Mr H.'s tryal was put forth after four days attendance on the assizes, and the jury called, Robert Adams, of Marlborough, being the foreman of it, was excepted against by Mr Bear, the justice, (who was not long before the principal informer) as an excommunicated person, for which he took his oath in the court, whereby the said R. A. was incapacitated to serve in the tryal relating to Mr H. and Mr B. Now the reader must know, that the foresaid person was suspected by the informers to favour or bear good-will towards those they call fanaticks; and they could contrive no way to remove him but this, to prove he was not capable of serving as a juror (which, by the law, no excommunicated person is). Mr Bear, therefore, he undertakes for an expedient, and that is, to call the omniscient God, and him that is essential and eternal truth, to be a witness to a lye: For, since the assizes, it hath been enquired into, and found that Robert Adams was not then excommunicated. Mr Bear further swore, to aggravate Mr Hele's supposed neglects, that the insolency of conventicles was grown to that height, that all loyal subjects had just cause to fear a rebellion: That they (speaking of Mr Hicks and the people he preacht too) did not only usurp the pulpits of lawful ministers, but pulled them out of their pulpits, and laid church-wardens, that came to suppress them, flat on their backs in the church, and broke open church-doors, &c.; all which things, if truths, Mr Bear was never an eye-witness of; but what notorious falshoods these are, the whole countrey round about knows. It is strange, and most inconsistent with reason, that they who were continually attempting to bring Mr Hicks into trouble for preaching, should never take so great and fair an advantage against him as hereby they had. If Mr Bear can produce one church-warden, or any officer in a town or parish where Mr H. preacht publickly, that will affirm that either he opposed him, or that any assault or the least violence and incivility was offered by him, or any of his hearers, upon the account of his preaching; or can bring one minister to prove that ever Mr H. or any of his hearers did dispossess him of a pulpit when he was in it,

or that any church doors were broke open to possess the pulpits, then will I engage Mr Hicks shall appear at any assizes, or any other time, to suffer whatever any law in the utmost extremity can inflict upon him, and promise never to indite Mr B. for perjury.

The jury being sworn, one witness, upon oath, swore that Mr Hele refused to take informations upon oath that there was a conventicle at Mr Hicks his house, May the 19th: When another of them, upon his oath, did confess and acknowledge that Mr Hele did take their informations, which also several persons of Mr Hele's house did attest. As for the other two neglects Mr Hele was charged with, and sued for, which were in one day, June the 19th, 1670, I shall speak nothing concerning them till I relate the carriage of the judge in reference to them.

When the tryal betwixt Mr Bastard and John Bear was put on for two neglects, the first being for the 29th of June, likewise one of the informers and the dog-whipper swore they came between twelve and one a clock to Mr Bastard's house, to inform of a conventicle near Kingsbridge in Mr H. his house; and that it was three miles betwixt Gorston (where Mr Bastard dwells) and Kingsbridge; but the contrary to all that they affirmed upon oath was so fully proved, that all who heard it, might, and most were convinced what perjured miscreants they were: Campion swore that he saw Mistriss Bastard, Mr Bastard's wife, at the same conventicle, whereas it can be proved she was elsewhere, by several witnesses. Should I publish to the world all the false oaths and voluminous perjuries of these and other witnesses, the narrative would break the bounds, and stretch itself far beyond the confines I intend it shall be kept within. I shall now conclude all with the carriage of the judge, who suffered, without any check, Mr Hele and Mr Bastard to be jeared and flouted, and high affronts put upon them, by such humuncios and dregs of humanity as Campion the smith, Leech, (the Judas) that is glad of a day's work in the countrey, the dog whipper, and others. When Campion swore he saw Mr Bastard's wife at a conventicle, and the judge asked him, How he knew it was her? He most saucily and impudently replied, He could not tell whether she was married to him or no, but he had had several children by her, &c. And yet the judge did not in the least reprove him for, or shew the least dislike of his so shamefully abusing persons of that worth and honour they are known and esteemed generally to be. When Leech swore, That if Mr Bastard had been so zealous in executing the king's laws as he was to maintain rebellion, the conventiclers had been all routed before that time; the judge did not in the least check him for that high and most scandalous charge, but seemed rather to be delighted with it, and all the rest of that filthy trash. He suffered likewise the very council to be flouted by some of the varlets, as that Campion, whom he permitted as long as he pleased to act the parts of a fool in the play, to make sport for, and move laughter in court; and he himself reflected sufficiently upon the gentlemen; insomuch, that one of them told him, If he were an offence to him, he would go out of the court. Yea, he laboured to discourage their councel, and to prevent their full and effectual pleading for their clients; telling them, he was sorry to see any plead in such a cause, bidding them for shame to hold their peace, (or to that purpose) but said, he thought what they did was for their fees; when the councel for the informers had all desirable liberty to speak; yea, and were often eased and assisted by him. And though, as to the first neglect Mr Hele was sued for, it was fully proved that he did not refuse to take the informations of the witnesses, by the acknowledgment of some of them in the court, as well as by the evidence of his own servants; and none could swear that there was either praying or preaching, or any religious worship dissonant from the liturgy and practice of the church of England at that time; but that about three fields off (besides a high house that the voice was to ascend over) they heard a voice, which they concluded came from Mr H. his house: Yet he gave a strict charge to the jury to find for the informers, the plaintiffs. Concerning the two other neglects, which were for one day, the one for the forenoon, the other for the afternoon, how

the judge suffered justice to take place and sway, what follows may give the reader ample satisfaction. In reference to the forenoon's neglect, the witnesses sware that they were at Pool (Mr Hele's parish church) about ten of the clock in the forenoon, to acquaint him with a conventicle at Mr H. his house, which was confest upon oath by them, ended a considerable time before Mr Hele had any notice of it; and yet it was judged a neglect that Mr Hele came not soon enough to suppress the same: And as to the other pretended neglect in the afternoon, though Mr Hele proved he sent immediately for his horses to be fitted for him against he came from church; and after he had refresht himself with some meat, he came to Mr Hicks his house, where he found neither preaching nor praying, neither could any of the informers swear there was any; but they heard a voice of one in such an exercise, and that it was Mr Hicks's voice, (which was desperate enough, seeing voices are many times as like as faces) and that this conventicle began at eleven a clock, and ended at two, (which was more than Mr Hele then knew) yet not the least grain of allowance must be laid in the ballance for Mr. Hele; and whatever was said by his adversaries, was sufficient to preponderate whatever might rationally be pleaded to acquit him from the guilt of a witting and wilful neglect of his duty, (the most rigid and severe interpretation being put upon all his actions, and the smallest circumstance aggravated to the highest pitch that it was possible for malice and prejudice to rack and screw it up to) as that it is contravertible and disputable whether the act doth require a justice of peace to come in person to any place where he is informed a conventicle is, there is no such law exprest; if there be any thing of that nature, it is but very darkly implyed: And further, that he was engaged in the public worship of God when the informers came; and should he leave that to ride three or four mile upon an uncertainty at the best? (And if he had come, it had been to no purpose, there being no meeting at that time.) And after the worship was over, it was most reasonable that nature should be refresht before he ride so far. And yet he came at the most probable time to find a conventicle, which was about two a clock, the ordinary and usual time that Mr H. was wont with the people to meet at his house. And certainly, if the informers had not alarmed them by their coming before the justice, he had surprized and found them all like bees in the hive together; and when he came, none did swear that there had been any worship of God, only a voice of one praying or preaching was heard, and it was Mr Hicks's. And suppose it had been so, they did not swear that it was to above the number of five. It is true, Mr Hele found some women in the house, and he askt them, How they came there? And how, or when, or to what end they came? How could he know? Mr Hicks had a child very sick, and they were with his wife in the chamber where the child lay: And how this could be a notorious evidence and circumstance of fact (that is such a circumstance that carries in it a certain demonstration of the fact, coming within the compass of that axiome, or maxim *positâ circumstantia rei, ponitur res ipsa*: For it is aburd otherwise to interpret the law the two former ways of conviction, viz. Confession of the party; or the oath of two witnesses, being certain *quad nos*, the last must be of the same kind) to him, that there had been religious worship, and differing from the liturgy and practice of the church or England, or a sufficient reason to prove him guilty of a witting or wilful neglect of duty, let all sober, impartial, or unprejudiced men judge. However, the judge strictly chargeth the jury (which destroys the liberty of a judgment of discretion, as well as of determination in them, and so makes juries to signifie nothing) to find three neglects, which is more than the law (as many that are judicious rationally suppose) doth charge him with, or any other man; for it doth not say *toties quoties*, or so often as a justice doth not convict of a conventicle when he may, he shall forfeit so many hundred pounds, but not doing his duty he shall forfeit one hundred pound: When our wise legislators intended that conventiclers should suffer for every particular crime, they express it: Why then should we think, much less absolutely determine,

that seeing they have not exprest it with respect to justices of the peace, that they did certainly intend it? The jury having this charge given them, after some time, bring in their verdict to the judges chamber, of two hundred pounds for two neglects only; at which he was highly displeased, and would not receive their verdict till they brought it in for three.

Mr Bastard producing such full proof and clear evidence to acquit himself from one neglect he was charged with and sued for, he was resolved to make him guilty of the other; therefore, though Mr Bastard proved that he took all the informations of the informers, and every word that they said in reference to the same, and every name of the persons that they affirmed were then present: To which informations likewise the several informers put their hands, but without any proof that there was either preaching or praying (Mr John Bear, upon his oath, acknowledging he saw or knew of no manner of worship among the people; and the rest, that there was no worship contrary to the liturgy and practice of the church of England). And notwithstanding this, though Mr Bastard (that he might not neglect his duty) made a record hereof as a conventicle, which was put in at the next sessions, and the money returned of those offenders (whom two of the informers sware were there present) so much as concerned the king; yet the judge declared it a neglect, because the record was not dated the first day of the sessions, but the third. Whereupon Mr Bastard declared openly, and in the face of the court, that he did not neglect his duty wittingly and wilfully, (which are the express words of the act against conventicles) for he could as well have dated it the first as the third day; but he knew nothing to the contrary, but that it was valid enough if entred and dated any time during the sessions, (which are taken in a general sense, every particular day not being a new or distinct sessions) and what unprejudiced persons can rationally think or judge otherwise: However, according to the directions given to the jury, he was fined a hundred pound. Now, if the reader be curiously inquisitive to know what judge this was that so far deviated and swerved from all justice and equity, least any other should be censured for him, I must declare it was judge Rainford, who is profoundly wise and understanding in the law; mild, compassionate, and impartial in the administration of justice here in England, (for ought I ever heard to the contrary) except when the causes of those called fanaticks come before him; and then, like Naaman, he must be pardoned.

At Ashbrenton, near Totness, on or about June the 12th, one Andrew Helly, with his son, daughter, and a friend, were repeating a sermon in a barn of his, about a mile from his house; to which place, just as they had ended, came James Parrat and a private person, the setting-dogs being abroad, scented and espied the game; and rather than they would not be rewarded for their pains, resolutely sware he was the minister, and so the number five is made up, and consequently a meeting proved, and preaching too logically concluded. So Parrat, that was never near the place till all was done, was fined twelve pound, A. H and his relations twenty-eight pound; and this was done by Justice Fowel and J. Kelland, who made the evidence of informers (that are parties) the ground of this conviction, which was against all reason and law. For suppose the barn part of the dwelling-house, which is about a mile distant from it, then though J. P. had been present, and a preacher too, there could be no conventicle, A. H. and his children being of the family: Let it be taken otherwise, yet Parrat not being there, there could be no conventicle, the other not being a number above what the law allows; so the place was not liable to twenty pounds. But grant that he were there, yet not being a minister, or if he were, yet he neither preaching nor teaching, no law doth punish for twenty pounds more. But the justices were resolved to set this poor barn, like a shepherd's tent, on wheels, carrying it home to the precincts of the dwelling-house, for the fining of that, and then recarrying it to the fields for the fining of the people. The agrieved become appellents to the sessions, where they find no relief

or redress, but great oppression; instead of a plaister, their head- [illegible] they are cast, and treble costs they must pay for their traverse, which is always an hyperbole in the excess, never in the defect at the sessions.

At Silverton, near Exon, Justice Soiatoit seised some persons, with a non-conformist, Mr Tregoss, (I hope now after all his storms arrived at the haven of his everlasting rest) in a private house, about nine o'clock in the morning, and fined the house twenty pound; and though he could not prove that there was any preaching or teaching, (as there was none) yet some of the people were fined for the minister twenty pound more; though he had an estate of his own, which he acquainted the justice with, and desired he might bear his own fine, but the gentleman would not grant it. The agrieved appeal to the general sessions, where they traverse with some good success touching the preacher's fine, his conviction not being recorded, which the appellants advocate observed to advantage. But yet the remedy was almost as bad, if not worse than the disease; for being found guilty of the meeting, though not of preaching, they were senteneed by the judge of the sessions, Mr Carew, to pay treble costs, as high as if they had been cast in both parts.

At Exon, there lives an old gentleman, called Mr Butler, a justice of peace in the city, who hath been a notorious conventicle-hunter many years, the fame whereof is diffused through all the west; the ardours of whose zeal and passion, when he is to engage in this honourable employment, so far transports him, that many times he becomes a compleat Thomobedlamus; his gestures, postures, ravings, much resemble theirs whom I have seen bound in chains, which the boys in the city can act and imitate with admirable dexterity, though no doubt he deserves for them a canonization of saintship, but by the Romish church; because he is never zealous for the fifth of November, and an esteem of a greater wit, because what he hath appears hereby to be mixt with madness. I might write voluminously hereof, but I will omit and pass by all things concerning him except this one, which the reader may be pleased to cast his eye upon, thereby to take a measure and judge of all the rest. One evening, upon information given him by some of his familiars, that there was a meeting of the fanaticks at Mr A. Jeffreys, thether he hastens as an eagle to the prey; when he came to the house, the doors without delay were opened to him, there he finds about sixteen persons, most of them relations of the family, and invited to supper; but this quick-scented justice smells another feast in his conventicling-fancy, and, judging rather by number of the persons than weight of reason, after some wonted ravings and ragings, fines the house twenty pound for a supposed meeting; and Mr Chrispin, besides his own mulct and his wife's, was fined for several rich persons, directly contrary to law, which makes the rich to pay for the poor only (not whom a justice shall judge to be so, but who are really to be so.) Mr J. and C. appeal from the rage of one single justice to the reason of a bench. At the city sessions they traverse their appeal, where Mr Butler was not only judge, but witness in his own case; his oath most unreasonably taken, and as falsly he swears in the face of the court, that when he came to Mr Jeffreys house, he could have no entrance, but was forced violently to break open the door, insomuch that he made the staple flye; the contrary whereunto was sufficiently proved, viz. that the master of the house opened the door quietly and seasonably; the attendants that stood by perceived no such effects of his vigour and vivacity. But no wonder to hear a false oath drop from a false lip, that hath caused a wide-mouthed untruth to pass proverbially under the name of a Butler; but happily he might lodge some mental reserve for a salvo to his oath, and so be able to say, with that prophane and profligated wretch, *Juro, at mentem injuratam gero.* It was likewise sworn, if I mistake not, by some of his setting-dogs, that the meat was laid down to the fire after or about the time they entered the house, which was proved by the appellants to be then near half-roasted, and that all the harbingers of a supper were there. But how-

ever, though they did invalidate all circumstances of fact that the justice would ground his conviction of a conventicle upon, yet it was to no purpose; for Justice Carew, sitting as deputy-recorder and judge of the sessions, so instructed the jurymen, who were fit to receive his impressions, that they brought in their verdict against the appellants, and they are laden with treble costs, according to the liberal calculation of the judge.

At Dirwood, near Exon, on a Lord's-day, a little after the 10th of May, some persons met together in a wood, but not so close as to escape the eagle-eyes of the informers, who observed their going in, which they concluded confidently to be a conventicle. The adjacent parish, Upton-pines, being speedily alarmed herewith, from thence rush forth with all expedition and fury a company of clubmen, whereof the son of the parish-priest was one, and fall violently upon one person; which madness, when a sober honest man rebuked, telling them he would go without compulsion, they outrageously fell upon him, drawing and dragging him along, some taking hold of his arms, some of his legs, and so rudely was he handled, that he recovered not for some considerable time of those distortions, compressions, and contusions which his body suffered by them. At last, some few of them (the rest escaping) were brought before Justice Tuckfield, (that blustering tempest of wrath and rage against his fanatical neighbours) where being in an outward room, they heard what the informers sware before him, viz. that they heard a voice, but whether there was either prayer or preaching, they could not tell. However, this Don Furioso (that he might make some further compensation for his notorious *quondam* fanaticism) convicts of a conventicle, fines some of the people for themselves, and some for a minister, though none could be so much as proved to be there, much less to preach or teach: But, *corruptio optima est possima*; which is not only true physically, but morally.

At Crediton, May the 29th, 1670, Mr F., a non-conformist, was desired by Mrs Northcot to pray in her family, which accordingly he did; at which time came in one Philip Lendon, pretending to the gentlewoman his great desire of hearing something that might do his soul good; so she admitted the masked hypocrite into her house, who after a little time went forth, and informed the constables there was a conventicle at Mrs N's. Five therefore, with some others, came and found a few of their neighbours in the house, who were, May 30, summoned before Justice Tuckfield, who only upon the oath of this informer convicted them of a conventicle, fined the minister 20*l.*, the gentlewoman 20 *l.* for her house; and because the minister was no house-keeper, he levied 10 *l.* of his fine upon her, and 10 *l.* more upon G. Bodley, weaver. Accordingly Mrs N.'s standing corn was seised and sold for 30 *l.*, which was worth 50 or 60 *l.*; and G. B.'s very looms were distrained and carried away, whereby he was much disabled from getting a livelihood: And so barbarously and inhumanely cruel were the officers in distraining, that they took away a poor weaver's clothes, and endeavoured to take away a poor maid's shift. And this gentlewoman, Mrs N., is so perpetually disquieted, that she can scarcely talk with a friend about her ordinary affairs, but she meets with disturbances, sometimes the officers breaking open her doors when there is no meeting nor grounds of suspicion in that regard, so that not being able to endure their impetuosities, rage, and oppressions any longer, she is forced at last to leave the town, where she was very charitable to the poor.

Deven and Cornwall being so nearly conjoyned, and such frindly neighbours, it may not be impertinent and unlawful to cast an occular glance upon the borders and frontiers of it, where there is a town called Landrake, vulgarly Larrake, at which lives an aged reverend divine, whose worth is further known then his own country, a nonconformist, by name Mr Gasper Hicks, who continuing to preach in his family since the 10th of May, 1670, to the number that the act against conventicles allows of, with others under 16 years of age, it did highly inrage a young Levite, of jejune and imma-

ture braines, who serves for the parish priest, by name Mr Winnel or Windle. This supercelious, pragmatical, and self-conceited novice resolves therefore to injure, as much as possibly he could, him whom he ought to have revered and had in high veneration; to accomplish his end he sticks not to turn informer (the most dishonourable and infamous miscreant upon earth) against him that he kept conventicles; he gets the officers of the parish to search his house, who found none but four persons of or above the age of 16, with some few under, besides his own family: However, this Munseur Furibundo rides from justice to justice to make a conviction; but these worthy and noble gentlemen that were his neighbours, who have right resentments of generosity and walke according to the rules of justice and equity, as Sir J. C., Sir W. M., Mr S., would give him no countenance, knowing the law was not violated by Mr H. Then he spurs up his horse further westward, where he met with some justices, who, like tinder, presently took fire upon the first information, (I know not all their names, but one of them was Dr Polewheel, that terrible Fulminoso, who for these 10 or 11 years past hath anhelated nothing but threatning cruelty against those carachrestically called fanaticks) with the highest impetuosity and rage. These justices fall upon Mr H., creating something out of nothing, they convict him of a conventicle kept in his house, and likewise take it for granted, without any proof, that he preached, and so levy 40*l.* upon him: He finding himself agrieved, becomes an appellant to the next general sessions, which is out of the frying pan into the fire, for all justice was banished from the bench; Mr H. was denyed a jury, directly contrary to the law, page 9 of the Acts against Conventicles; Mr P. and others cryed to the vote, which was done; and so, notwithstanding all the strenuous and nervous endeavours of several justices there to make Mr *H.* his innocency a fence against the storms and flames of the others fury, and to shelter him from oppression, judgment by an illegal vote only passeth against him; and his appeal hereby being made unjust, besides the 40*l.* they give treble coste against him, and most ignobly load him with foulest revilings and reproaches: Never was there more monstrous and barbarous injustice acted. First, That they should deny the appellant that priviledge which the law gives, and which is every Englishman's birthright, viz. his tryal by a jury. Secondly, That they should judge him guilty of a conventicle, when there were no more then four persons of, or above the age of 16 years, besides his family, neither was he accused of having more; but however, it holds to be a conventicle by a new, nice, and subtle distinction, (which, like an Ariadne's fine-spun thread, helps and conducts them out of the labyrinth they were in) viz. That though persons under sixteen years of age be no conventiclers, yet being found with those that are of, or above the same age, constitute a conventicle: Whereas the old axiom is, *Quicquid effecit tale, est magis tale.* These new phylosophers can make non-entities productive of realities. Children must make men guilty, and yet themselves remain innocents still. A thousand under the age of sixteen years are nullities in law, but in the execution thereof, make others criminals and penals too. These new oracles of law make the former criminals, but not exposed to penalties, (though they expose others) and so makes the law, in this respect, an ineffectual vanity, supposing it to make offenders without a sanction and allotment of punishment for them. These new arithmeticians can make ciphers, cast figures, four above the family in law is nothing; ten thousand under sixteen years are nothing; but now, according to their rule, add nothing to nothing, and you make five or more: But their definitive sentence and final determination by vote (to which he must stand) shall make all sound philosophy, good law, and true arithmetick. Thirdly, That they should convict him of, and punish him for preaching, when none could prove it, (supposing him guilty of keeping a conventicle) neither was there the least circumstance to be demonstrative of it: It is true, our legislators have made notorious evidence and circumstance of fact to prove a conventicle, but no such thing to prove preaching or teaching; for it can scarce possibly

admit of any proof thereby. For, grant a minister be found among a people above the number of five, what notorious evidence can result from this that he preacht? for it might onely be (as often it is) to pray, or his preaching might be prevented; or grant he were found with his Bible and notes in it, yet this cannot evince clearly that he did preach: It may indeed beget a suspition, that either he did, or intended to do it. But is it legal or rational to punish persons upon so slender a ground as this? To inflict the law upon him from a jealousie of his intentions, is to make such an act of his, or another non-conformist, worse than murder or theft, &c. For no man is punisht as a felon for intending, though it be manifested by attempting felony, when it is not actually committed. And to punish him for having done it, when it did not so appear, is equally uujust and unreasonable; for, *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*, doth our law condemn any felon from a naked abstracted jealousie, that he is guilty of the crime he stands charged with, when there is no evidence to prove the same: Our law therefore is most just, that jurors must proceed *secundum allegata*, and *probata;* and that every conviction of guilt and judicial sentence must be founded and bottomed upon the same: But here was no such thing to be the basis of the determination at this sessions, by the major part of the bench, against Mr. H.; they were therefore so uncertainly fluctuating and dubious whether he preacht, yea, or no, for want of clear demonstrative evidence, that in the record of the offence, it was expressed disjunctively, that Mr H. did preach or pray, and not copulatively that he did both, or positively and absolutely he did the first. His council pleaded to this, and opened the law fully to them, shewing them their gross mistake. But all was to them like beating the air, for neither law nor the strongest reason can be an impregnable bulwark against their envenomed and virulent malice, which was so oppressingly disgorged upon Mr H. Thus, reader, thou seest how illegally, not only in Devon but Cornwal, many justices act; and that the new Chancery, or Court of Appeals, which should be a cherishing bosome to the oppressed, is made a ponderous and pressing-stone for such as will not yield to the unjust convictions of one or more private justices. Thus poor distressed, agrieved conventiclers, like unweary birds, flie from the hawk into the fowler's hand: So that henceforth the philosopher must be the appellant's best councellor, who having his head broken, and being by a friend advised to go to the magistrate and get the violent fellow punished: Nay, said he, it is better to go to the surgeon to get my head healed. The best remedy for sufferers is to cry to that God who hath his throne (as the Psalmist tells us) established in righteousness, and justice, and judgment, for the habitation thereof, that executes judgment for the oppressed; that for the crying of the poor, and sighing of the needy, will arise, and from whom their cries, by reason of their oppressions, cannot be debarred. That will bring forth their righteousness as the light, and their judgment as the noon-day, who ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors of his people. To that essentially and eternally just and righteous God be glory for evermore. Amen.

A Postscript.

Though I have given an account to the world of those miserable and deplorable oppressions that very many in Devon labour and groan under; yet have I not made known all, for want of a perfect and true relation thereof, neither have I declared all the unjustifiable actions of our oppressors: As how Mr Bear vindicated Leech (the Judas) after he had rob'd a woman in the way as she was going home, coming towards her with his sword drawn, demanded of her money, which she durst not deny him. How he hath detained the third part of the money due to the poor of several parishes, where he hath made several convictions of conventicles (and, if I mistake not too, after it hath been demanded.) How he encouraged a constable, when he was to execute his warrant

for distress, to take a 100 pounds worth of goods for 5 or 6 pound, telling him, that he paying the money for which the distress was taken, he might keep the overplus, and should not be liable to return it. How he sent a young man of Kingsbridge to the common gaol (contrary to law) for not coming to the common-prayer, when there was none publickly read in the town church. How he bound over to two sessions a person whom he supposed was at a conventicle (putting him to great charges and trouble) because he would not take his oath there was one, that he, with Leech, might make two witnesses to prove the same. How he made the rich pay for the rich, when he knew not how to come by their estates, which is contrary to the law; which saith, they must be poor, and unable to pay, when their fines are to be levied upon those that are able. How he fined one for another that died 3 or 4 years agoe. How he commanded violently to break open doors to take distress, which is not required by the law, with many other illegal actions, that he is deeply guilty of. I have omitted likewise the horrid injustice of Sir Peter Prideux, in his dealings with Mr Collings of Mary Otery, a non-conformist. I have made as severe a scrutiny, and critical a search as I possibly could, into the actions of all these forementioned justices, so far as they do respect the execution of the act against conventicles; and most of them appears extra, or contra-legal. Let but some of the words of the act be examined, and rationally weighed in the balance of an unprejudiced mind and judgment, and then the illegality of their proceedings and convictions will appear. The number of persons prohibited to meet is five, of or above 16 years of age; the ground of this prohibition is, their congregating or assembling themselves together under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than according to the liturgie or practice of the church of England, &c. page the 4th. This being so, two things must be proved. First, That there is some exercise of religion among them. Secondly, That it is dissonant and disagreeable, both from the liturgy and practice of the church of England. Which words are copulative, and not disjunctive, so that if they be guilty of the one abstracted from the other, they cannot be liable to the penalty of the law: which things were scarce ever proved, but only taken for granted, neither is it facil or possible to prove it, unless some should be eye, or ear-witnesses from the beginning to the end of the meeting. If two witnesses should come to a conventicle, when a non-conformist is praying or preaching, &c., they must swear there was no divine exercise consonant to the liturgy, &c., before they came, or they'l prove nothing to warrant a legal and rational conviction; and if there be singing of psalms, (such as are allowed by authority, and used publickly) preaching and praying before sermon, it is according to the practice of the church of England, without a worship agreeable to the liturgy; yet are they not obnoxious to punishment, because they are not guilty of the neglect of both, the words being, as was said before, copulative, and not disjunctive. The law against conventicles determines a threefold way for proof to a magistrate to proceed unto a conviction upon, either confession of the party, or oaths of two witnesses, or by notorious evidence and circumstance of fact, page 4. The two former these justices never had, for informers cannot be witnesses, being parties concerned, (to assert this, is as absurd as to affirm a man may be a witness for himself, or in his own cause) the last they seldom or never had; that is such a notorious evidence and circumstance of fact, as is as clear and valid a proof as the two former, for such must it be; it is not what men judge to be such from malice or avarice, but what is so in itself, for what is only productive of meer probabilities, or hæsitating conjectures, is no proof. If a law were made, that whosoever goes into a bawdy-house, or stews, to commit uncleanness (that reigning, predominant bestial sin among us) shall be liable to such a punishment, upon proof made any of these three ways; I believe there are some, very eager and zealous to execute the law against conventicles, that would think it a very irrational and unjust thing to convict a person of this crime, either by his going into such a place, though he was not seen come out, or by being seen to come out, though not to go in, or both, or only by being found there,

without any immodest posture: This is the very case, as to that notorious evidence, and circumstance of fact, that most of our justices make the proof of a conventicle. Sometimes several Christians may meet together, without any set and solemn exercise of religion, and though they might intend it, yet many times it may be prevented; but going in, or coming out of a house, or being found there, is made a circumstance evincing enough with our justices. If it be objected, by way of defence, that this act, and all clauses therein contained, shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be imployed in the execution thereof, as page 12 of the act; it may be answered, That this must be understood either so far as things are, or persons act agreeable to the rules of common justice or right reason, (though all things of that nature be not expressed in the act) or else we must suppose his majesty and our legislators did intend and design nothing hereby but wrong and injustice, which is not to be asserted.

I hope all these things in conjunction together, seriously weighed and considered, may rationally plead for his majesties interposing betwixt his distressed and oppressed subjects, and the violence and injustice of their oppressers. If their purses (who are so many, and so considerable a wealthy party in this nation) be thus evacuated and exhausted, and such a constant devoration and consumption made of their estates by those country caterpillars, (which brings not the least profit of advantage to his majesty, nor affords any support to his government,) how is it possible that he should have adæquate and proportionable supplies of money to his wants? Can men make brick without straw? Give money when they have it not? Or what encouragement can thousands have (whom this act concerns) to improve to the utmost their estates by trading, when they know to what gredy hounds they shall be made a prey. That they who are, or may (by the blessing of God upon their lawful endeavours) be rich, shall be reduced to miserable poverty, to enrich others who are miserably poor, and who will not continue long rich. I think it is not difficult to demonstrate how the violent execution of the act against conventicles hath more enervated and decayed trade (which will ever prove the strongest and firmest pillar for government to be supported with, and to project or assert the contrary, will terminate indefeatably at last in a political solecism) hath pauparized and impoverished more persons and families in this nation, than any one thing (yea more than many things that may be judged burdensome and exhausting) for these many years. How loud a cry should this have in the ears of his majesty for some indulgence, and a relaxation of the rigorous execution of such a law against so many thousands of his faithful subjects, and to blunt the edge of this sword, that cuts in pieces and mangles so many members of that body that he is the royal and supream head of; which with much facility may be done, not only by vacating and repealing the law, or superceding it by his own prerogative, but as he hath all executive power of law, to hinder the execution of it in a way subservient to the malice, penury, and avarice of many of his justices in the county; which may be done, and yet it remain a law, by declaring what is the proper genuine sense and construction of words and phrases in it, and then to suffer it to be executed in no other manner than what is agreable to the same. As that though there be never so many under 16 years of age, yet it is no conventicle when there are no more than four of, or above that age, besides the houshold That no informers shall be authentic witnesses: that it shall be no conventicle unless it can be proved, that the exercise of religion from the beginning to the end thereof, was in other manner than according both to the liturgie and practice of the church of England. That nothing shall be judged a notorious evidence and circumstance of fact, but what can be as certain and clear a proof of the fact, as the confession of the party, or oath of two witnesses, so as still to be consonant that axiom, *posita circumstantia rei, ponitur res ipsa* (and not to leave it to every malicious, indigent, and avaricious justice, to judge what he pleaseth to be such an evidence and circumstance) that no constables, church-wardens, &c., shall be liable to the mulct of 5*l*.

for not executing warrants for distresses, seeing the act doth not express it, page 6. (the penalty of 5*l.* referring onely to such officers' neglects of informing some magistrate when he knows, or is credibly informed, conventicles are held within his precincts, parish, or limits, and shall not endeavour the conviction of the parties, page 11 of the act against conventicles;) that when it is said, page 12, That this act, and all clauses therein contained, shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be imployed in the execution thereof; it must be understood so far as it is agreable to other laws, rules of justice and reason. That no justice of the peace, or chief magistrate, shall be subject to the beck of every informer, to go to any house or place where he is informed a conventicle is, or else forfeit the sum of 100 pounds, the law not expressing it, and that having paid one 100*l.* he can forfeit no more by the law. And that whoever forfeits one 20*l.* for any house, out-house, barn, yard, or backside, shall be liable to no other forfeiture ever after, by vertue of this act, it not expressing it. That fields not being mentioned in the act, the owner of them cannot forfeit 20*l.*, page 8; notwithstanding, meeting in such places make a conventicle, page 4. That no meetings in publick churches for religious exercises shall be adjudged conventicles, (a conventicle being properly a meeting of persons together clandestingly, and in some private place for an evil end) for though the law saith, page 4. That if the assembly be in a house where there is a family inhabiting, or if it be in a house, field, or place where there is no family inhabiting, then the magistrate upon proof shall punish them: Yet the word place, though it seem to be a generical term, it cannot rationally comprehend a publick church, for we must suppose a law not to be made against reason. And it is highly irrational to judge a conventicle (according to the proper notion, and common acceptation of it) which is in so publick a place, that every one that pleaseth may come, and both see and hear what is done and transacted; the word place must therefore be such as a house, field, &c., that it is private in opposition to one of publick use, by authoritative appointment. And lastly, That no meetings be punished by law, but at which, under pretence of tender consciences, seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons contrive insurrections, (for it is unreasonable any should have the least favour that are not of a peaceable deportment under his majesties government,) page 3. And that it may be known whether any such wicked contrivances be at them, let there be particular places for all parties and perswasions to meet in, and let his majesty appoint whom he shall judge most fit to be present at their meetings, to hear what they preach, pray, and do, and make a true report to him. How far his majesty, by his supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, (which the act against conventicles doth not invalidate or avoid) can relieve his subjects distress other ways than by the execution of this act, his own royal wisdom can sufficient dictate to him; but if he shall judge it fit to do both the former and latter, who can be so disloyal, or disengenuous, as to deny him heart, hand, or purse, and not clap their hands, and cordially say, God save the king.

The epoche of that maxime (no bishop, no king) is the reign of that profoundly wise and learned King James, and no doubt it was a true political maxim, because of that general interest they had in this nation, whereby they could afford considerable support to the crown of England. And it is very requisite that the supream magistrate of any Christian nation, should have a catholick interest in the clergy, because of the swaying and prevailing influence it hath usually upon consciences, when it is honourable in the eyes of the people; but when their interest is so debilitated and languisheth, being at a low ebb, and becoming a waningmoon and setting sun in the affections and esteem of the people that are most considerable for wisdom and wealth, and whereof there are many thousands that did once revere and venerate them, that they are incapacitated to do that service to royal majesty that formerly they could. And there is another kind of clergy, whose interest is far more considerable among the people: Why should it not become a new maxim in our English politicks (maxims of state many times varying with

present circumstances and emergences, unto which they are to be accounted, few being calculated for all times, unless such as have their foundation in universal truth) no non-conformist, no king? Let but his majesty try further, how far they can be serviceable to him, and grant them their publick freedom, and liberty to serve the Lord, and he will find that, with all unanimity, and a joynt concurring consent, they will say, O king, live for ever.

FINIS.

A true and faithful Account of the several Informations exhibited to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament to inquire into the late dreadful Burning of the City of London. Together with other Informations touching the Insolency of Popish Priests and Jesuites. and the Increase of Popery, brought to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament for that purpose.

Printed in the Year 1667.

The people of England, with their usual tendency to favour the marvellous, were much disposed to ascribe the dreadful fire of London in 1666 to the villanies of actual incendiaries, whom, according to the political creed of the party, they esteemed either catholics or fanatics. Yet, in the mass of evidence which composes this tract, there is nothing save a collection of vague and unauthorised stories, such as must naturally have arisen during the horrors and confusion of so dreadful a scene; when the terrified sufferers were ready to make oath, not only to all they saw, but to every thing they heard or suspected. The privy council sate morning and evening for examination of all persons apprehended in suspicious circumstances, and the lord chief justice came to town for the better investigation of the reports, by which the minds of the people were distracted as much as by the real danger. Many persons, Clarendon tells us, were brought forward, whose testimony was expected to remove all doubt, who made such senseless relations of rumours which they had picked up, without being able to trace them to the author, that they were worthy of nothing but ridicule. "Upon the strictest examination," says the noble historian, "made first by the king's command, and afterwards by the diligence of the house, that upon the general jealousy and rumour made a committee, that was very diligent and solicitous to make the discovery, there was never any probable evidence (that of the wretched Hubert excepted) that there was any other cause of that woeful fire, except the displeasure of Almighty God." The popular opinion, however, that the fire was raised by the catholics, was so general, that it is recorded as a fact in the inscription upon the monument erected in memory of the calamity.

London's Consumption by Fire.

Upon the second of September, 1666, the fire began in London, at one Farryner's house, a baker, in Pudding-lane, between the hours of one and two in the morning, and continued burning until the sixth of September following, consuming, as by the surveyors appears in print, three hundred seventy-three acres within the walls of the city of London, and sixty-three acres three roods without the walls. There remains seventy-five acres three roods yet standing within the walls unburnt. Eighty-nine parish churches, besides chapels burnt. Eleven parishes within the walls yet standing. Houses burnt, thirteen thousand two hundred.

Per { Jonas Moore, / Ralph Gatrix, } Surveyors.

Upon the eighteenth of September 1666, the parliament came together, and upon the 25th of the same month, the House of Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the causes of the late fire, before whom the following informations were given in, and proved before the committee, as by their report will more clearly appear, bearing date the two-and twentieth of January 67, and upon the eighth of February following, the parliament was prorogued, before they came to give their judgment thereupon.

Die Martis 25 Septembris 1666, 18 Car. II.

Resolved, &c.

That a committee be appointed to inquire into the causes of the late fire, and that it be referred to

Sir Charles Harbord,	Mr Rob. Millward,	Sir Robert Atkins,
Mr Sandys,	Sir William Lowther,	Sir Thomas Gower,
Col. Birch,	Sir Richard Vatley,	Mr Trevor,
Sir Robert Brook,	Sir Rowland Beckley,	Sir Thomas Clifford,
Sir Thomas Littleton,	Sir Thomas Allen,	Sir Henry Cæsar,
Mr Prin,	Mr Whorwood,	Sir John Monson,
Mr Jones,	Mr Coventry,	Sir John Charlton,
Sir Solom. Swale,	Serj. Maynard,	Lord Ancram,
Sir Tho. Tomlins,	Sir Joseph Talbot,	Mr Pepis,
Mr Seymour,	Mr Morley,	Sir Richard Everard,
Mr Finch,	Mr Garraway,	Mr Crouch,
Lord Herbert,	Sir Francis Goodrick,	Mr Merrel,
Sir John Heath,	Col. Strangways,	Sir William Hickman,
Mr Millward,	Sir Edward Massey,	Sir Richard Brown,
Sir Richard Ford,	Sir Edm. Walpool,	Mr Maynard.

And they are to meet to-morrow at two of the clock in the afternoon, in the speaker's chamber, and to send for persons, papers, and records.

WILL. GOLDSBROUGH, Cler. Dom. Com.

October 9, 1666.

Ordered, that these members following be added to the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the late fire, viz. Sir John Pelham, Mr Hugh Buscowen, Mr Giles Hungerford, Sir William Lewis, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Brampstone, Mr Millward, Mr Buscowen, and all the members that serve for the city of London.

WILL. GOLDSBROUGH, Cler. Dom. Com.

October 16, 1666.

Ordered, that Mr Davis, Sir Thomas Higgons, Mr St John, Sir Richard Franklin, Sir Thomas Tomkins, Mr Devereux, Mr Millard, Mr Lewis, Mr Dowdswell, Sir James Thyn, Sir Edm. Pierse, Mr Coleman, Sir Thomas Allen, Mr Giles Hungerford, and Mr Churchill, be added to the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the late fire.

WILL. GOLDSBROUGH, Cler. Dom. Com.

The honourable committee, according to the fore-mentioned orders of the house, did meet in the speaker's chamber, and having chosen Sir Robert Brook for their chairman, proceeded to receive many considerable informations, from divers credible persons, about the matter wherewith they were intrusted, and thereupon did at last agree that Sir Robert Brook should make the ensuing report to the honourable House of Commons.

The Report of Sir Robert Brook, Chairman to the Committee that was appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the Firing of the City of London; made the two-and-twentieth of January, 1667.

In a letter from Alanson, of the 23d of August, 1666, New stile, written from one Dural to a gentleman lodging in the house of one of the ministers of the French church in London, called Monsieur Herault, there were these expressions:

"Pray acquaint me with the truth of certain news which is common in this country, that a fire from heaven is fallen upon a city called Belke, situated on the side of the river of Thames, where a world of people have been killed and burnt, and houses also consumed: Which seemed a word of Cabal, cast out by some that were knowing, and others that might be ignorant of the signification of it."

Mrs Elizabeth Styles informs, That in April last, in an eager discourse she had with a French servant of Sir Vere Fan, he hastily replied, You English maids will like the Frenchmen better, when there is not a house left between Temple-Bar and London-Bridge. To which she answered, I hope your eyes will never see that. He replied, This will come to pass between June and October.

William Tisdale informs, That he being about the beginning of July at the Greyhound in St Martins, with one Fitz-Harris an Irish Papist, heard him say, There would be a sad desolation in September, in November a worse, in December all would be united into one. Whereupon he asked him, Where this desolation would be? He answered, In London.

Mr Light of Ratcliff, having some discourse with Mr Longhorn of the Middle Temple, barrister, (reputed a zealous papist) about February 65 last, after some discourse in disputation about religion, he took him by the hand, and said to him, You expect great things in sixty-six, and think that Rome will be destroyed, but what if it be London?

Mr Kitley of Barkin, in Essex, informs, That one Mrs Yazly, a papist of Ilford in the county, came to his house August the 13th, and being in discourse with his mother, said, They say the next Thursday will be the hottest day that ever was in England. She replied, I hope the hottest season of the year is now past. To which she answered, I know not whether it be the hottest for weather or for action. This Mrs Yazly coming to the same house the week after the fire, Mr Kitley said to her with some trouble, I have often thought of your hot Thursday: To which she replied, It was not indeed upon the Thursday, but it happened upon the Sunday was sen'night after. Mrs Yazly hearing this evidence produced against her, endeavoured to avoid the words, saying, That upon the 13th of August she did tell Mrs Kitley, that they say the next Thursday will be the darkest Thursday that ever was in England, but not otherwise; which she affirms to have received from one Finchman, an old woman of Ilford; who, being examined by a justice of peace to discover the truth thereof, denied that ever she said any such words to Mrs Yazly, or that she had discoursed with her about any such matter. And as to the subsequent words, she saith Mrs Yazly denies ever to have spoken them: But Mr Kitly offered in her presence, (if it should be demanded) to bring his mother and wife to testify the same.

William Ducket, Esq., a member of the house, informs, That one Henry Baker of Chippenham, in the county of Wilts, coming from market with one John Woodman of Kelloway, in the same county, the Thursday before the fire began in London, they had some discourse about the buying a yoke of fat bullocks, wherein they differed, because Woodman, who was to sell them, was desired to keep them a while in his hands; but the said Woodman denied so to do, for that, as he alledged, he could not stay in the country till that time which Baker would have them delivered to him in; and being asked whi-

ther he was going, he refused to tell, asking what he had to do to make that question: But riding a little further, the said Woodman expressed these words: You are brave blades at Chippenham, you made bonfires lately for beating the Dutch; but since you delight in bonfires, you shall have your bellies full e're it be long: Adding, that if he lived one week longer, he should see London as sad a London as ever it was since the world began. And in some short time after, he should see as bloody a time as ever was since England was England. This discourse was not much taken notice of at that time it was spoken: But when the city of London was burnt, the said Henry Baker gave this information to the said Mr Docket, and whereupon he issued out his warrant to apprehend Woodman, but he was gone out of the country, and cannot be heard of since.

Robert Hubert of Roan, in Normandy, who ackowledged that he was one of those that fired the house of Mr Farryner, a baker in Pudding-Lane, from whence the fire had its beginning, confessed, That he came out of France with one Stephen Piedloe, about four months before the fire, and went into Sweden with him, where he also staid with him as his companion four months, and then they came together into England in a Swedish ship called the Skipper, where he staid on board with the said Piedloe till that Saturday night in which the fire broke out; when Piedloe taking him out of the ship, carried him into Pudding-lane, and he being earnest to know whither he would carry him; he would not satisfy him till he had brought him to the place, and then he told him that he had brought three balls, and gave him one of them to throw into the house. And he would have been further satisfied in the design, as he said, before he would execute it: But Piedloe was so impatient that he would not hear him, and then he did the fact, which was, that he put a fire-ball at the end of a long pole, and lighting it with a piece of match, he put it in at a window, and staid till he saw the house in a flame. He confessed that there were three-and-twenty accomplices, whereof Piedloe was the chief.

Mr Graves, a French merchant, living in St Mary-Axe, informed this committee, that he had known Hubert ever since he was four years old, and hath ever observed him to be a person of a mischievious inclination, and therefore fit for any villanous enterprize; and because of his knowledge he had of him, he went to visit him in prison, where when he saw him, he could not but commiserate the condition whereinto he had brought himself. And for his better discovery of the fact, he told him the said Hubert, that he did not believe he had done that of which he confessed himself guilty. To which Hubert replyed, Yes, sir, I am guilty of it, and have been brought to it by the instigation of Monsieur Piedloe; but not out of any malice to the English nation, but from a desire of reward, which he promised me upon my return into France.[1]

It is observeable, that this miserable creature, who confessed himself to the committee to be a protestant, was a papist, and died so. And as for the aforesaid Piedloe, the said Mr Graves informed, that he had had a full knowledge of him, and knew him to be a very deboist person, and apt to any wicked design. Moreover, for a clear conviction of the guilt of the aforesaid Hubert, Mr Lowman, the keeper of the White-Lion prison, was appointed to set him upon a horse, and to go with him and see if he could find out the place where he threw the fire-ball. Upon which Hubert, with more readiness than those that were well acquainted with the place, went to Pudding-lane, unto the very place where the house that was first fired stood, saying, Here stood the house. The jaylor endeavoured to draw him from that belief, and put him upon seeking for some other place: But he positively persisted in what he had first said, and affirmed that to have been the said house. It being intimated to the committee, that

[1] This unfortunate wretch was certainly crazy, and desperately threw away his own life; his story being so disjointed as to be altogether incredible.

notwithstanding the confession of the said Hubert, it was confidently reported the fire in the fore-mentioned Farryner's house began by accident; the committee therefore sent for him the said Farryner before them, who being examined, said, That it was impossible any fire should happen in his house by accident; for he had after twelve of the clock that night gone through every room thereof, and found no fire, but in one chimney, where the room was paved with bricks, which fire he diligently raked up in embers. He was then asked, whether no window or door might let in wind to disturb those coals? He affirmed there was no possibility for any wind to disturb them; and that it was absolutely set on fire on purpose.

Dawes Weymansel, Esq., one of his majesty's justices of the peace, informed, That he saw a man apprehended in the time of the fire, near the Temple, with his pockets stuft with combustible matter, made of flax, tow, and such-like materials.

Doctor John Packer informs, That he saw a person in the time of the fire throw some combustible matter into a shop in the Old-Bailey, which he thinks was the shop of an apothecary; and that immediately thereupon he saw a great smoak, and smelt a a smell of brimstone. The person that did this immediately ran away; but upon the out-cry of the people, he was taken by the guards.

Mr Randal, Mr Haslem, and Mr Humphry Bowyer, do all agree, That they saw a person flinging something into a house near St Antholines church; and that thereupon the house was on fire, and the smoak thereof infested the adjacent houses. And when this was done, there was no fire near the place.

Mr Michael March, an officer in the trained bands, in a company of Sir Richard Brown's, apprehended a walloon in the time of the fire at the Nag's-Head, in Leaden-Hall street, with an instrument like a dark lanthorn, made (as is conceived) to lay a train of powder, and it was filled with gun-powder. There were two more of the same nation in his company. They being asked to what use they employed the same instrument, would give no account thereof.

Newton Killingworth, Esq., informed, That he apprehended a person during the fire, about whom he found much combustible matter, and certain black things of a long figure, which he could not endure to hold in his hand, by reason of their extream heat. This person was so surprised at first, that he would not answer to any question; but being on his way to White-hall, he acted the part of a madman, and so continued while he was with him.

Sir John Maynard, a member of this house, affirms, That he had some of that combustible matter in his hands; and though it were in its natural substance, and unfired, yet the heat of it was scarcely to be endured by the touch.

Mr Freeman of Southwark, brewer, whose house was lately fired, informs, That on the day his house was fired (about a quarter of an hour before that happened) a paper with a ball of wild fire, containing near a pound weight wrapped in it, was found in the nave of a wheel, in a wheeler's yard, where lay a great quantity of timber. How his house was fired he knoweth not; but this he affirmed to the committee, that it could not be by accident, because there had not been any candle or fire in the house where the hay lay that whole day; and that the hay being laid in very dry, and before mid-summer, could not possibly be set on fire within itself. Moreover he said, that the hay-loft was on fire on the top of the house, and that the fire spread from the one end of the roof to another in an instant.

Mr Richard Harwood informs, That being near the Feathers tavern by St Pauls, upon the fourth of September, he saw something through a grate in a cellar like wild-fire, by the sparkling and spitting of it he could judge it to be no other; whereupon he gave notice of it to some soldiers that were near the place, who caused it to be quenched.

I had order from the committee to acquaint you, that we traced several persons apprehended upon strong suspicion (during the fire) to the guards, but could not make further discovery of them.

Thus far was the Report: What follows was given in to the Committee, but not by them reported to the House at that Time.

In obedience to an order directed to me, from the honourable Committee of the House of Commons, then sitting in the speaker's chamber, of the second of October, 1667, I did carry Robert Hubert* to St Katherine's Tower by water, to let me know the place where the Swedish ship lay that brought him and other Frenchmen from Stockholm, and he brought me to the dock over against Mr Corsellis his brew-house, and did then verifie to me and Mr Corsellis, that the ship lay there, until such time as he with Mr Piedloe and others did go and set fire to a house. And this Hubert did further say, that Mr Piedloe did fix two fire-balls to a long pole, and put them into a window; and that he the said Robert Hubert did fire one in the same manner, and put it in at the same window. But with all the enquiry and dilligence that I could use, I could neither find nor hear of any such vessel. And from thence I carried the said Robert Hubert to Tower-hill, and did then desire him to shew me the house that they did fire, and he said, that it was near the bridge. So we went along Thames-street, towards the bridge; but before we came to the bridge, the said Robert Hubert said, that the house was up there, (pointing with his hand up Pudding-lane:) So I bid him go to the place, and he went along the bricks and rubbish, and made a stand. Then did I ask one Robert Penny, a wine-porter, which was the baker's house? and he told me, that was the house where the aforesaid Robert Hubert stood. So I went to Robert Hubert and stood by him, and turned my back towards the baker's house, and demanded of him, which house it was that he fired, directing to other houses contrary to that house, but he turning himself about said, this was the house (pointing to the baker's house,) that was first fired. Then by reason of his lameness I set him on a horse, and carried him to several other places, but no other place he would acknowledge; but rode back again to the baker's house, and said again, That that was the house (pointing at the baker's house.) And this I do humbly certifie to this honourable committee.

By me JOHN LOWMAN, Keeper of his Majesty's County-Gaol for Surry.

Sir,

Hearing that you are chairman to the commitee for examining the firing of London, I thought good to acquaint you with this information that I have received.

William Champneys, a hatband-maker, now living in Horsly-down, was upon Tuesday morning, September the 4th, 1666, in Shoe-lane, and there met with a constable who had apprehended a Frenchman whom he took firing a house there with fire-balls, and charged the said Champneys to assist him, who carried the said Frenchman to Salisbury-court, hoping there to have found a justice; but finding that place burning down, returned into Fleet-street, who was presently called upon by the commander of the life guard, to know what the matter was: The constable told him, he had apprehended a Frenchman firing a house in Shoe-lane; he examined the person and committed him to the guard, and told the constable he would secure him, and carry him along with him. The constable asked him whether he should go along with him to

* This unfortunate person, concerning whom see more in the next tract, appears to have been deranged in his mind. He certainly confessed himself to be the author of the fire of London; but it is equally certain that his account of the motives and mode of perpetrating the crime are extremely preposterous.

give in his evidence, he replied, that he had done enough, and might go home. But what became of the Frenchman he knoweth not.

Your humble servant, S. G.

In a letter from Ipswich, directed for the Honourable Sir Robert Brook, it is intimated, that about the 30th of August, 1666, one of the constables of Cotton, in Hartsmer Hundred, being about the survey of that town about Hearth-money, was told by one Mr William Thompson, a Roman Catholic in that town, that though times were like to be sad, yet if he found any cause to change his religion, he would see he should not want: And further said to him, What will you say if you hear that London is brunt?

The Affidavits touching a Frenchman, that said there were three Hundred of them engaged in Firing the City.

The Informations of Richard Bound, of St Giles's in the Fields, Ironmonger; William Cotes, Samuel Page, Francis Cogny, Edmund Dakins, and Richard Pardoe, taken the 8th day of September, 1666, by Sir Justinian Lewen, Knight, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, upon oath as followeth:

Richard Bound saith, that upon Tuesday night last, about twelve or one of the clock, there was a Frenchman brought by the watch to this informant's father's house, being at the sign of the White-Hart in King-street, taken as a suspicious person; the said person being questioned by them, whether he was not one of those that fired the city, or had a hand therein, or any privity or knowledge of any that had designed the same, or words to that effect; the said person answered a great while in a perverse manner, quite different from the question. But being further pressed to tell the truth, and being told, that if he were guilty, it would be the only way to save his life; he did at first obstinately deny that he knew any thing of any plot; whereupon a young man took the prisoner aside to the end of the room, and after some private discourse between them, they both returned to this informant and the rest of the company, and the said young man spoke openly to us, in the hearing of the prisoner, that the said Frenchman and prisoner had confessed there were three hundred Frenchmen that were in a plot or conspiracy to fire the city. Upon which this informant and others spoke to the said Frenchman in these words, or to the same effect: Well, Monsieur, you have done very well to confess what you have done, and no doubt but you may have your pardon, if you will confess all you know of this plot; and thereupon further asked him, Are there no more than three hundred persons in the said plot? He answered, There are no more than three hundred persons. Then we inquired who they were, and how he came to know they were three hundred? To which he would give no direct answer, but put it off with other extravagant discourse. And being asked why he came to St Giles's parish, (where he was apprehended,) he told a story, that he came from Islington-Fields, where his master's goods were, but the goods were now removed, but he could not tell whither; and that his master bid him go up and down the fields, but would not declare upon what occasion, or for what end he was so to do: And being asked whether there were three hundred persons engaged in this design or plot, he replied that there were three hundred engaged in it.

The several informations of William Cotes, of Cow-Lane of London, painter; of Samuel Page, of St Giles's in the Fields, weaver; of Edmund Dakins, of St Giles's aforesaid, bookseller; of Francis Cockney, of St Andrews, Holborn; of Richard Pardoe, victualler, taken upon oath, &c. tend to the confirmation of the foregoing relation.

An Extract of a Letter from Hydelburgh, in the Palatinate, September the 29th, 1666.

Sir,

Yours of the 6th current came on Wedensday to me, and brought the ill tidings of the burning of London, constantly expected and discoursed of among the Jesuits, to my knowledge, for these fifteen years past, as to happen this year. In which they do also promise to themselves and others the introduction of the public exercise of the catholic religion. This letter was sent to Mr Alton, who lives in New-Gravel-lane in Shadwell, who negociates the business of the Palatinate, and will produce the original if there be occasion.

The Information of John Chishul, Schoolmaster in Enfield.

Upon Friday, Aug. 31, Mrs St George, and her eldest daughter Susannah St George, both popish recusants, came to visit Mrs Rebecca Eves, widow, at her house in Enfield; where, speaking concerning the session of parliament drawing nigh, Mrs St George told her, that some would hearafter be called to account for a plot. Being asked for what? She told her in her ear, For burning the city. Mrs Eves afterwards hearing of the firing of London, (and going to a place where she might behold it) met with Mrs Susannah St George, and (amongst other discourse) told her how much her mother's words, which she spoke the Friday before, did run in her thoughts, which she repeated to her daughter, who made this reply, That her mother was very apt to talk; and that she had been fain to keep her mother within doors during the fire, fearing lest she should talk.

After this (during the fire) Mrs Eves met with Mrs Cook, another popish recusant, and of the same family, to whom she also related Mrs St George her words; who made this return, That she was a worthy woman to keep council.

Also the Lady St George, at Enfield, in the Lord of Lincoln's house, declared to Mrs Rebecca Eves of the said town, that within a few days the city of London would be laid in ashes. This was spoken about two days before the fire happened.

Mrs Eves of Enfield, her Examination before Mr Jolliff, and Mr Marvel, Decemb. 20, 1666, *concerning Mrs St George.*

Mrs Rebecca Eves, of Enfield, three or four days, or within a week before the fire, receiving a visit in her own house from Mrs St George, (amongst other discourses) Mrs St George asked her what news she heard, and if she knew when the parliament sat? Mrs Eves replied, she thought shortly. The other asked, if she heard of any that were to be called in question before the parliament? Mrs Eves said, About what? Mrs St George said, About a plot. Mrs Eves asked, What plot? Mrs St George answered, About firing the city. Mrs Eves said, I hope God will preserve the city; but people use not to be questioned before the fact be commited; so the discourse was waved for that time.

At the time of the fire, Mrs Eves went out to look towards the fire, and mentioning Mrs St George, one in the company replied behind her, (but she cannot certainly fix the person) A prime woman to keep council! After the fire, Mrs St George her daughter came to Mrs Eves, who asked her, if she remembred what her mother had said? She said, My mother is such a woman she will speak what she thinks. Afterwards she said, that she had much ado to keep her mother in at the time of the fire, lest she should speak some things she should be questioned for.

At the first discourse Mrs Eves, her daughter, and others of her family were present. Mr St George, his wife and family have since left Enfield. They are all great papists, and there are many more in the neighbourhood.

A Letter directed and sent by the Post to Mr Samuel Thurlton, in Leicestershire, from a Person unknown, as followeth, dated October 16, 1666.

My Friend,

Your presence is now more necessary at London, than where you are, that you may determine how to dispose of your estate in Southwark; for it is determined by humane counsel (if not frustrated by Divine Power) that the suburbs will shortly be destroyed. Your capacity is large enough to understand. Proceed as your genius shall instruct you.

Cave, Cave, Fuge, Vale

Saturday, the first of September, 1666, the day before the fire in London, came one Urmstraw from Ireland, with a letter from thence to one Esq. Holcroft, at East-Ham in Essex, (being related to that family by marriage) where he supped. After which he asked the esquire if he had heard any thing of the firing of London? Who answered, No; but Urmstraw said he would shortly, for it was, or would be so that night. The esquire answered, If it were, he hoped it might be quenched again, as it had been many a time: But Urmstraw answered, No, it would not be quenched; for it should be said of it as of Troy, repeating a Latin verse, *Nunc seges est ubi Troja fuit*, that now corn grows where Troy stood. This discourse was managed pleasantly by him, after which they went to their beds, and in the morning this Urmstraw inquires earnestly, Whether they had heard of the firing of London that night? They answered, No; but he prayed them to send one of the family out to inquire, and doubtless they would hear of it; upon which a messenger was sent, who brought in word from a man that travelled upon the road, that it was on fire indeed. After dinner, this Urmstraw desires his horse to be saddled that he might be gone: the esquire intreats him to stay till next morning, but he answered, If I should stay, I should sleep no more this night than I did the last; therefore I would go see London before it is quite burned, for I shall never see it more.

Sunday morning, the fire being begun in London, a person coming from Deptford, when he came from Barnaby-street end, in Southwark, hears a woman cry out against a Frenchman for throwing fire-balls; he runs after him, and lays hold of him; he asked him what commission he had for so doing? He answered that his commission was in his chest. The people coming in, they searched him, and found fire-balls in his pockets; he was delivered to the guard in Southwark, but heard of no more.

A citizen being fired out of his house, had hired a lodging in Queen-street, in Covent-garden, and going up to Holborn, (there being a crowd of people) steps in amongst them, and hears a woman say that she had a hand in firing the city. The people asked her whether she were an anabaptist? She said no.—Are you an independent? She said no.—Are you a presbyterian? She said no.—Are you a Roman catholic? To which she would give no answer. The citizen asked her, But, mistress, had you a hand in burning the city? She answered, What would you have me to say? I have confessed it already, and do deserve to dye for it. This she said with trembling, and seemed to be much troubled. The citizen inquires for a constable; the people reply there was one gone for, but a gallant comes and takes her by the arm and leads her away, saying, He would have her examined; and forthwith another gallant closeth with him, and they both carried her to the Griffin-tavern in Holborn. The citizen follows them to see the result of the business; but they, with the master of the house, shut out the company, (all but the citizen, supposing him to be one of their own company) but asking one of the other concerning him, and finding him not of them, put him out again. Whereupon he goes to the next company of soldiers and inquires for their captain, who replied he was not there, but told him, yonder is my Lord Craven; unto whom the citi-

zen repaired, and acquainted his lordship that there was a woman apprehended (and rescued by a couple of gallants) that had confessed she had a hand in burning the city, and was at such a tavern: Whereupon the Lord Craven called to a captain in the street, and ordered him to go with that man and apprehend the woman that he should direct him to; whereupon he goes with the citizen, and takes her with the first gallant, who stood up highly in her defence, and carries them both to an alehouse on the other side of the way. The citizen perceiving that nothing would be done with her, leaves his name with the captain, and where he might be found, but was never called for to justify the words spoken by her.[1]

A woman standing in White-Chapel with a company about her, was asked what the matter was? She said that she met two young men in that place, and asked them how it was with the fire? They answered, Its now almost out, if it can be kept so, but the rogues renew it with their fire-balls.—Ay, saith another woman, young men, if you have a heart to it, you may be hired to throw fire-balls too, for I know where twenty were hired yesterday to throw them. It was asked her what was become of the woman that spoke thus? She answered, that she had apprehended her and delivered her to the under beadle of White-Chapel parish. The woman falling under the accusation, (not being able to deny it) there being many witnesses at that time that heard it; she was delivered to Sir John Robinson, but heard of no more.

One from France writes to his correspondent in London, to know the truth of what was muttered in Paris, Whether London were laid in ashes or no? The letter being dated a week before the fire began.

From Surrey, in or near Darkin, a person in ordinary habit (who was yet observed to take place of all the nobility and gentry among the papists) seeing the people of Darkin mourn for the burning of the city, he spoke slightingly of it, telling them they should have something else to trouble themselves for, and that shortly Darkin should be laid as low as London. Whereupon the people made at him, and one Mr Howard, a great papist, rescues him, and sends him away in his coach to London. This was deposed before Sir Adam Brown, a justice of peace, and a member of parliament.

These following Relations (for substance) were delivered to Sir Robert Brooks, Chairman of the Committee, a little before the Prorogation of the Parliament.

A true Relation made by one of the Grand Jury at Hick's-Hall, at a general Quarter-Sessions, presently after the Fire in London, who was upon Tryal of some of those that fired the City.

That near West-Smithfield, in Cheek-lane, there was a man taken in the very act of firing a house by the inhabitants and neighbours; and carrying him away through Smithfield, to have him before a justice for the fact committed, the king's life-guard perceiving it, made up unto them, and demanded their prisoner from them, but they refused to let him go. The life-guard men told them that he was one of the king's servants, and said we will have him: and thereupon they drew out their swords and pistols, and rescued him out of the people's hands by force of arms.

A bill of indictment was brought against him, and two or three witnesses did swear unto it, and the bill was found by the grand jury, who did carry it to the Old-Baily, and presented it to the lord chief justice; but it came to no further tryal, nor was ever

[1] Clarendon mentions the general report concerning fire-balls thrown by papists, and mentions a Portugueze being apprehended upon such a charge, which on minute examination was only founded upon the poor fellow having, in conformity with a superstitious custom of his country, picked up a bit of bread which he found in the street, and put it upon a shelf; a custom so universal in Portugal, that the king himself would lift any fragment of bread he saw on the ground, and hold it in his hand till he saw a safe place to lay it down.

seen after at the Old-Baily, so far as this person, upon his best inquiry, could ever hear or learn.

Concerning a House-keeper at Soho, who fired his own Dwelling-house.

First he secured all his goods in his garden, and then went in and fired his house; which when he had done, he endeavoured to get away out at his fore-door. A neighbour demanded of him who had fired his house? He answered, The devil. Upon that, his neighbour bid him stand, or he would run his halbert in his guts; his answer was, If you do, there are enough left behind me to do the work. Whereupon he was secured, and a bill of indictment brought against him, and about three witnesses did swear to it, and his son came in as a witness against him, who was demanded by the foreman. What he could say as to the firing of his father's house? He said, That his father did fire it with a fire-ball. It was demanded of him, Whether he did fire it above stairs, or below? He answered, Above stairs. The bill was likewise found; but the petty-jury, being too much influenced and over-awed by the L. C. J. K., did not find him guilty.

A maid was taken in the street with two fire-balls in her lap; some did demand of her, where she had them? She said, One of the king's life-guard threw them into her lap: She was asked why she had not caused him to be apprehended? She said, That she knew not what they were. She was indicted for this, and the bill found against her, and turned over to the Old-Bailey, but no prosecution upon it.

In the time of the fire, a constable took a Frenchman firing a house, seized on him, and going to a magistrate with him, met his Royal Highness the Duke of York, who asked the reason of the tumult: One told him, that a Frenchman was taken firing a house; his highness called for the man, who spoke to him in French. The duke asked who would attest it? The constable said, I took him in the act, and I will attest it. The duke took him into his custody, and said, I will secure him. But he was heard of no more.

On Monday, the third of September, there was a Frenchman taken firing a house; and upon searching of him, fire-balls were found about him. At which time four of the life-guard rescued the Frenchman, and took him away from the people, after their usual manner in the whole time of the fire.

One Mr Belland, a Frenchman, living at Marybone, who bought great store of pastboard for a considerable time before the fire in the city of London, to the quantity of twenty gross in one shop, and much more elsewhere, was asked by a citizen what he did with all that pastboard? He answered, that he made fire-works for the king's pleasure. The citizen asked him, What doth the king give you? He replied, Nothing, only I have respects at court: The citizen said, Take heed, Mr Belland, you do not expend your estate, and then lose your respects at court, for you are at a great charge. Belland answered, Sir, do you think this a great matter? I use all this myself; but if you did see all the great quantities I have made elsewhere, in three several places, three, four, and five miles off, you would say something. Another time, the stationer with whom he dealt for the pastboard being at his house in Marybone, and wondering at the many thousands of fire-works that lay piled up of several sorts, he said, Sir, do you wonder at this? if you should see the quantity that I have made elsewhere by other men, you would wonder indeed.

The Sunday before the fire began, this Belland came to the shop where he was wont to buy his pastboard, but the stationer being not there he desired a citizen (the stationer's neighbour) to speak to him, and to let him know that he had much wronged him in disappointing him of the four gross of pastboard which he should have had of him, and said that he should not do his work by the time; and that if he had it not by Tuesday night it would come too late, he should have no occasion for it after that

(which was the Tuesday night before the fire). Mr Belland, said the citizen, what is the reason of your haste? Have you any shew suddenly before the king? At which he blushed, and would give no answer. Says the citizen, What kind of fire-works do you make? only such as will crack and run? Belland answered, I make of all sorts; some that will burn and make no crack at all, but will fly up in a pure flame higher than the top of Pauls, and waver in the air. Says the citizen, Mr Belland, when you make your shew, shall I see it?—Yes, said Belland, I promise you, and gave him his hand upon it. Which citizen, in the time of the fire, being upon the Thames in a boat, saw, to his great amazement, sundry bodies of fire burning above the fire of the houses as high again as Pauls, wavering in the air, directly according to Belland's description.

And after the burning of the city, the stationer and the other citizen agreed to go to Marybone to speak with this Belland; and by the way met with his two maids and his boy: and having some knowledge of them, asked for young Mr Belland, who told them he was not at home, neither knew they where he was. But the citizens observing that they carried with them rabbets and capons ready drest, concluded they were going to him, and told them so: Whereat they were surly, and bad them go look him, for they would not tell them where he was. Upon that, the citizens resolved to follow them, and did, till they came to White-hall. The servants went up stairs and down stairs on purpose to have lost them, but could not, for they kept close to them. And at last, one of the maids went to a door and knocked, crying out, They were dogged by two men that they could not be rid of; with that young Mr Belland opened the door, saying to one of the citizens, Sir, your servant, how do you do? One of them answered, Both I and many thousand families more are the worse for you, under pretence of making fire-works for the king, have destroyed a famous city, and ruined a noble people. To which Belland replies, I make nothing but innocent things, that will do no harm; for which I have a patent from the king. But the citizen answered, If the king gave you a patent, it was but for yourself: Who answered, No.—Said the citizen, What made you then to employ so many men in so many places? No, said Belland, I set no man to work that makes of them, but myself; though he had often before said otherwise. While they were thus discoursing, old Belland looks from under the hanging, Sir, said he, I hear you charge my son with suspicion of burning the city; I pray you speak lower, (casting his eyes about, fearing the ladies passing by might hear) and said, My son doth nothing but what he hath a patent from the king for, and shall have an order to sue any man that shall accuse him: And he said, My son is no prisoner, but lodged here to prevent him from the rage of the common people.—Well, said the citizens, you must give an account for what you have done; and so they shut the door upon them. The citizens went and inquired whose lodgings they were, and were told they belonged to the Lady Killegrew.[1]

The Information of Thomas Middleton, Surgeon, late Inhabitant of St Brides, London.

I, the said Thomas Middleton, do hereby certify, that upon the Sunday in the afternoon, (the day wherein the dreadful fire broke out in Pudding-lane which consumed the city) hearing the general outcry, that the city was fired by papists and French, I repaired to the top of a church steeple near the Three Cranes in the Vintry, where myself and several others observed the motion of the fire for two or three hours together, and we all took notice that the fire did break forth out of several houses, when the houses which were then burning were at a good distance from them every way, and more par-

[1] Clarendon mentions, that some Frenchmen who were employed in making artificial fire-works for rejoicing days, and one particularly who was the king's servant, and employed in the ordnance, fell under the general suspicion which attached to foreigners, and were detained in prison until their neighbours solicited for their liberty.—*Continuation of Clarendon's Life*, p. 352.

ticularly, I saw the fire break out from the inside of Lawrence-Pountney steeple, when there was no fire near it. These and such like observations begat in me a persuasion, that the fire was maintained by design. Upon Monday I repaired again into the city, and found, as the day before, that the fire did break forth in fresh houses at a great d tance one from another.[1] And as I was returning home, passing through Watlin street by a tobacco-merchant's house, I saw the master of the house come down stai driving a young fellow before him, saying to him, You rogue, do you come to rob m what did you do in my garret? or words to that purpose, and pushed him out of door All which I observed, and he seemed to be a Frenchman: He was a short black fello of about 22 years of age, and as soon as he was out of the house, he having a loo coat on, in a way of privacy shuffles something under his coat, whereupon I laid he of him, and said Sirrah what have you there? The fellow replied, What is that to yo the master of the house knows me. Upon that I asked the master of the house wheth he knew the fellow, he answered, he knew him not. Whereupon I searched the fello and found a horn of powder about him, and as soon as the powder was discovered, felt a rubbing his hands, they being all black with powder; he had also about him a boo intitled, The Jewish Government; I charged him that he was a Frenchman, because spoke broken English, but he denied it, and did much vaunt himself. There coming a co stable by with his staff, I required him to carry him to prison, and I would assist him; we conveyed him to Old-Bridewell, and by the way the people were ready to kill hi calling him French rascal; I prayed them to forbear, for justice would give him his r ward. I told the fellow he would be hanged, he made slight of it, saying, If I die, n soul shall be saved, but yours shall be damned; and when he was put into Bridewe I desired that he might be secured, and none suffered to speak with him, till he we examined before a magistrate, because the tobacco-merchant's house was present burned upon it. But so it happened on the next day that the fire came on, and cons med my house and goods, so that I was forced with my family to fly into the counti and what became of the fellow I know not, Old Bridewell being burnt also; and u derstanding that the parliament hath appointed a committee to inquire after the acte in, and fomenters of that terrible fire, I thought good to inform the honourable cor mittee thereof, that they may send for the keeper of the said Bridewell to know wh became of the fellow, that he might receive justice according to his demerit. Tl much I thought myself obliged to do, as in duty bound to God and my country, all which I am ready to affirm upon oath, when I shall be thereunto called.

THOMAS MIDDLETON.

In the time of the fire near Bridewell, there was a man sadly bemoaning the great loss he was like to sustain, the fire then being within five or six houses of him, did beseech the people for God's sake, they having no goods of their own in danger, to come in and help him to throw out trunks, chests, beds, &c. out at a window, having procured two carts or waggons to carry them away. Whereupon I ran into his house with several others, broke down his windows, threw out his goods, and loaded the carts, and there being some interval of time before the return of the carts, and seeing a room wherein were many books and loose papers, (which seemed to be a library) I went in and took down a book, which proved to be Ovid's Metamorphosis; and while I was looking upon it, there came into the same room an old man of low stature, with a white frock, who looked also on the book as it was in my hand; I took him in my mind to

[1] This circumstance is much founded upon by those who contended that the fire was intentional. But it usually happens, in such cases of general confusion, that persons abandon their houses either from fear, or that they may assist their neighbours; and thus the usual modes of securing against fire being neglected, a new conflagration may be caused by a thousand accidents. The wind also, acting upon so large a body of flames, must have carried burning materials to a very great distance.

be some groom come out of a stable, and thought him to be presumptuously foolish, supposing such a mean like old man ignorant of that language in which the book was written, it being in Latin, but I spoke not to him: In the mean time, there broke forth a fire amongst the papers which were behind us, there being none in the room but he and I; whereupon the rest of the people coming in, cried out, we had set the room on fire, and rushing in upon us, put out the fire with their feet; whereupon I took hold of the old man by the buttons under the throat, and said, How now, father, it must either be you or I must fire these papers. There was a small thing of a black matter, which looked like a piece of a link, burning, which questionless set fire to the papers, but it was immediately trod out. A multitude of people thronged in, and when I said, How now, father, and took hold of him, he said, *Parce mihi Domine:* The people which did not understand it, cryed out, He is a Frenchman, kill him, and with pulling of him, his periwig fell off; then appeared a bald skull, and under his frock he had black clothes, I think of Bishop's sattin, whereupon he seemed to be a grave ecclesiastic person. I had much ado to save him from the people, but at last brought him before the Duke of York; we found in his pocket a bundle of papers closed up with wax like a packet, which was delivered to the Duke of York; I know not what was written in them, neither do I know what country-man he was, but methoughts he looked something jesuitical like. This I am certain of, that when I went into the room there was no fire in it, and it was fired when there was none but he and I in it; yet I cannot say I saw him do it, though I cannot but suspect he did it, and the rather, because there were several houses untouched betwixt this house and where the fire was coming on, when the papers in the library were thus on fire as I have related. What became of this fellow after we had delivered him to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, I have not heard.

JOHN STEWART.

Thus far concerning the Report and Informations about the Fire: Now follows a true Account of what was represented to another Committee of Parliament, touching the Insolency of Popish Priests and Jesuits, and the Increase of Popery, &c.

At the Committee appointed to certify Informations touching the Insolency of Popish Priests and Jesuits, and the Increase of Popery.

Ordered, That these several informations proceeded on, in pursuance of the said power of the committee, be reported to the house, in reference to the insolency of the popish priests and jesuits, and the increase of popery.

As to the increase of popery, Mr Hancock, minister of Chilmoth in Wilts, informs, that meeting with one Mr Thompson, about a month since, coming from mass out of Somerset-House chapel, and discoursing to him about his religion, asked him if there were many lately turned to it? Thompson answered, Thousands. And being demanded what encouragement there was to it, replied, There would be a change suddenly.

Report his Carriage at the Committee.

Mr Thompson being summoned before the committee, did behave himself very insolently, they have commanded me to report it. Being asked whether he had not a shop in Somerset-House, where popish books and papish knacks were sold, he said he had, and that his man sold such books and beads, and other things, and said there was one crucifix, no relics, but wished he had some good ones. He said he was a Roman Ca-

tholic, and thanks God for it. He said he was no priest, but wished he were in a capacity to be one. He said he had not taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, nor would do it. He said he would take any oath that any Christian prince should require, but not the oath of allegiance, intimating some mixture in it. He said he had taken the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain, and was a subject to the King of Spain.

One Mr Ash, a minister, late of Capel in Surry, informed, that being at Caufield in Lancashire this last summer, he saw great resort on Sundays to Caufield-house, the house of a papist, and asking some that were going thither, what the occasion was of their resort thither, they told him they were going to mass, and that one Mr Robinson a priest did say mass.

Mr Ash did likewise inform, that he thought the number of those that went to mass to that house on Sundays, was as great as the protestants that went to the parish church.

One Mr Welden, deputy-ordinary for Middlesex, did inform, that in his accustomed attendance on the prisoners at Newgate, about the times of execution, Romish priests, and particularly one Mr Harvy, a jesuit, hath constantly used to resort to the prison at those times, and doth persuade the prisoners to become papists, and that divers have been altered in their religion by them, and turned to popery.

Mr Wooton informeth, that on the 16th of October, he went to Newgate, and meeting with one Howard, an under keeper at the door, desired to speak with Mr Hubert the Frenchman, who was then condemned. Howard told him that he could not speak with him yet, for Mr Harvy, the queen mother's confessor, was in private with him, and said this Harvy used frequently to come to the prison after condemnation, and that where one prisoner died a protestant many died papists. Mr Wooton said, that after some stay he saw Mr Harvy come out from Mr Hubert, and then he was admitted to have speech with him.

Mr Cawdry, keeper of Newgate, did inform, that Mr Harvy the jesuit did frequent the prison at Newgate about the times of execution, upon the pretence of the queen's charity, and did spend much time with the prisoners in private, and particularly did so before the last execution, night after night. Mr Cawdry said likewise, of the nine that suffered, eight died papists, whereof some he knew were protestants when they came into the prison.

It appeared upon several informations, that Mr Harvy and other priests did not only resort to Newgate at times of execution, but likewise to the White Lyon in Southwark, and other places in the country, and used their endeavours to pervert dying prisoners.

Thomas Barnet, late a papist, informed, that when he was a papist, and resorted to gentlemens houses in Berkshire that were papists, there was almost in every gentleman's house a priest, and instanced in divers private gentlemen in that county; others did inform the like in Surry.

Mr Cotman did inform, that one Mr Carpenter, late a preacher at College Hill, did in discourse tell Cotman, that the judgments of God upon this kingdom, by the plague last year, and lately by the fire in London, were come upon this land and people for their forsaking the true Roman Catholic religion, and casting off obedience to the pope; and that if they would return to the church of Rome, the pope would rebuild this city at his own charge. Carpenter said likewise to the said Cotman, That if he would come and hear him preach the next Sunday at his house in Queen-street, he would give twenty reasons to prove, that the Roman Catholic was the true religion, and his false, and that our Bible had a thousand falsities in it, and that there was no true scripture but at Rome, and their church.

Carpenter at the committee confessed, that he had formerly taken orders from the

church of Rome to be a priest, but said he had renounced that church, and taken orders in England.

The next thing is the information of their insolency, and I shall begin with their scorning and despising the Bible.

One Thomas Williams, an officer in Sir William Boyer's regiment, informed, that one Ashley, a papist, seeing a woman reading in a Bible, asked her why she read in that damnable presbyterian Bible, and said a play-book was as good.

Thomas Barnet, of Binfield in Berkshire, informed, that being at one Mr. Young's house in Bynfield, at Bartholomew-tide last, Mr Young said to the brother of this Thomas, in his hearing, that within two years there should not be a protestant in England. Thomas Barnet informed further, that being at Mr Doncaster's house in Bynfield, one Mr Thural, son-in-law to Mr Doncaster (and both papists) said to this informer, (who was then likewise a papist) The people take me for a poor fellow, but I shall find a thousand or two thousand pounds, to raise a party of horse to make Mr Hathorn's and Mr Bulcock's fat guts lye on the ground, for it is no more to kill an heretic, than to kill an grashopper, and that it was happy for him that he was a Catholic, for by that means he shall be one that shall be mounted.

Mr Linwood, a scrivener in White-Chaple, informed, that about the 20th of October last, meeting with one Mr Binks, a papist, and discoursing with him, Binks told him, that there was amongst the papists as great a design as ever was in England; and he thought it would be executed speedily. Being asked how many papists there might be about London; he answered, About seven thousand; and in England a hundred thousand were armed.

Mr Oakes, a physician, dwelling in Shadwell, informed, that a little after the burning of London, one Mr Carpenter, a minister, came to his house on Tower-Wharf, and spoke to him to this purpose: I will not say that I am a papist; but this I will say, that I had rather die the death of a papist, and that my soul should be raised with their resurrection, than either to be presbyterian, independent, or anabaptist. And I tell you, the papists have hitherto been his majesty's best fortification. For when presbyterian, independent, and anabaptists opposed him, then they stood by him and helped him. And he is now resolved to commit himself into their hands. And take it upon my word, in a short time, the papists will lay you as low as that house, pointing to a house that was demolished; for they are able to raise forty thousand men. And I believe the next work will be cutting of throats. This was sworn by Mr Oakes before Sir John Frederick, a member of the house.

Mirian Pilkington, being present when the words were spoken, doth affirm them all, save only those, that the king is resolved to commit himself into the papists hands: those she doth not remember.

Henry Young, a distiller of hot-waters, informed, that about April, 1661, being in the Jesuits college in Antwerp, one Powel, an English Jesuit, persuaded him to turn Roman Catholic; and said, If he intended to save his life and estate, he had best to turn so, for within seven years he should see all England of that religion. Young replied, that the city of London would never endure it. Powel answered, that in five or six years they would break the power and strength of London in pieces; and that they had been contriving it these twenty years; and that if Young did live, he should see it done. The said Young did likewise inform, that shortly after his coming into England, one Thomson and Coperval, both papists, did several times say to him, that within five or six years at the furthest, the Roman Catholic religion should be all over this kingdom.

Jasper Goodwin, of Darken in the county of Surry, informed, that about a month since, one Edward Complyn, a papist, said to him, You must all be papists shortly; and that now he was not ashamed to own himself a Roman Catholic, and to own his priests; naming two that lived in Darkin, in the houses of two papists. And likewise said, that

in twenty-four hours warning, the Roman Catholics could raise thirty thousand men, as well armed as any men in Christendom.

William Warner, of Darkin, informed, that the said Edward Complyn did tell him, that the Roman Catholics in England could in twenty-four hours raise thirty thousand horse and arms; And upon saying so, pulled out his crucifix and beads, and said, he was not ashamed of his religion.

John Granger, of Darkin, informed, that about a year since, being in his house reading the Bible, one Thomas Collins, a papist, said to him, Are you still a church-goer? Had you not better turn Roman Catholic? If you stay till you are forced, none will abide you. He said further, that there was a man beyond sea had prophesied, That in sixty-six, if the king did not settle the Romish religion in England, he would be banished out of the kingdom, and all his posterity. And Collins further said, That he being lately turned a Roman Catholic, would not be a protestant again for all the world. He wished Granger again, in the hearing of his wife (which she affirmed to the committee) to turn to his religion; for all the said prophesy would come to pass in sixty-six.

Robert Holloway, of Darkin aforesaid, informed, that one Stephen Griffin, a papist, said to him, That all the blood that had been shed in the late civil wars, was nothing to that which would be shed this year in England. Holloway demanding a reason for these words (in regard the kingdom was in peace and no likelihood of trouble) and said, Do you papists mean to rise and cut our throats when we are asleep? Griffin answered, That's no matter, if you live, you shall see it.

Ferdinando de Massido, a Portuguese, and some few years since a Romish priest, but turning protestant, informed, that one Father Taffe, a jesuit, did the last year tell him at Paris, That if all England did not return to the church of Rome, they should all be destroyed the next year.

Mr Samuel Cotman, of the Middle Temple, barister, informed, that about two years since, one Mr Jeviston, a popish priest, and called by the name of Father Garret, did persuade him to turn papist, and he should want neither profit nor preferment. Mr Cotman objected, that he intended to practise the law, which he could not do if he turned papist, because he must take the oath of supremacy at his being called to the bar; and if he were a papist, he must not take it. Mr Jeviston replied, Why not take the oath? It is an unlawful oath, and void *ipso facto;* and after some pause, said further, First take the oath, and then I will convert you: He said further, The king will not own himself to be head of the church: And said further, You of England, that set up the Dutch to destroy our religion, shall find that they shall be made use of to pull down yours, and consequently their own at last.

Man Stanley, an officer to the Duke of Ormond in Ireland, informed, that coming out of Ireland with one Oriel (who owned himself of the order of the jesuits, and commissioned from the pope to be Lord Primate of Ireland, and Archbishop of Ardmaugh) and falling into some discourse with him, he told him that there had been a difference between him and some other of the jesuits in Ireland, and that part of the occasion was, that one Father Welch, and some other of the jesuits there, did dispense with the papists in Ireland to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, by vertue of a standing commission from the pope, which he had to do it, during the king's life; and Oriel thought they ought not to do it by vertue of the standing commission, but should take a new commission from the pope every year to do it: And likewise, that he brought eight boys out of Ireland, whom he intended to carry for Flanders, to breed up in some of the colleges there. And at his taking shipping to go for Flanders, he shaked his foot towards England, terming it Egypt, and said, He would not return to England till he came with fifty thousand men at his heels.

A French merchant, being a papist, living in St Michael's-lane, London, writes in a letter to his friend, That a great number of men and arms were ready here, if those he

wrote to were ready there. He being, upon the intercepting of this letter, searched, forty firelocks were found in his house, ready loaden; which were carried to Fishmongers-hall a month or more before the fire, and he committed to prison, but since released.

A poor woman retaining to one Belson's house, a papist, about Darkin in Surrey, was sollicited, that she and her husband would turn Roman Catholics; which if they did voluntarily now, they would be accepted of; but if they staid a little longer, they would be forced whether they would or no; and then they would not be esteemed. This was deposed before Sir Adam Brown, a member of parliament.

A complaint being made against a sugar-baker at Fox-hall, his house was searched by Lieut.-Col. Luntly, who found there several guns, with such locks as no Englishman (who was at the taking of them) could discharge; together with brass blunderbusses, and fire-works of a very furious and burning nature. Tryal being made of a small part of them, the materials was discerned to be sulphur, aquavitæ, and gun-powder, whatever else.

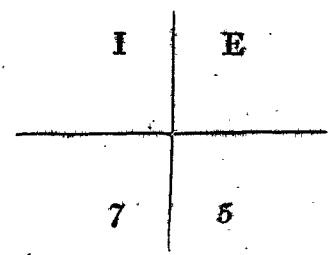
In a letter to Sir John Frederick and Mr Nathaniel Heron, from Horsham in Sussex, the 8th of September, 1666, subscribed Henry Chowne; wherein is mentioned, that the said Henry Chowne had thoughts to come to London that week, but that they were in distraction there concerning the papists, fearing they would shew themselves all that day; and that he had been to search a papist's house within six miles of that place. He with another justice of peace met the gentleman's brother (who is a priest) going to London, whom they searched, and found a letter about him which he had received that morning from his sister twenty miles off from him; wherein is expressed, that a great business is in hand, not to be committed to paper, as the times be.

Your Committee have thought fit to give no opinion upon these informations, but leave the matter of fact to your judgments.

I am commanded to tell you, that your Committee have several other things of this nature under their inquiry.

As a further instance of the audacious and insolent behaviour of these Popish Recusants, take the following Copy of Verses, made, and then scattered abroad by some of their Party in Westminster-hall, and several other Places about the City, and elsewhere in the Kingdom.

Cover la feu, ye Hugonots,
That have so branded us with plots,
And henceforth no more bonfires make
Till ye arrive the Stygean lake.
For down ye must, ye hereticks,
For all your hopes in sixty-six.
The hand against you is so steady,
Your Babylon is fal'n already.
And if you will avoid that hap,
Return into your mother's lap;
The devil a mercy is for those
That holy mother-church oppose.
Let not your clergy you betray;
Great eyes are ope, and see the way.
Return in time, if you will save
Your souls, your lives, or ought you have.
And if you live till sixty-seven,
Confess you had fair warning given.



Then see in time, or ay be blind,
Short time will shew you what's behind.

Dated the 5th day of November, in the Year 1666, and the first Year of the Restoration of the Church of Rome in England.

Not long after the burning of London, Mr Brook Bridges, a young Gentleman of the Temple, as he was going to attend Divine Service in the Temple Church, in a pew there, found this following Paper, which immediately, either by himself or a relation of his, was delivered to Sir William Morrice, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; the Contents of the Paper are as follows:

A Warning to Protestants.

I, who have been a papist from my infancy till of late, and in zeal for their horrid principles, had too great a share in the firing of the city, and did intend to do further mischief to the protestants, (of which I am now and ever shall be a member) do, upon abhorrency of that villany and religion that hath moved me to it, declare to all protestants the approach of their sudden ruin, that it may be prevented, if it be not too late.

When I, together with other papists, both French, Irish, and English, fired the city, others were employed to massacre the protestants, we thinking thereby to destroy the heads of your religion; but the massacre was disappointed by the fear of him who was the chief agent in this villany: And the fire not having done all its work, they have often endeavoured to fire the remaining part. They intend likewise to land the French upon you, to whose assistance they all intend to come, and for that purpose are stored with arms; and have so far deceived the king, that they have the command of most part of the army and the sea-ports. The French intend to land at Dover, that garrison being most papists; and the papists in England have express command from Rome to hasten their business before the next parliament, and to dispatch. Therefore, as you love your lives and fortunes, prevent your ruin, by removing all the papists in England, especially Col. Legg from the Tower, and the Lord Douglass, and all his adherents and soldiers, from Dover, and by disarming all papists. I have such an abhorrency, that I would willingly undergo any punishment for it, and declare myself openly, were I not assured that I could do you more good in concealing my name for the present. Delay not from following these directions as you love your lives; and be not deceived by any pretences whatsoever.

A Protestant Monument, erected to the Immortal Glory of the Whigs and the Dutch, it being a full and satisfactory Relation of the late Mysterious Plot and Firing of London. Taken from several Records, Depositions, Narratives, Journals, Tryals, State Tracts, Histories, Predictions, Sermons, and Confessions, under their Hands, and from their own Mouths; proving, that a medley of Protestant Whigs, with a glorious set of Protesting Commonwealth's-men of Holland, did, in their turn, not only attempt to burn London, but many other places in England; and did fire the City, Southwark, and Wapping; burnt the King and Queen of England, and their Lords General in Effigie in Holland; but likewise his Majesty's Royal Fleet, as it lay disarmed in Chatham, whilst Peace was treating at Breda.

Printed in the Year 1712.

In this tract the author combats the popular belief that the catholics had set on fire the city in 1666, and with equal prejudice labours to throw the blame of the calamity upon the dissenters and presbyterians. It is difficult to conceive how the burning of London could be of service to any political party or religious sect. But it was a charge calculated deeply to influence the popular mind, and was therefore thrown by the one faction upon the other, and by them retorted upon their antagonists, without much regard to its credibility in either case.

To the True English Reader.

SINCE the fire of London has very lately been the hot discourse of the town, by means of two state news-writers, the Post-Boy, and Flying-Post; and since 'tis a question between 'em who committed this barbarous villany, I hope a by-stander may take liberty to undeceive this nation, and if they please to have patience to read this following relation, I'll give my word that fairly I'll convince both sides (who did that monsterous and unheard-of cruelty) to their full content and satisfaction.

It seems, (if I am rightly informed) by the Flying-Post, of 23d September last, Abel, in his Post-Boy, the Saturday before, charged the firing of the city of London on the protestants, and the said Flying-Post on the papists.[x] Now this is not fairly done on either side; for, give me leave to observe, that under the name of protestants or papists, a stranger will be very apt to condemn all protestants on the one side, or all papists on the other; nay, the protestants or papists of foreign countries will be hardly thought of, and perhaps brought in for a share of this great conflagration, when many on both sides are as innocent of this fact as children that are yet unborn; and this, I suppose, will easily be granted by the contending parties; nay, one of them already seems to be of my opinion, when he questions whether those eight criminals (that suffered for their rebellion and treason) were protestants; for, says he, it no way appears they were so. Vid. the said Flying-Post.

[x] Abel Roper conducted the Post-Boy, a Tory newspaper. His antagonist, on the Whig part, was one Ridpath, a Scotchman, editor of the Flying-Post. They are both commemorated in the Dunciad:

"There Ridpath, Roper, cudgel'd you might view,
The very worsted yet look'd black and blue."

Now to satisfy such as would rightly understand how this great and populous city of London came to be destroyed, they must be contented to cast their eye so far back as the restoration of King Charles the Second; and from thence I shall trace this barbarity step by step, till I have unriddled this great mystery, which by the faction has been so long kept a secret to the world.

And first of all I shall shew, how several English rebels and traytors before had been graciously pardoned, for their unnatural rebellion and murder of the best of kings; and that the said persons were protestants, not only in religion, but also in their loyalty to their prince, believing the king not hereditary but elective, and, when the faction pleased, might be called to an account for his actions; and that these very persons of this opinion were a medley of protestants; for the puritans, presbyterians, independents, &c., were all very fond of being accounted protestants, and are so much in love with this great name, that they still retain it to this day, nay, even down to her majesty's protesting people (otherwise) called quakers.

I say, the aforesaid medley of protestant rebels and traytors to the monarchy, church, and state of Great Britain, was secretly confederated with a glorious company of protesting commonwealth's men, belonging to the States of Holland, and a very close alliance agreed on, concluded, and entred into, by, and between those rebels and commonwealth protestants of both nations, in order to carry on their matters with all the privacy imaginable, the whole affairs were left to be managed by a council of six persons in both nations, which from the ensuing relation will very visibly and undeniably appear.

All matters being thus adjusted, in the year 1660 it was thought very convenient that a club of these whiggish protestants should be set up in London, (and many contributors there were for such a glorious undertaking) and a secret correspondency was held and established through England, Scotland, and Ireland, who was from time to time instructed how to make, create, and send up to the club aforesaid, all their inventions, or collections, of several relations, or pretended judgments, prodigies, and apparitions. And these the said club were to methodize and put in order, and several were imprinted clandestinely in the year 1661, 62, &c., which the party handed about the kingdom, on purpose to debauch the people from their allegiance, and in order to stir up the hearts of the people against his majesty's person and government, and, if possible, to foment and raise their intended rebellions in these kingdoms.

And here I must confess they were not mistaken in their politicks, for they had their desired effects, and were brought in under the notion of prodigies and apparitions seen in the air, that their intended villanies might be ushered in, as it were, under the umbrage of miraculous pretended judgments; nay, so far did they out-brazen mankind with them, that they had the audacious front to predict and foretel, not only the Dutch war with England, but the very firing of the city of London, some years before both happened.

Others, under the cloak of hypocrisy and religion, impudently preached and thundered out those very judgments, (before predicted) wrapt up in ambiguous terms, against his majesty's person and government. Some others, to foment these distractions, wrote against all orders and degrees of churchmen, the worship and ceremonies of the church of England not escaping their pens, whilst others their preachers made no bones to administer to the faction, not only an oath of secrecy but also the covenant, and then led on the rabble, in the name of the Lord, against God's anointed, and headed the rebellions in England, Scotland and Ireland. Their dear allies the Dutch were not idle all this while, but were very zealous and forward, from time to time, in assisting, contriving, and helping them; and these true blew protestants of both nations did severally in their turn, not only attempt to burn London, but also many other places in England, and did actually fire the city, Southwark, and Waping, the king, queen, and the lords general of the fleet in effigie in Holland, but likewise his majesty's royal fleet, as it lay

disarmed in Chatham, while peace was treating at Breda; and these protestant facts we presume will never be forgotten by any true Englishman, that has any respect for his queen and country, so long as the world endure.

All which barbarous villanies will so visibly appear to the world, and be proved so clearly from such undeniable records, under their hands, and confession of these facts from their own mouths, that the most audacious of them can never deny these facts; so that I shall be able at once to take off that ugly, foul, and unpardonable scandal and ignominy, which, for upwards of forty years, has been traiterously cast upon the royal persons of her majesty's most sacred uncle and father; but also shall clear the whole body of the Roman Catholics from having a hand in that most cruel and unnatural conflagration, by laying the saddle on the right horse, which I hasten to do, and in the mean time I take leave, and subscribe myself,

Dear (true English) reader,

Yours and the publicks very humble servant,

C. D. L. M.

King Charles II. was scarcely restored to the crown of his ancestors, and hardly seated on his throne, but (to quiet the minds of all men) he passed an act of oblivion and general pardon; from the favour of which, his undeserved clemency excepted none but those that acted or sat as his father's judges, besides Sir Harry Vane, Colonel Lambert, Hugh Peters, and two persons in disguise on the scaffold; nay, and even the number of the pretended judges, those who did not sit on the day of sentence, nor signed the bloody warrant for execution, had their lives spared, as also had Lambert.

Yet this had no effect upon them, for as those who justly suffered shewed no signs of remorse or repentance, so most of them gloried in their villany, and justified the cause, and the authority by which they acted; and their surviving friends insolently published to the world their pleadings, prayers, and speeches, to all the advantage that the spirit of hell could invent, with an intolerable insult on the civil government.

This temper of theirs plainly shewed what was to be expected from them, and accordingly discoveries were made of some of their plots in the very year of the restoration; Colonel Holmes, and several others were seized for their treason, and though Holmes escaped then, yet he was executed in Monmouth's rebellion.

These designs put the government upon their guard, and having secured Colonel Overton, Cornet Day, Major Allen, and other leaders of a branch of the party, most zealous for the work, who would have no king but Jesus; yet a congregation of them meeting by the king's indulgence in Coleman-street, did, on Sunday evening, Jan. 6th, 1660, break into an open rebellion, under the conduct of Venner their preacher, a wine cooper; they were not above 60 in number, but well armed, and being very briskly attacked by the trained bands, retired under favour of the night into Cane-wood; on the ninth they appeared again, but were soon totally routed, divers of them slain, and Venner, their chief captain, with several others, taken.

On the 17th, Venner and nineteen of his confederates were arraigned and condemned at the Old Baily, being all found guilty of high treason; and on the 19th instant, Venner and Hodgskins were executed in Coleman-street, and Prichard and Oxmin at Wood-street end, and several others of them, about 9 or 10, were on the 21st executed in several other places of the city; and thus ended this rebellion of the whiggish saints. Vid. Comp. History of England, Vol. 3.*

* Dryden, in his Annus Mirabilis, draws a striking picture of the fire, and introduces the spirits of the regicides and of Venner's followers as rejoicing in the conflagration:

"The ghosts of traitors from the bridge descend,
With bold fanatic spectres to rejoice;
About the fire into a dance they bend,
And sing their Sabbath notes with feeble voice."

This of Venner's was indeed so wild a freak, that I cannot attribute the action itself to the whole party, who pass under the denomination of Whigs, but certainly was a branch of the main design, only the over-hot zeal of these enthusiasts fired the foulgade before the grand mine was ready to spring.

The parliament now sitting, the convocation also, and the licentiousness of the fanatical sects increasing, made the distressed church apply themselves to the king and parliament for relief. It was enacted, that the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the publick prayers of the church, should be used as heretofore, the fanatics all crying out against it, and refusing to conform, yet no gracious condescentions of the king could oblige them.

The clemency of the prince was maliciously interpreted by the sects, and the power of this indulging monarch was grievous to these fanaticks, nor had the king granted so much to traytors, but that made them still bolder, and thought they might take to themselves more liberty, and the brazen faced sectarists even demanded of the son the same liberty of religion which had undone the father. Vid. Troubles of England composed, fol. 72.

The preachers, by their seditious sermons, had conjured up the spirit of rebellion in the minds of their hearers all over the kingdom, that the insolence of the rabble grew so great, that there was nothing but a mustering of parties, a boasting of their strength, (as at this day) and a poling of heads amongst the faction, just as if they had been ready in the name of the Lord to fight his anointed. Vid. ditto Hist. ditto fol.

These their audacious insolencies raise the people into several rebellions; one was detected in Devonshire, headed by some protesting anabaptists, other discoveries of the same nature in Cheshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, and other countries, and in Wales divers Oliverian officers were taken, and another cabal of them taken in Westminster, viz. Packer, Read, Henrick, and others. Vid. ditto Comp. Hist. V. 3.

But this year a darker and more dangerous conspiracy was hatched, the same being the cause of this as of all other plots, to wit, a loose and obstinate licentiousness in religion.

Many of all sects were resolved for mischief, who were concerned in this most wicked and barbarous conspiracy, they being several officers of Cromwell's late disbanded army, members of the late Rump Parliament, and many who were turned out of the king's and churches lands, which they had sacriligiously purchased, and a secret committee at London had the direction of their councils and actings.

These resolutely plot on in the year 1662, and at the very juncture of execution was miraculously detected, several of them taken, and many of the conspirators fled out of the reach of justice. The chief design of their villany was to kill the king and the Duke of York, murder the Duke of Albemarle, set fire to the city of London, seize the Tower, rifle the Exchequer, and, through the bowels of the nation, drive on a new fanatical government: This plot was discovered by the Reverend Mr Hill, &c. These criminals, viz. Thomas Yonge, George Phillips, Francis Stubbs, James Hind, John Sollars, and Nathaniel Gibbs, were, upon a fair and legal trial, found guilty of high treason, at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily, London, 10 and 11 December, 1662. One of them pleading guilty, two had mercy shewed, viz. Hind, and so had Sollars, but the rest were executed at Tyburn, 22d December, acknowledging at their deaths the crimes for which they suffered. Vid. the trial, entituled, A brief Narrative of that stupendious Tragedy, &c. Printed for Charles Adams, anno 1662.

Nor did these discoveries and just executions deter the faction, but as fast as the heads of this Hydra were cut off, more sprouted up, and still plotted on to advance the good old cause, and took up arms for the restoring of their old common-wealth. And in the year 1663, another rebellion gathered in the North; they began there because

it was nearer to Scotland, whose agents were employed among the brethren there, as well as in London, and all counties throughout England; they administer an oath of secrecy, and had agreed to rise on the 12th of October, and accordingly a good number of them met in Farnly wood, and gave out that White-Hall, the Tower, Nottingham, Glocester, and Newcastle should be seized, and the most convenient passages over Trent, Severn, Tine, and Boston in Lincolnshire, for a sea port to receive succours out of Holland, (the secret agreement between the Whigs and the Dutch is here plainly discovered) in order to free themselves from excise and subsidies, to re-establish a gospel ministry, to restore the Long Parliament, and to reform all orders and degrees of men in this nation. The direction of this and all other plots was under a standing council of six persons in London, who received all their advice from another standing council of six in Holland. Vid. Comp. Hist. Vol. 3. Heath's Chron.

But some of their principal contrivers being secured, a commission of Oyer and Terminer was sent to York, where 17 of them were tryed, and 15 of them condemned and executed at York, Leedes, and other places, most of them conventicle preachers, confessing several of the facts; others insolently behaving themselves, particularly one Cotton, protesting in the face of the court, that he valued his life no more than the judge did his handkerchief; and in Ireland and Scotland they attempted the same thing, but were severally executed there according to their deserts. Vid. ditto Hist. ditto V.

Although the design of this rebellion was so widely extended, and so fully discovered and acknowledged, several of the faction had the hardened front, with a right whigish assurance, to tell us it was all a sham plot, a mere state contrivance of the government, transacted by them, and forgeries on purpose, raised to butcher innocent and harmless people, that would live peaceably and quietly in this kingdom, if it were not for a parcel of little ministers of state, who have a mind to be thought great politicians, in order to become the prince's darling favourites, that they might hook in vast revenues and treasures for their great services done to the nation. Vid. Ludlow's Mem. Tom. 3. fol. 118.

Says another nameless author, his Majesty King Charles the Second being restored to his royal throne, all those storms with which our state had been oppressed, were suddenly hushed into a quiet calm, &c.; but some revengeful spirits of great interest were resolved to give the puritans no quarter, and they set on foot a sham presbyterian plot in sixteen counties. Vid. History of Popish sham Plots. Printed for Richard Janeway, 1682, fol. 15, 16.

Now what will plainer confute such stories as these, but a testimony under their own hands, that these conspiracies were true plots, and not forged ones; as for example, Mr Ludlow, in his Memoirs, says, that about this time their friends in all parts began to entertain hopes they might be again employed to secure their country from servitude. And that in this posture of affairs, Colonel Algernoon Sidney, who had for some time resided in Italy, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that, if an opportunity should offer, he might not be wanting in his duty and the publick service, so resolved to winter in Flanders; and that passing through Switzerland, he made a visit to the regicides harboured there, staying with them three weeks, assuring them of his affection and friendship, and no way declining them and their cause. Vid. Lud. Mem. Tom. 3. fol. 118.

Now what could give encouragement to these hopes, and occasion these motions, but their correspondence with their fellow traitors here, from whom they received accounts no doubt of the design, which they waited the success of, wherein they were disappointed by an over-ruling Providence, and the vigilance of those at the helm; who as much as in them lay, to prevent the like dangers for the future, in the next session of parliament passed the first act for the suppressing of conventicles, which

they truly looked upon as nests of sedition and rebellion, and so have continued to this day.

Again Ludlow, who boasts that he had the honour to be one of the king's judges, tells us, that by means of this war some of their friends conceiving great hopes from the restitution of the common-wealth, entered into a treaty with divers principal ministers of the States of Holland, for procuring some forces to join with their party in England against the common enemy, (by which he then meant the king and all his loyal subjects ;) his concurrence being desired, he, it seems, stood off, on account of the behaviour of the Dutch to Barkstead, Okey, and Corbet, three of the regicides; whom they had delivered up to Sir George Downing, then ambassador there, who sent them to England to receive the reward of their villanies, which made him apprehend the same usage, in case of an accommodation with England. Ditto M. fol. 165.

Ludlow received a letter from Mr Say, then at Amsterdam, inviting him to quit Switzerland, that he might be instrumental in the service of his country; he being certainly informed, that considerable numbers in England, Scotland and Ireland, would appear in the cause, and such measures taken as gave great hopes of success. Ib. fol. 166, 167.

But to convince the nation that these plots were facts and truths, and not forgeries, give me leave to give a detail of some of their predictions and judgments which they printed, foreshewing the aforesaid rebellions that would happen, being designed by these miraculous whiggish prognosticators.

It seems, to keep up the hearts of the saints, and to stir them up to a hatred against his majesty's government, in order to raise a rebellion in his kingdoms, a club of whiggish dissenters was set up in London, and a secret correspondency held through England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the years 1660, 1, 2, &c., wherein they published several relations of pretended judgments, prodigies, and apparitions, in the behalf of themselves, to keep up their tottering cause, which after the restoration stood in need of all their strength and policy to keep it from sinking. I say, they were printed in opposition to the established church, in order to draw on the aforesaid rebellions, which they had so often predicted, by rendering the said church as odious in the eyes of the vulgar as popery itself. I shall refer you to the books for the proof of what I say, and shall only in this place make use of such their predictions, foretelling of the war or rebellion which I have made so visible to you before.

The Whiggish Signs and Apparitions, foretelling their Rebellion and the Dutch War; as you will find in two Pieces, intitled, Mirabilis Annus, 1 and 2; printed privately in 1661 and 1662, and nobody knows by whom.

Prodigious Signs and Apparitions, denoting War, Ships, &c.

The likeness of a ship seen in the air at Stratford, by Bow, near London, in September, 1660. A. M. B. 1. fol. 2. These relate to the Dutch.

Two meteors like a streamer, or a beesom, seen in Wood-street, 12 Octob. 1660. Ditto L. fol. 5. Means Van Trump's broom at his top-mast-head.

The form of a complete ship seen in the air, 23 August, 1661. A. M. 2. fol. 2. This, no question, meant the Dutch war with England.

Now for Whiggish Armies, or their Rebellions against the King.

Armies seen in the heavens, engaged in fight against each other. A. M. 1. fol. 14. 1660.

Strange and terrible noise heard in the air, as beating of drums, the reports of great and small guns, in January 1660. Ditto L. fol. 21.

The form of a town well fortified seen in the air, 22 April, 1661. A. M. 2. fol. 2.

Men and horses seen in the air engaging against one another, 12 January, 1661. Ditto L. Fol. 6.

The noise of beating a drum, and of clattering of armour, and the groans of dying men heard in the air, 1. Sept. 1661. Ditto L. fol. 8.

Dreadful noise like the report of great guns, with the beating of drums heard in the air, 1 May, 1661. Ditto L. fol. 20.

The form of a lion, a unicorn, and a bear, together with an army of horse and foot, &c. 29 May, 1661. Ditto L. fol. 22.

The form of a coffin, together with two armies seen in the heavens, encountring each other, 22 June, 1661. Ditto L. fol. 24.

Very sweet and melodious musick heard, and the form of several armies of men, youth, and children, seen marching in the air with great swiftness, 14 July, 1661. Ditto L. fol. 40.

An army of horse seen in Wales, then vanished, 20 December, 1661. Ditto L. fol. 48.

A troop of horse at Nottingham, 28 Jan. 1661. Ditto L. fol. 50.

A party of horse near Dorchester, 19 June, 1661. Ditto L. fol. 66.

Another troop near Sir George Booth's. Ditto L. fol. 66.

Now pray what were these apparitions, prodigies, and judgments printed privately, and handed about to the party, for, if it was not with design to foretel, and also to usher in, under the umbrage of miracles, their intended villanous plots and conspiracies; and these encouraged the ignorant multitude, under their seditious preachers and leaders, to commit these unnatural rebellions against his majesty's person and government; and I think they are too visible to be denyed by the most audacious of their party. Therefore I proceed to the next head, being

The Dutch War.

Our dear confederated Dutch friends, finding that their English rebellious allies could do no great feats at all, but were every-where discovered, catched, and hanged, resolved to shew themselves in their proper colours, and thought within themselves, while they diverted the English by their arms in another stream, the government would not be so much at liberty as too curious to make inspection amongst those saints in confederacy. And in order thereunto, their high mightinesses break forth into a war with England, and the laws being silent amongst the noise of arms, the domestic calamity grew stronger amongst our Whigs and regicides, so that the authority of the justices of the peace not being able to prevail against the obstinacy of that head-strong and factious rabble; the evil catched like wild-fire, and all future remedies seemed posthumous and unseasonable. Vid. Troubles of Eng. composed, fol. 73, 74.

The great injuries done by the Dutch to the English merchants having for a long time passed unrevenged, did now occassion great grievances and complaints at London; that (besides the detaining of the island of Polorn, which they were obliged to deliver up by the articles of peace) they took a great many English ships upon the coast of India and Africa, and making prizes of the ships goods, made the seamen prisoners, and added cruelty and scoffing to their injustice. They block up many ports of the Indies (which the English had long possessed) with men of war, and having unjustly intercepted the English trade, they sold to other nations at home, at dear rates, the commodities which they had for a small matter bought in the Indies.

But a new cause of quarrel, not heard of till then, happened through the treachery of the Dutch. The year before, the states-general having been oppressed by the fre-

quent pyracies of the Algerines, by ambassadors make earnest application to the king of England, that joining his fleet with theirs, he would help to revenge the injuries of those infidels; nor was the king wanting to contribute to the safety of his subjects, and of all Christendom, but sent Vice-Admiral Lawson, an expert sea commander, with a well appointed fleet, to join and assist the fleet commanded by De Ruyter.

Whilst Lawson was wholly taken up in fighting and pursuing the pyrates ships (of which he had sunk and burnt many) upon the coast of Barbary, De Ruyter gave him the slip, and, by orders from the States, directed his course to Guiny, where falling upon the English, who were secure, and neither expected nor deserved any such thing, he committed no less robberies upon us than he pretended to revenge on the Algerines, but with far greater treachery.

The news of so base an action being freshly brought to London, so incensed all people, that the king, highly offended, commanded all the Dutch ships in the ports of England to be stopt; and all further treaties of pacification being laid aside, both nations prepare for a war. Vid. Troub. of Eng. p. 3. fol. 73, 74, 75, 76.

During the preludes of the approaching war, the Dutch, a more contumelious than formidable enemy, enflamed the rage and hatred of the English people, by several scurrilous libels, medals, and many base and satyrical pictures, according to the innate insolency and barbarous vanity of the people.

By one picture (they did basely represent the English nation) a lyon was depicted without a tail, with three crowns reversed.

Another was a picture of many mastiff dogs, whose ears were cropt, and tails cut off. Vide Dr Collins Survey of Muscovy, cap. 26.

In dishonour to the king and the English nation, they trailed the English colours, defiled with their excrements, through the streets, and at the stern of their boats.

Whereby foreigners were perswaded that our navy were totally destroyed by the Dutch, and that they had gained the sovereignty of the seas.

Other curious prints were divulged every where, of the English Phaeton's being overthrown, not by the thunderbolts of Jove, but valour of the United Provinces.

It seems Britania or old England, was no longer seated on her globe, with her feet on the sea, but prostrate on the dry land, Holland being mounted upon an elephant, and trampling upon her. Also a boar cutting off the tails of the mastiffs, whereof some ran away, others sat licking their sores, others stood barking at a distance.

Another boar was curiously employing his hatchet to kill a multitude of adders, with this inscription; The English dogs and vipers destroyed by the valour of the Hollanders, in such manner, that they never shall give the world any further trouble. Vide Stubs's farther Justification, &c. fol. 2, 3.

And lest we should stand in need of some of these extraordinary pictures of the Dutch, the Flying-Post has supplyed us with another.

He tells us, that some of their wanton limners drew King Charles the Second with his pockets turned inside out, and his misses groping his codpiece. Vid. 23 Sept.

This was when there was a secret understanding betwixt the Dutch and the faction in the whiggish parliament, while they had agreed not to give him a penny of money unless he would consent to have dethroned himself, by giving away his prerogative. Vide Oates Pictur. K. J. fol. 22.

Now was the royal fleet ready to sail, divided into three squadrons, the first commanded by the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England; the second by Prince Rupert, and the third by the Earl of Sandwich.

Many persons of great quality went voluntiers, to try their fortune with the Duke: The fleet consisted of about 100 men of war, having on board 30,000 soldiers and seamen; and on the 22d of April weighed anchor, and with joyful huzzas, full sails, and flying streamers, sailed over to the coast of Holland, and came to an anchor before the

Texel, and waited one whole month for the appearance of the enemy, to no manner of purpose, so went home, and anchored their fleet at Harwich, till they came out.

But now the commanders of the Dutch fleet moved, they were above 100 sail of men of war, in seven divisions, Opdam their admiral, Trump, Cartener, Schramp, Stilling, Wolf, Cornelius and John Everston; Opdam and these commanded in chief.

The duke being advertised by his scouts that the enemy approached, prepared to engage, and on the 23d of June the fight began. The first shot was fired from Prince Rupert's squadron, and both fleets engage and fall in pell-mell, and in conclusion, a compleat and glorious victory was obtained by his majesty over the Dutch, wherein above thirty capital ships were taken and destroyed, and near eight thousand men killed and taken prisoners.

Persons of note of the English slain, were the Earls of Falmouth, Portland, and Marlborough, and the Lord Muskerry; and about the 19th instant, two thousand sixty and three Dutch prisoners were brought to Colchester, whereof thirteen of them were commanders.

His Royal Highness, with Prince Rupert, arrive at Whitehall, and his majesty conferred the honour of knighthood upon Captain Christopher Mings, Captain Jeremy Smith, Rear Admiral Tiddeman, Captain Sprągge, Captain Jourdain, and Captain Cuttings.

The Earl of Sandwich for this winter expedition being made admiral, set sail again toward the coast of Holland, and offered, though in vain, a second engagement.

Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle being pitched on for the command of the royal navy this summer, they went on board, and put to sea, with a fleet well appointed for war; but Prince Rupert having orders sent him with twenty frigates to stand over to the coast of France, to hinder the French from joining with the Dutch, who had declared war against England. Our English protestant rebels, in conjunction with their dear allies the Dutch, sent them an account thereof, who laying hold of this opportunity, with fourscore and five men of war, on the first of June, attacked them, (in hopes of success) though so much diminished in number.

The Duke of Albemarle maintained the fight for two days, with 50 ships against 80 odd of the enemy, and then was happily joined with Prince Rupert's squadron, and the fourth instant obtained a happy victory against the united naval force of the states-general. In this engagement Sir Fretcheville Hollis lost his arm, and the Royal Prince unhappily stranded on the Galloper, and burnt by the Dutch. The commander, Sir George Aschough, was taken prisoner, and carried to Holland, and shewed in triumph to their people.

The Dutch gave out that they had got the victory, and celebrated a mock *triumph* over England; at home they grew to such an height of insolence, that in their extravagant thanks, they could not refrain from exposing and burning their enemies in effigie, and besides the prince and the duke, they spared not the sacred persons of the king and queen, which Providence returned with some injuries to themselves; for the fire of one of their bonfires burnt down two houses and a barn, and many children killed and hurt, besides Trump's ship by accident had all her rigging damaged and burnt by their lanthorns, on the said thanksgiving day; and with a more ridiculous siliness, they brag of their victory abroad, to the scorn and derision of foreign nations. Vid. Gaz. N. 66. from 28 June to 1 July, 1666.

The Dutch speedily patch up their fleet, and were hovering about the Northforeland; but so soon as the royal fleet put to sea, the enemy bore away, trusting to their banks rather than their courage. And on the 25th of July, the English navy engaged the Dutch on their own coast, and on the 29th there was obtained by his majesty's fleet, under the command of Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, a manifest and undoubted victory against the whole Dutch fleet, who were most shamefully chased into

their own harbours, where the English continued before the Mars in Scheveling on the fourth of August, and before the Texel the sixth, and on the seventh Sir Robert Holmes destroyed in Uly 150 sail of Dutch ships, most of them richly laden; as also the town of Bandaris upon the island of Shelling, containing at least one thousand houses.

After a tryal of fortune both ways, the Dutch, prevailing neither with equal nor greater force, apply themselves to the French, and sailing thither, endeavoured to raise up an enemy to the King of Great Britain.

Upon the news of their being out, the royal fleet set sail, and beyond Calis blocked up the Dutch on the French coast; but it being tempestuous weather, the English thought it safer to bear away to St Hellens, where they waited to intercept the French fleet.

Fire of London.

While the fleets were thus watching one another, the whiggish faction were not idle; for on the 2d of September, 1666, a lamentable fire broke out in London; it began in a baker's shop in Pudding lane, in the lower part of the city, near Thames-street, amongst old rotten wooden houses, very apt to catch fire, and full of combustible goods; the darkness of the night putting things into terror and confusion, increased the horror of the great calamity.

The citizens being affrighted, delayed the use of timely remedies; and which was no small occasion to the evil, the people neglecting too much their houses, were so fatally set upon the hasty removing of their goods, which were yet at length devoured by the nimble flames.

The raging east wind did far greater damage in the burning the city, by carrying the force of the flames through the greatest part of London, that the conflagration soon grew insuperable, by the blowing of the wind, which raised in a moment the fire from the bottom to the tops of the houses, and scattering flakes in all places, it soon grew too strong for the endeavours of those that laboured to quench it.

Here the blazes of ruddy flames were to be seen, and there the crushing of falling houses to be heard; and which was the saddest spectacle under the sun, the doleful looks of so many citizens, the wailing of desolate women, and cries of children and decriped aged people; and in the forsaken shops of the wealthy inhabitants, numbers of thieves and pilferers (greedier of booty than the fire) villanously skulked.

No man that had a sense of human miseries could see, and not be affected with the dismal spectacle of the ruining city of London.

Now were to be seen almost an hundred churches, consecrated to God, and many hospitals, the monuments of antient piety, besides other publick buildings, raised at the vast charges of our ancestors; the famed Sion College, and the Royal Exchange of London, the Guild-hall, and stately cathedral of St Pauls, as sad spectacles of the calamity, either buried under their own rubbish, or standing monuments of the devouring flames.

Whilst all things else in the Exchange were consumed, without sparing the many statues of our kings, only that of Gresham the founder stood, to bewail the ruins of his own fabrick; so kind was fate to the fame and memory of the liberal donor.

The king, whose high-born soul was above the vicissitudes of human contingencies, could not but with grief and sorrow behold the lamentable calamity of his wretched subjects and native city, exhorting, comforting, and advising them in their greatest difficulties; and therefore he ordered, that the next houses to the fire should be blown up, that a wide space being made betwixt the buildings, the remaining part of the city,

that which still stood, might be saved; this being the last remedy that could be used. Vid. Gaz. N. 85. to Sept. 10, 1666.

The Duke of York also, and many of the nobility, praised and encouraged the forward, assisted the distressed, and gave a general example to all, by the vigorous resistance they made against the devouring flames. Ditto. Gaz. ditto N.

After that the conflagration had continued four days, to the inestimable loss of the citizens, and burnt down thirteen thousand houses, it was at length stopped, more at the direction of Divine Providence, than by any human actions or means.

Various indeed were the opinions how this dreadful conflagration began, some looking upon it to be the scourge of Heaven on a wicked and rebellious people, especialy the Londoners; who, by their insolent rage, were the first cause of the misfortunes of King Charles the Martyr; that the city was polluted with sacred blood, even of many of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, that bravely suffered in so glorious and royal a cause, and that some of these citizens audaciously called for, and others permitted these very murders; and some of them did, in the midst of this fiery judgement, humbly acknowledge the avenging hand of God on them.

Others said it was a piece of treachery, contrived and carried on by the inveterate malice of the papists, and endeavoured to charge (at least a connivance on the guard) the Earl of Craven, the Duke of York, and even the king himself, with having a hand in it.

The faction did draw an odious parallel between his majesty and Nero; by these means to throw it off as far from themselves (I mean the Whigs and the Dutch) as possibly they could, and which, I am the rather apt to believe, was the true intent and meaning of Sir Patient Ward's monumental inscription.

But to prove who it was that did this most wicked villany, I shall in this place insert the many whiggish pretended apparitions and prodigies seen in the air, which were printed, and set forth privately, under the umbrage of miraculous judgements, foretelling the fire of London some years before it happened, which take as follows:

Prodigies predicting the Fire of London.

Annus Mirabilis, primus et secundus. Printed 1661 and 1662.

A meteor, in the form of a dart, seen hanging in the air over London, 12 Octob. 1660. Vid. An. Mr. fol. 5.

A ball of fire seen to come out of the heavens, and fall upon a gentleman's house; another in a wood, and a third on the ground, 30 Oct. 1660. Ditto L. fol. 8. *Q.* Were not these popish fire-balls that fired the city of London?

Several steeples and cathedrals seen burning in the air, some subverted, others torn irreparably, &c.

A steeple fired in the air, and tumbled down, with a sword hanging in it.

And another steeple fired also, and tumbled down, with a pike hanging in it, seen 5 and 8 of Decemb. 1660. Ditto L. fol. 17.

A sheet of fire mingled with blood, seen directly over St Pauls, 14 Jan.

And a fiery sword over the west part of London, 22 Jan. 1660. Ditto L. fol. 18.

A great fire over the white tower, in the Tower, hanging in the air.

Strange flashes of fire seen in the air over Covent-Garden. Ditto L. fol. 19.

But now observe! About 8 o'clock at night, the 14th of March, 1660, some of the inhabitants of Plaistow, in the parish of Westham, near London, saw for some hours together a very great flame of fire over the city of London, as near as they could guess; it was so great, that a very knowing person, an eye-witness, (from whom we received

this information) did declare to us, that he believed he should the next morning have heard that half the city of London had been consumed with fire; but when he came there, he found his fears prevented, though his admiration very much heightened.

Another bright cloud running to and fro in the air, and dropping down fire upon White-Hall, and the Parliament-House, the 14th of March, 1660. Ditto Lib. fol. 24.

Mirabilis Annus secundus, 1662.

Upon the 17th of April, 1661, being the Wednesday in Easter-week, a creditable person, living in the Bowling-Alley, near Westminster-Abbey, coming, with his daughter, about 7 years of age, from Kentish-town towards London, in the evening, near the Pindars of Wakefield, met with two other persons returning from London, who desired him to look behind him, which when he had done, he saw in the air the appearance of the Tower of London, and presently after the whole city itself; and while he beheld it with great astonishment about the space of a quarter of an hour, there appeared very dreadful flames of fire between the houses in the street, and suddenly the city seemed to be all on fire; and on the top of one of the gates, they conceived they saw the appearance of a dead man's head upon a pole. Over the city were the shapes of several lions, and about the west part of it appeared a field of blood. After they had beheld this about half an hour, the aforesaid person and his daughter, being much amazed and terrified at these strange and dreadful representations, went forward toward London; and at their going away, the fire seemed to break forth brighter and brighter. This whole relation was immediately received from the persons own mouth, by one who is a contributor to this collection.

For my part, I don't at all wonder that the whiggish faction should pretend to a prophetic spirit, under the veil of prodigies, judgments and apparitions, since it was no difficult task for them to unriddle the secret plots of their own making.

But to proceed, In the year 1662, it seems Mr George Wither himself had confused pre-apprehensions of the like effect, which he set forth in his Warning-Piece to London, published this said year, occasioned by a sudden fire in the night at Lothbury, near the middle of the city, which then consumed the house of an eminent citizen, with all the inhabitants therein.[1]

This no doubt was a fact, and therefore the faction was attempting to fire the city before the great conflagration. This story you will find in the preface of a book, intitled, *Fragmenta Prophetica*, printed 1669.[2]

The author of the said collections of several of Wither's predictions, throughout his

[1] This work was one of the numerous productions of the muse of Withers, of whom, and of his multifarious writings, the best account is to be found in the British Biographer. The full title is, "A Memorandum to London. Occasioned by the Pestilence there begun this present Year MDCLXV., and humbly offered to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the said City. By George Wither. Thereto is by him added, a Warning-Piece to London, discharged out of a Loophole in the Tower, upon meditating the deplorable Fire which consumed the House of an eminent Citizen, with all the Persons and Goods therein, at the beginning of our most joyful Festival 1662. Also a Single Sacrifice offered to Almighty God, by the same Author, in his lonely Confinement, for prevention of the Dearthes feared and probably portended by immoderate Raines in June and July, 1663. Moreover, in regard many have reported and believed this Author himself to be dead, we have annexed his Epitaph, made by himself on that occasion." 8vo. 1665.

[2] This was another work of the veteran poet, George Wither, originally printed under the title, "*Echoes from the Sixth Trumpet*, reverberated by a Review of neglected Remembrances, abbreviating Precautions, and Predictions heretofore published at several times, upon sundry occasions, to forewarn what the future effects of Divine Justice would be, as soon as our Sinnes were full ripe, if not prevented by timely Repentance. Most part of the predictions have been already seen or heard verified, both by the author, yet living, and by many others, who have observed at what times, in what manner, upon what persons, and in what places they were literally or mystically fulfilled. Collected out of the said author's printed bookes, who conscientiously observed on what divine prophesies the said predictions were grounded, as also God's late frequent intermixture of judgments and mercies to reclaim this generation. The first part imprinted in the year chronogrammically expressed in the seasonable prayer, LorD haVe MerCie Vpon Vs." 1666.

works, is of opinion that the spirit of prophecy, as foretelling what shall come to pass in relation to those mercies or judgements, which shall be the reward of well-doing, and the punishment of evil-doers in this life, is not taken away or ceased, as it hath been manifested in and by many who have seen in our days revelations of such things before they came to pass, and have been living witnesses of their predicting them beforehand; and in particular of that judgment whereby the glory of London was this year consumed, (though that will not come into every man's creed) for before the said fire, this author was informed by a credible person (who was afterwards a great sufferer thereby) of a vision representing such a conflagration in London, as there befel soon after (this person suffered no doubt by the party for being over-zealous in printing the said prediction too soon, for it was never unriddled before.) Ditto the said preface in ditto L.

Moreover, it is creditably avowed, that a book was brought to be published a little before the said fire, for declaring what we have seen come to pass. Its author was refused the printing of it, because it was not licensed; and that printer being afterwards very busy to help to quench the fire, and then seeing the same person who had offered him that account to print before it happened, told him he suspected his hand to be in the kindling of it. Ditto preface of ditto L.

And no doubt of it, for they that could predict and foretel such things, certainly intended to have a hand in the kindling it.

We think it is not improper to let the world see what Mr Lilly (the dissenters oracle) did predict the year before this fire happened, which was wrote and printed anno 1665.

Says he, it may be conjectured, that men pretending to sanctity of life, or several citizens and burgesses, or persons inhabiting in great towns, vulgarly called sectaries, viz. that some, or many of those, and persons also of other qualities and callings, shall be busy in consultation to disturb the public peace of those parts or countries where they inhabit. Nay, their private animosities shall be so foolishly great against their own prince and country, that they will, as much as in them lies, rather assist, than offend the nation's enemies. In plain terms, these are made manifest publickly, viz. some of every quality aforesaid, to be traytors to their own natural prince, and for bribes, to betray those trusts he may unhappily repose in their custodies, or do what mischief they can by private intelligence with the enemy, purposely that they may domineer in their own conceited judgments. It follows, *Exercitium mendacii in latitudine hominum, cum assensione mali vel injuriam*; men, viz. some men pretending unto conscience or religion, shall give themselves great latitude in lying, or exercise lying wholly in all actions, with assent or consent, well likeing those evils they perpetrate thereby. So that we see many persons of quality, in several parts of the world, shall assume unto themselves a liberty of lying, or allow themselves a latitude of jugling in their speeches, treaties, articles, or the like, with intention to commit evil thereby, or to revenge pretended injuries; by urging falsely the like injuries have been done unto him or them, their prince, their country, &c. If it be asked, *quibus in terris*, where, or in what part, or what kingdom, countries, &c., shall these things be acted; unto which we say, every person who hath any particular concernment, either in the angle of the figure of the eclipse 1664, either in opposite or in quadrat unto the place eclipsed, or in this or those of 1665, or in the places or degrees eclipsed, or in one of those intended in the former discourse; and also those grandees, whether of court or courts, cities or towns, or otherwise in command, &c., if they steer or have the principal management of the present affairs of those kingdoms, countries, places by us nominated, are herein also concerned, and ought to be wary in their actings, lest he or they be found guilty, and in conclusion cry, *Miserere*, &c.[1]

[1] Lilly's pretended prescience had like to have brought him into trouble upon this occasion, of which he gives the following account in his History of his Life and Times:

"In Monarchy or No Monarchy, printed 1651, I had framed a hieroglyphick, which you may see in p. 7th,

Now here it is visibly plain, from their books of judgments, that these very protestants did (some years before it happened) predict the destruction of this city of London by fire.

It is also observable, that the collector of Mr Wither's predictions and judgments through his works, seem to be very angry at such persons who were then of opinion that prophecying was ceased; and vindicates it to that degree in several particulars that it could not be; he names the author (first) that carryed his book of predictions some time before the fire happened. Also Mr Wither's judgment given in his Warning-Piece to the city of London, printed 1662; and lastly, Dr Gell's judgment, in his sermon then preached before my lord mayor.

Nay, and Mr Lilly, in his almanack the year before, printed in 1665, says, that the sectaries, (meaning our medley of protestants) would be very busy in disturbing the public peace, and shews their very treachery, (which was) by joining with the kingdom's enemies, (who were then the Dutch) and says, they did it on purpose that they might domineer in their own conceited judgments, and concludes with a caveat of their

representing a great sickness and mortality, wherein you may see the representation of people in their winding sheets, persons digging graves, and sepultures, coffins, &c. All this was performed by the more secret key of Astrology, or Prophetical Astrology.

"In 1666, happened that miraculous conflagration in the city of London, whereby, in four days, the most part thereof was consumed by fire. In my Monarchy or No Monarchy, the next side after the coffins and pickaxes, there is the representation of a great city all in flames of fire. The memorial whereof some parliament-men remembering, thought fit to send for me before that committee which did then sit for examination of the causes of the fire, and whether there was no treachery or design in the business, his majesty being then in war both with the French and Dutch. The summons to appear before that committee was as followeth:

"Monday, 22d October, 1666. At the Committee appointed to enquire after the causes of the late Fires. ORDERED, That Mr Lilly do attend this Committee on Friday next, being the 25th of October, 1666, at two of the clock in the afternoon, in the Speaker's Chamber, to answer such questions as shall be then and there asked him. ROBERT BROOKE."

"By accident I was then in London when the summons came to me. I was timorous of committees, being ever by some of them calumniated, upbraided, scorned, and derided. However, I must and did appear, and let me never forget that great affection and care yourself (Oh most excellent and learned Esquire Ashmole) showed unto me at that time. First, your affection in going along with me all that day; secondly, your great pains and care in speaking unto many worthy members of that committee, your acquaintance, that they should befriend me, and not permit me to be affronted, or to have any disgraceful language cast upon me. I must seriously acknowledge the persuasions so prevailed with these generous souls, that I conceive there was never more civility used to any than unto myself; and you know there were no small number of parliament-men appeared when they heard I was to be there.

"Sir Robert Brooke spoke to this purpose: 'Mr Lilly, this committee thought proper to summon you to appear before them, to know if you can say any thing as to the cause of the late fire, or whether there might be any design therein. You are called the rather hither, because, in a book of yours long since printed, you hinted some such thing by one of your hieroglyphics.'

"Unto which I replied; 'May it please your honours, after the beheading of the late king, considering that in the three subsequent years the parliament acted nothing which concerned the settlement of the nation in peace; and seeing the generality of the people dissatisfied, the citizens of London discontented, the soldiers prone to mutiny, I was desirous, according to the best knowledge God had given me, to make inquiry by the art I studied, what might from that time happen to the parliament, and nation in general. At last, having satisfied myself as well as I could, and perfected my judgment therein, I thought it most convenient to signify my intentions and conceptions thereof in forms, shapes, types, hieroglyphicks, &c., without any commentary, that so my judgment might be concealed from the vulgar, and made manifest only to the wise. I herein imitating the examples of many wise philosophers who had done the like.

"'Sir Robert,' saith one, 'Lilly is yet sub vestibulo.'—'I proceeded further,' said I. 'Having found, sir, that the city of London should be sadly afflicted with a great plague, and not long after with an exorbitant fire, I framed these two hieroglyphicks as represented in the book, which in effect have proved very true.'—'Did you foresee the year,' said one.—'I did not,' said I, 'nor was desirous of that; I made no scrutiny.' I proceeded:

"'Now, sir, whether there was any design of burning the city, or any employed to that purpose, I must deal ingenuously with you, that since the fire I have taken much pains in the search thereof, but cannot or could not give myself any the least satisfaction therein. I concluded it was only the finger of God; but what instrument he used thereunto I am ignorant.' The committee seemed well pleased with what I spoke, and dismissed me with great civility."—LILLY's *Life and Times*, p. 140.

actions, (and then gives this reason) lest they be found guilty of their crimes, and in conclusion cry, *Miserere*, &c. And this is full enough to the purpose, and it can never be doubted, or made a question, after all these judgments, opinions, and predictions, under their own hands, but that our medley of protestants and the Dutch did fire the city.

But here is another undeniable proof; Did not Rothbone, &c., in April 1666, (all of them dissenters) confess the design they had to burn the city; and that the third of September (as they found by Lilly's almanack) was a lucky day, and pitched on for that attempt; and had the States then but consulted the said Lilly, as they did the state wizard Partridge in the late revolution of glorious memory, the former rebels might have been as successful in their attempt as the States. But these rebels, were they not fairly arraigned, tryed, found guilty, and executed, and did they not die, some of them, declaring that the design would yet take effect; and it did take effect, for the fire, at last, began within three hours of the time they had pitched upon. Vid. Sir R. L. S. Ob. Vol. 1. N. 194.

Tell me now if it be not a gross, a factious, and a manifest partiality, after these pregnant and undeniable proofs of a fanatical conspiracy for laying the city in ashes, and to charge the villainy on the papists (which if true, though I deny it) it was done only by the hands of one poor papist, a madman, who I shall prove to be by and by a protestant.

But this conflagration at first passed among the saints for a judgment, till it become the interest of one plot to make it another; and Mr Baxter (that did then see as far into God Almighty's secret providences and dispensations as any man, perhaps, that looks quite the other way) appears a little divided within himself about the fire of London.

In his Obedient Patience, p. 254, he seems to cast the judgment upon the score of faithful pastors, that had been outed about four years, (meaning, I suppose, the St Bartholomew persecution.) But then, p. 260, he puts it to the account of the corporation common sin of England, and that London, and so many corporations were laid in ashes. This looks as if he had an eye to the corporation act, but there's no seeing through it without a pair of Kiddermaster spectacles, to fit a man's sight to the understanding of those judgments.

We'll suppose now, that eight jesuits had been put to death for this horrid villainy, under the same circumstances of arraignment, evidence, and confession, with the eight schismatics, and Oates's tale at second-hand, with all these surmises and likelihoods, had cast it upon the true protestants; who should have burnt this city then, I prithee? To be sure, not the protestants, but the papists. I say, this is home enough to purpose, for whosoever will pretend to clear the fanaticks, that were so notoriously guilty on one side, will, to screen themselves and the Dutch, with the same conscience and honesty, charge the papists, let them be never so innocent of the fact on the other.

O, but the author of the Flying-Post says, the credit of this story is quite spoiled by the telling of it; and what reason does he give for it? Why, says he, what man of common sense can suppose the States of Holland to be concerned in such a plot with eight or nine obscure persons, the chief of whom was only a disbanded colonel.

Again, says he, the States were always known to have more zeal for their religion, and more regard for their trade, than to concur in the burning of London, which would have been fatal to both

Now, give me leave to ask this very modest gentleman (by way of reply to what he has said on the behalf of the zealous and religious States of Holland) one question.

Pray, who was it that burnt the royal English fleet in Chatham river, when they lay there disarmed of men, guns, and rigging, and this done while his majesty's ambassador was at Breda, treating with the States about peace?

Was it not the Dutch? And were not several of those true blue protestants the old army officers, on board the Dutch fleet, when they pilloted them up the river. Vid. Gaz. N. 165. from 13 June to the 17th, 1666.

Another question you'll pardon me if I ask you; For what reason did the Dutch fleet do all this mischief? Perhaps you cannot, or will not tell me; but I'll save you the trouble, by bringing a person of your own stamp and kidney that shall inform you: He says, The Dutch burnt our fleet at Chatham out of revenge to Sir Robert Holmes, who heretofore had signalized himself by burning 150 sail of merchant ships, after the royal fleet had gloriously beaten the Dutch at Shelling. Vid. Oates's Picture of the late King James, fol. 16.

If so, pray give me leave to put you in mind of another story or two.

It happened that after the last engagement with the Dutch fleet, the English having beaten them; and forced them to fly for it, the whole English fleet followed them to the Texel; the seamen were unwilling to be idle on the Dutch coast, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albermarle ordered out Sir Robert Holmes, a man of great understanding, to the Uly; where sailing thither, and having left a guard of ships at the entry into the harbour, he took with him five fire-ships, and one frigate, besides pinnaces and boats manned with soldiers and seamen, and boldly entring therein, he burnt all the ships that lay in the harbour, to the number of 150 sail, many of them very rich East-India ships, well laden. The town of Bandaris, in the island of Shelling, consisting of above 1000 houses, was afterwards taken and burnt, and the plunder given to the soldiers and sailors. And Holmes, having shared the glory and danger with his men, came off, leaving behind him a blazing bonfire of ships and houses, to the great amazement and damage of the Dutch, the King of England's enemies. Vid. Gaz. N. 79. from 13 August to 16, 1666.

Now, if the Dutch could be provoked, as Dr Oates says, to burn our English shipping, when they lay unmanned and at anchor in Chatham river, for the burning of their merchants ships at the Uly; then I appeal to all the world, whether that the burning of above 1000 houses in the town of Bandaris, on the island of Shelling, must not highly provoke them more, and out of revenge did as treacherously fire London, as they did our navy in the river aforesaid.

But to make this matter a little more plainer, and to set it beyond dispute, the report of Sir Robert Holme's great undertaking had no sooner spread its fame, and reached the ears of several nations, but some of our own Dutch prisoners, mad in heart at this great loss to their nation, were plotting and contriving how to be revenged on England for it.

Several Dutch being taken in the former engagements, and being then made prisoners of war at Bristol, it seems were so well treated by the government, that they had the liberty of walking this city; and upon news of Sir Robert Holme's great action, plotted the firing of a great pile of faggots which stood upon the key, where most of the ships then lay, with an intention to have burnt them, and with them a great part of the town; but their being timely discovered by a maid of the house where they were discoursing it, (who by good fortune understood their language) the mayor of the city set so good a guard upon them, that they were taken in the very fact, and committed to prison. Vid. Gaz. N. 82. from 23 Aug. to 27, 1666.

From hence it is very plain, that if the Dutch began so soon to revenge this injury, there's no question but they did help set fire to the city of London, as well as to the fleet at Chatham, the former being done more privately than the latter.

But for argument sake, we'll suppose for once, that the papists were so cruel and barbarous as to burn the city of London; if so, then it will be high time a little to examine into the extraordinary compassion and assistance given from one protestant to another, in his most urgent and necessitous occasion.

And here I doubt I shall astonish my reader, at the severe treatment they met with from them, though a very true relation.

It seems the whole country, 10 miles round from London, came posting in with their carts, waggons, and teems, and all very ready to help (these deplorable citizens in their great distress) away with their goods, lest they, as well as their houses, might be destroyed by the fire. And so conscionable were they to them, that in this pinching extreme occasion, the carters stood for ten and twenty pounds a cart, to take up their goods; and after they had bargained, (with grief I tell it) they would not trust, but required their money beforehand, and then went fairly away with the goods and money, and were never heard of more, And thus much may suffice to show the world, that the protestants mercy to the citizens in their greatest extremity did by far exceed the barbarous cruelty of the papists.

Nay, that very popish king, and Duke of York, (which the faction most disloyally accuse for having been the cause of the said conflagration, which I deny) yet in the midst of their cruelty had mercy mixed with compassion, when their bowels yerned on the citizens in their sad distress, by sending them, out of the Tower of London, the warlike provisions of victuals, which was laid up there for the seamen and soldiers, to keep them at that time from starving in such their greatest extremity. Vid. Gaz. N. 85.

But oh! I cannot forget the meritorious charity of those protestant friends to the citizens of London, in their greatest extremity.

Now our author of the Flying-Post is upon his conclusion, and therefore I am obliged to follow him close before I take leave of him.

To conclude, says he, this matter once for all, let the world judge of the wisdom and orthodoxy of Abel's masters, in setting up this foolish story of the Gazette against the authority of the House of Commons, who appointed a committee of 72 members to inquire into the fire of London, among whom there were not a few eminent cavaliers, and as appears by the report of Sir Robert Brook, their chairman, received above 40 informations upon oath, proving that London was burnt by the papists, which was also confessed by Hubert, a French papist, at his execution, on the very spot where the Monument now stands. As to this report of the committee against the authority of the Gazette, wherein we are informed, that there were above 40 informations upon oath, proving that London was burnt by the papists, is most notoriously false in all its parts. But it is no new thing amongst our Whigs to swallow oaths of secrecy to commit rebellions, and deny the facts, especially when it is to carry on the good old cause, where it required all their cunning and skill to fix this plot on the papists; and they that had been so dexterous at invention of predictions and judgments to usher in their rebellions, no wonder if they should be wanting at informations, and especially when it was to screen themselves and the Dutch, who had committed all these villanies. Yet it may be observed, that never a one of those forty informations is worth a doit, because, if we believe the Flying-Post, there were none of them brought in against Hubert as evidence; for out of his own mouth he tells us he was hanged upon his own confession. Troop, troop then, away with your informations, they are not worth a f——.

But now give me leave a little to inquire into the proceedings of the House of Commons upon this report of their committee. In the first place, Sir Robert Brook, then chairman, being asked his opinion touching this Hubert, by a gentleman of his acquaintance, frankly confessed that he was a madman, and said that he was no more guilty of burning the city of London than he was.

My author says (touching the debate of the house what report they should make) he had this following account from a person of honour, and a member of that committee of parliament, which examined the said Hubert, viz. That upon the debate, what re-

port to make upon this examination, it being generally concluded, that the man was not right in his wits, and that he talked he knew not what, they resolved barely to report the matter of fact, as it appeared to them, without interposing any opinion of their own; and the house upon the report, and a full discussion of the whole affair, did not think fit to proceed to any judgment or declaration of their sense of the business, but left Hubert wholly to the common law. Vid. Sir R. L. S. Obser. Vol. 1. N. 374.

Upon Hubert's trial at the Old-Baily, before the judges and the lord-mayor, my Lord Holles gave evidence that he was lunatic, and so did Doctor Durell, the late Dean of Windsor; the French church of Stockholm gave the same testimony; the judges that heard his tryal were of the same opinion; and Sir William Wild, recorder of London, in his direction to the jury, delivered himself frankly, that the man said he did not know what.

Yet all the aforesaid testimonies in his behalf signified not one button to the saints of the Lord, for they were so very zealous in the cause (and upon the colour of his being a papist) resolved to fling the plot on the Romanists; and in order to screen themselves and their beloved allies the Dutch, prevailed with the jury to do it, being of the same kidney, who (contrary to their oaths) perjured themselves to serve the protestant cause, and so murdered an innocent lunatic person that was distracted. And thus much may serve by way of observation on factious or party juries.

But it won't be much amiss in this place, if I recite to you some passages out of this very report, which the faction does so often appeal to, not only to prove this Hubert guilty of the fact, but also to murder his very reputation, by fixing on him (as a mark of infamy) the name of papist, on purpose to fling their plot on the Roman catholics.

First, it said that Robert Hubert, of Roan in Normandy, acknowledged that he was one of those that fired the house of Mr Farmer, a baker, in Pudding-lane. Vide said Report, fol. 2.

Ans. He indeed might say so, because he was lunatic, and therefore no heed to be taken in what he said; for the said Hubert (says my author) confessed a murder, and made such a noise of it every where, that they could not avoid bringing him to justice for it; he was arraigned, confessed the fact, and had received sentence, and a day appointed for his execution, but betwixt that and the sentence the true murderer was found out, tryed, condemned, and executed, and this very Hubert set free. Vid. Ob. Vol. 1. N. 370.

Now what care ought juries to take on all such persons, lest they have innocent blood to answer for at another tribunal, for the blood of such cries for vengeance from the Lord; neither would any but a party jury do such a barbarous action, unless they have a mind to be all taken for lunatics too.

Secondly, that he came with one Peidlo, a Frenchman, from Sweedland into England, in a Sweedish ship called the Skipper. Ditto Rep. ditto fol.

Ans. That he did not come at all with Peidlo, for there was not one passenger on board the ship that Hubert came in, neither was the vessel called the Skipper, but the Milk-maid.

Thirdly, That he put a fire-ball at the end of a long pole, and lighting it with a piece of match, to put it in at a window, and that he staid till he saw the house on a flame, and confesses there were three complices, whereof Peidlo was the chief. Ditto Rep. ditto fol.

Ans. That he could not be the person that fired Farmer's house, he being very lame, for he had a dead palsie on one side, one arm useless, and much ado to trail one leg after him. Was not this a fit man to manage a long pole, clap a fire-ball to the end of it, and this fire-ball to be put into a window, where I find there was no window at all: But the author has helped out that with an asterism at window; and this marginal note upon it, the alehouse in Buttolph-lane, joining to Mr Farmer's house, was the place to

which Peidlo brought Hubert, and put in the fire-ball through a hole broken in the wall, which he mistaking for a window, made the relation to be suspected. This is an ornament which we call in English, helping a lame dog over the stile. Now how this lame man should manage the long pole with one hand is a question, and it may be another, how Hubert, that was never here before, and came hither in the night, when it was so dark that he could not know a window from a hole is the wall; (the lane not being above ten foot over at most, and buried in the rubbish with the ruin) when the inhabitants of thirty or forty years standing were at a loss to find their own houses in the fairest streets of the town. Vid. Sir. R. L. S. Ob. Vol. 1. N. 370.

Fourthly, That one Mr Graves, a Frenchman, in St Mary-Ax, knew this Hubert ever since he was four years old, and ever observed him to be a mischievous person, and fit for any villanous enterprize.

Yet (what is to be admired at) this very person told the said Hubert, he did not believe that he had done this fact. (Why, did he not before say that he was fit for any villanous enterprize? but lyars had need of good memories.)

Hubert replies, he was guilty of it, and was brought to it by the instigation of Peidlo, but did it not out of any malice he had to the English nation. Vid. Rep. fol. 2.

In answer to this, I shall prove by and by, that Hubert could not tell this fact to the said Frenchman for a truth.

That Lowman, the keeper of the White-Lyon prison, was commanded to set him upon a horse, (being lame) and to go with him, to see if he could find out the place where he threw the fire-ball; Hubert brings him to Pudding-lane, where the very house which was fired stood. Ditto R. ditto fol.

In answer to this, But I can prove (says my author) by sufficient testimony, that when he was carried to find the house, there were hundreds of people went directly that way before him, and they all stopped in a ring round about the place where the house stood, so that his finding of the house was no more than his gaping the same way that the rest did. Besides, that unless Lowman carried him the very same way to the house that Peidlo did, it was impossible for him to find it again. Vid. Sir R. L. S. Ob. Vol. 1. N. 370.

And lastly, that he confessed himself to be a protestant before the commissioners, yet was a papist, and dyed so. Ditto Report, ditto fol.

To conclude this head, I shall say as this report does, that he not only confessed himself to be a protestant before the commissioners, but must also let the world know that he was born, and trained up a protestant, a member of the French protestant church of Stockholm, the master of the ship a protestant too, that was to carry him to his father, and there was no evidence of his dying of the Roman communion, or a papist. Sir R. L. S. Ob. Vol. 1. N. 370.

Now give me leave, and I shall shew you that this report is mistaken in almost every article, and that Hubert did not fire the city of London, and that several eminent citizens knows this to be truth and fact.

Here follows the Information of one Laurence Peterson, that was Master of the Ship Milkmaid, of Stockholm in the Kingdom of Sweedland, which Ship brought over this Hubert then to London.

Saith, and he is ready to make oath, that his ship being freighted with several commodities to carry to the city of Roan in France, he was desired by one Mr Haggerstern, a merchant, his neighbour, to carry in his ship to Roan Robert Hubert, the son of Mr Hubert of Roan, he being not well in mind, and being very poor, so that he was chargeable to them there. And accordingly he did receive him on board the said ship,

and did set sail for his intended voyage; but meeting at sea with Prince Rupert, he stopt him, and ordered him to go with his ship to London, which he accordingly did, and arrived two days before the city of London was on fire, and came to an anchor at St Catherines, near Mr Corsell's brew-house. And he doth affirm, and is ready to make oath, that the said Robert Hubert was never ashore, nor out of his ship, from his coming into it, until the Tuesday after the fire began; and during the fire the said Hubert did seem to rejoice and say, Fery well, fery well, which, with the word Yes, yes, was all the English he could speak; and thereupon the said master seemed angry, and, troubled to see him rejoice, shut him into the hold; and he crept out of a private scuttle, and got ashore upon the said Mr Corsell's key, where this informant saw him seized by the multitude, and presently carried away. And the waiter of his ship telling of this informant, that he did hear that the said Hubert was put into prison some days after, and would have had this informant to have looked after him; he did say, that he would not trouble himself about him, and that he never heard of him more until he went to his father at Roan, to get him to pay three pound ten shillings that was due to him for his passage and dyet; and then his father told him, that his son was hanged for firing the city of London; which much amazed this informant, he well knowing to the contrary, and is ready to make oath as aforesaid.

Signed by the said Laurence Peterson, this 17th Day of December, 1681.

LAURENCE PETERSON, now Master of Dortingholme.

Vid Obser. Sir R L. S. N. 370.

I could name several (says my author) in the city of London, (and though Hubert, till now, was never charged to be a papist, nor reputed any other than a protestant) that knows more of this matter than they would willingly own, (observe that) but I shall rather refer myself at present to the three Houblon's brethren, and men of note upon the Exchange, or to any one of them, what they know of (the master of the ship) Mr Peterson's information. Ditto Obs. N. 371.

But to conclude this matter, Prithee do but lay these things together; here's a lame, creeping, miserable wretch, pitched upon for this popish design and plot; four-and-twenty complices made out of one poor man that came over to England single; a papist out of a protestant church at Stockholm, in the kingdom of Sweedland; a confederacy to burn a town, brought over in a ship that never meant to come hither; a known madman singled out for a conspiracy, Hubert setting London on fire with a long pole, that must needs reach then from St Catherines to Pudding-lane, where the Monument now stands; a plot of twenty-four to fire the town in one place. And upon the whole matter, He is as mad as Hubert that does believe it, and he is a jesuit that does not.

And now let any man say, if ever there was such a story patched up of such silly and inconsistent circumstances, so ridiculously put together, and so liable a hundred ways to be detected. Well! it is a thousand pities that a sort of people that have such admirable talents for the out-facing of a downright lye, should be such dotards at romancing, and giving a wild story so much as the least colour of congruity or coherence.

But to make this a little clearer, and to shew the sense of the House of Commons touching the fire of London, and to silence all manner of malicious reports that might be made thereon; they ordered, that the thanks of this house should be given to his majesty, for the great care and endeavour that he hath taken to prevent the burning of the city of London. Vid. Gaz. N. 92. from 1st Octob. to 4, 1666.

Now then, although the Duke of York (as the Flying-Post says, it is well known) had the management of this paper, called the Gazette, and could order every thing to their own advantage against the protestants, yet herein it did not become his policy,

or that of the government, to insert this thanks of the House of Commons, which makes for their advantage, and so much against the interest of these protesting subjects; fearing that the said duke and court might have been called to an account for this matter, for presuming to put so great a deceit and falshood on the nation in general.

But so hardened was this very duke in such affairs, that he had the presumption to do something more than all this; nay, and was so bold as to insert it in the Gazette, and publish it in the very face of the world (and what is most to be admired at) while this very parliament was sitting, and that is on the 16th September, 1666.

This very duke had the confidence to present to his brother, King Charles the Second, one Edmond Godfrey, Esq.; it seems he was a justice for the county of Middlesex, and city and liberty of Westminster; who after the public thanks of the king, and acknowledgment of his eminent service done in helping to suppress the late fire of the city of London, received the honour of knighthood from his majesty's hands. Vide Gaz. N. 88. from 17 Sept. to 20, 1666.

Now the whole nation having been appealed to by the Flying-Post, it must needs be concluded, that this author is wholly given up to lying, on purpose to deceive them, and to serve the bad cause of our medley of protestants, in conjunction with their dear allies the Dutch, or would never have presumed to put such notorious falshoods on the whole nation, as he has done in relation to the Gazette; and what is it for? only to screen themselves, whilst they fling this dreadful conflagration on the body of the Roman Catholics.

I have but one thing more to take in before I conclude this head, and that is out of our Flying-Post. He tells us, those who have read the history of that time are not ignorant that a great many enthusiastics of several denominations were in Oliver's army, (if so, then they were Oliver's protestant soldiers, who murdered the king, and destroyed the church) and that Venner and his fifth-monarchy men, who made an insurrection in London, were acted underhand by popish priests, who pretended to be of their principles, and put them upon that desperate attempt, on purpose to bring an odium upon the whole body of protestant dissenters, &c.

I remember this to be the story of Titus Oates, who is pleased to say, that the rising of the fifth monarchy-men was a plot of the jesuits, viz. Strange and Grey, and one Dr Goff, and another jesuit, that went by the name of St George, and Ashby, that was afterwards rector at St Omers, who counterfeited themselves fifth monarchy-men. And this curious plot of their fine spinning took so well, that it easily drew in those silly fifth monarchy-men. Nay, it so far prevailed, that it drew in Dr Oates's uncle, known by the name of Thomas Battivant, one of the same religion also; and he had certainly been in the rising, if 300 horse had come in, which the plotters promised should have joined fifteen hundred foot, for he was to have been commander in chief, (here is one of their plots again made out by Oates himself.) Vid. Oates's Picture of the late King James, fol. 74.

Now Oates is pleased to say, that though the fifth monarchy-men were in this rebellion, and acted the traytor's part, by executing the rising, yet it was not theirs, but a plot of the papists, because they were all unfortunately drawn into it by the cunning stratagems of the said jesuits.

For argument sake, we will now suppose this fact to be a plot (as he says) of the jesuits, because they drew in the poor fifth monarchy-men; then by the same argument, whoever draws another person into a plot, he that is drawn acts the rebellion; yet it is not the actors, but the contrivers and drawers in, that are the plotters. This I take to be his sense, and the meaning of the account thereof in the Flying-Post; nay, and even the opinion of the whole body of the Whigs; for they all say the same thing, when they tell us that London was fired by the papists. Now, pray what comes all

this to? Why it clears the protestants, and lays the whole villany upon the papists; there is the mistake, as I shall prove by and by.

If this argument be good in one case, then certainly it holds so in all; and if so, may not Dr Oates, Bedlow, and others, concerned in the late popish plots, be said to be not only the contrivers, but drawers in of the poor Roman Catholics, in the late horrid popish conspiracy, carried on against the life of his majesty's most sacred person and government. For we never could find out that any jesuit but themselves ever owned there was such a plot; it is true, these inventors and drawers-in did own it, and good reason they had so to do, for one got by it ten pounds a week, and the rest considerable quantities of money; and having a faction in the house, and a fit jury on their side, were ready to sacrifice the king, queen, duke, and all the nobility and gentry that dared to oppose it; so great a pitch of villany was the inveterate malice of the party raised to; therefore, in short, according to Oates's maxim, and the whole sense of the party, the poor catholics were innocent; and merely, by the cunning stratagems and wiles of Oates and the protestant crew, drawn into the said plot, and therefore suffered wrongfully, and the jury has murdered the innocent, and they have wilfully perjured themselves; for Oates, Bedlow, and others, were the plotters: and by this rule, instead of a popish plot, out of his own mouth he himself has proved it to be a plot of the protestants, and not of the papists.

Again, when the poor jacobites and papists together, for their loyalty to King James, suffered in an extraordinary manner, when they were drawn into the late assassination of King William, of glorious memory, by Jackanapes Arnold, Sir Ralph D———nt, the Revd. Mr Presbyterian Ferguson, Titus Oates, Dr Kingston, and several others: Nay, some do not stick to say, that the drawers-in had their plan of the said plot from one Minhere B——ing, in order to destroy the good King William, and restore the late King James. And to make this yet more plainer, Captain Porter was drawn in to be a witness, to save his life; nay, and Captain Cranburn plainly told my Lord Chief Justice Holt, as you may find in his tryal, that he knew of the said plot, but the night before he was seized by one of the messengers; yet though they were all drawn in by the persons aforesaid, and if Oates's maxim is good, then it was a plot of the Williamites against the life of King William, and not a plot of the jacobites, and they were also then barbarously butchered, being all innocent; but that did not at all avail them, for they were all hanged, drawn, and quartered for it. And Partridge, (the protestant state prophet) for many years after, calls this fact, the Cut-Throat Jacobite Plot, though it was invented, contrived, and carried on by the whiggish Williamite protestants, and not by the jacobites.

Once more, If Titus Oates's maxim holds good, then John Desborough, Thomas Kelsey, John Grove, William Burton, William Scot, Sir Robert Honeywood, jun., Thomas Cole of Southampton, ——— Spurway, Edward Rudden, Dr Edward Richardson, John Phillips, and John Phillips of Merinothshire, being fled to Holland for their rebellion, were by proclamation recalled home, on pain of treason, by 22 July, 1666. They did not think fit to appear, yet these were also unfortunately drawn in by the Dutch, and actually came on board their fleet, and pilotted them into Chatham river, 1667; and were helping and assisting to burn his majesty's fleet, as it lay there disarmed of men, guns, and tackle. Now then, by the same maxim, this was a plot of the Dutch, and not of the English protestants, because they drew them in to burn the fleet of their own nation.

But to set this matter in its true light, by laying the saddle on the right horse: You must know, in the year 1681, these fanaticks, or medly of protestants, had got into such reputation and vogue amongst the generality of the people of this nation, that they carried all things before them in both houses of parliament; they had the hardened front then (thinking that the day would be their own) to lay this barbarous fact of

burning the city on the papists; nay, to that rebellious height of impudence were they grown, that they did not spare the king and Duke of York, the Lord Craven, Sir Richard Brown, but the very guards, as well as the rest, were stigmatized with the names of papists, and that they all consented, connived at, and did actually help to fire the city of London. And Sir Patient Ward, then Lord Mayor of London, to make this plague sore spread, and to be universally believed, causes a new inscription to be set on the Monument, contrary (and directly in opposition) to the former, declaring the fact to be committed by the papists, and that one Hubert, a Frenchman, their agent, confessed that he did it, and was executed for it then, where this Monument now stands.

Now, if the confession of a madman shall be so much relyed on by the faction, as to lay this barbarous villany committed on the papists, when no body was taken in the fact, or owned it, but himself; if this be reasonable to charge the whole body of the Roman Catholicks with it, then give me leave to set this whole matter to rights, by reciting a dialogue which happened upon this very subject betwixt a Whig and a Tory, in the year 1681.

Tory. There is a strange piece of news goes abroad, but the town is so damnably given to lying, that a man does not know what to trust to.

Whig. Prithee let us have it, however, as it is.

Tory. I am told for certain, that there was a great discovery made to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, about the burning of London.

Whig. And are the persons discovered that did it?

Tory. It is not come to that yet, but it will be proved, that there was a great man privy to it, and knew of the design before it was executed.

Whig. Well, but how will this be made out?

Tory. Betwixt friends, he has confessed it himself.

Whig. What is his religion?

Tory. Some jesuited papist you may swear, for he would have told and prevented it else; and yet they say it is a presbyterian sober-like man, (to look at) as a body shall see in a thousand, though most people are of opinion, that at the long-run he will be found a jesuit.

Whig. Does he own himself to be a papist?

Tory. So far from it, that you shall hardly hear him speak five words, but the true protestant, or the protestant religion are two of them. The sign of the cross, they say, made him run his country; and with the picture of the Spanish armado, or the story of 88, you may set him a crying like a child.

Whig. That may be, because the design miscarried perhaps. But in one word, if he knew of the plot to burn the city before-hand, first, how came he to the knowledge of it? and secondly, why did he not discover it?

Tory. What can any man imagine, but first, that he was privy to the conspiracy; and secondly, that he wished well to it?

Whig. Is there not something in a Gazette about that plot?

Tory. Yes, yes, the Gazette that I have before cited, of the 26th of April, 1666, gives you the whole history of it.

Whig. 'Tis true, there is a plot indeed of the revellers to burn the city, but what's this to the papists?

Tory. Dr Oates's Narrative, p. 22 and 23, declares that to ye, (Strange, Gray, Pennington, and Barton, jesuits, says he, with some others, together with one Keimarsh, a Dominican friar, joined with one Green, who was afterwards seized with other eight, and died in Newgate, pretending to hold many of the fifth-monarchy principles.) Now 'tis at your own choice, whether the jesuits were drawn into the millenarys plot, or the millenarys into the jesuits. But here was the conspiracy you see for the firing of London. And he that has confessed the foreknowledge of this plot, is left to his

choice too, whether he dealt with the jesuits as a leveller, or with the levellers as a jesuit, for one of the two is inevitable. Vid. Obs. of Sir R. L. S. Vol. I. N. 14.

Whig. Well, but does not Janeway tell you (N. 31.) that this dreadful conflagration was contrived, begun, and carried on by the papists and jesuits?

Tory. Well, and don't you know that good wits jump sometimes, and that the fanatics and the jesuits then pushed on the same method; nay, and that they had the same thing in prospect too, the murder of the king and the subversion of the monarchy?

Whig. But what do you think of Hubert's confession, that it was done by the papists?

Tory. That you see has been answered in this piece before you; nay, so clear has it been proved that he was on shore till two days after the fire began, therefore the whole body of the papists entirely innocent of this barbarous action. But since your party sticks so much upon Hubert's confession, pray let me ask you what do you think of the confession of Philips, Stubbs, and Gibbs, four of the six that was hanged on 22 Dec. 1662; nothing to do this very fact? they were all non-conformists, yet at their death d the thing. What think you of the confession of Rathbon, Sanders, Tu vans, Miles, Westcote, and Cole, that this very firing of the city of Lond ed by the fanatics? Nay, but what think you of some of their confession heriffs of London at the place of execution; that although they were exec attempting the same, yet their deaths would not prevent the firing of Lond

And what think you also of this ver ct, when within three hours of the time the criminals had said the city would be it was then fired accordingly? But what think you of the Dutch's burning of t king and queen, with his lords-general, in Holland, and also of the Dutch prisoner e in England that were taken in the very fact, when they attempted to burn Brist bout a month before London was fired? But what say you to the Dutch, and se of these rebels that were on board the Dutch fleet, pilotted them into Chatham r, and there in conjunction burnt our fleet, and while it lay disarmed of men, gu nd tackle? and are not the conspiracies likewise confirmed by Dr Oates, in his Pict the late King James, and also that of Rathborne, &c. in his narrative, p. 22, 23? say nothing of the public declaration of an eminent true protestant of the city of on, who, as *it passes for current, did* openly affirm, that he knew of the firing of lon *before-hand.* *Vid. Obs. ditto,* N. 42.

Whig. But pray, who is this eminent citizen often mentioned by you? Has he no name?

Tory. Yes, yes, it is Sir T. P. that did confess new on't beforehand.

Whig. You have got him into the true protest ot already, and now you would be hooking him into the popish plot too. Vide N. 344.

Tory. You know Sir Thomas Player was one of persons that in the year 1661 was guilty of the said riot, (Vid. Ob. N. 168, 170,) and his confession of his foreknowledge of the firing of the city of London can aw him into the popish plot, he being a fanatic; it was a fanatical confession, wh sily proves it to be a fanatical plot, and not a popish one.

Whig. You say true, for his confession agreeing wi es and Bedlow's, and with the twelve conspirators aforesaid; and also the atten the Dutch, in conjunction with the English, plainly proves it to be a plot of ey of protestants of both nations, that did this treacherous and most barbarous v

Tory. True, for if Venner and his confederates, in th 1660, if Col. Scot and his confederates in Ireland, in the year 1663, and it Co d his confederates in Yorkshire, in the same year, were all of them in arms, and ried, condemned and

executed as millenarys and republicans, and found engaged in those designs to destroy the king and his government by their own confession, certainly here are plots and conspiracies enough to clear the point of several fanatical rebellions that were committed in the years aforesaid. And if the tryals, condemnations, confessions, of the first four persons for attempting to fire the city of London in 16[illegible], and of those eight persons in 1666. with the Dutch's burning the king and queen, &c. in effigy in Holland; also the Dutch prisoners catched in the very action, attempting to burn the city of Bristol, and likewise the Dutch and English in conjunction, and on board their fleet, did set fire to the navy-royal in Chatham; I say, if these attempts goes for any thing, together with the confession of Sir Thomas Player, and also the evidences of Doctor Oates and Bedlow, that they not only helped to [illegible] the city of London, but Southwark and Wapping. The fanatical conspiracy, [illegible] aforesaid plots, with the medley of protestants of both nations (meaning the [illegible] junction with the Dutch) are as fairly made out as those rebellions in the year [illegible] aid; and I hope, gentlemen, you that glory so much in the name of protestant, [illegible] certainly believe that gentleman's confession, as also the validity of two such [illegible] protestant evidences now, because heretofore you have taken such great [illegible] indefatigable care to retrieve their characters, by endeavouring to prove [illegible] ons suborned, that would have villainously taken away their unspotted [illegible]; and therefore out of their own mouths they do abundantly confirm what [illegible] proved from the gazettes, records, sermons, speeches, confessions, tryals, and [illegible] predictions; that by the great blaze this fire has made, it has clearly brought to [illegible]ht this mysterious and villanous plot, which has lain so long a secret from the wo[illegible] and fairly proved it to be a plot of a medley of English protestants, in conjunctio[illegible]ith their dear allies the Dutch, that did not only burn London, Wapping, and Sou[illegible]ark, and their majesties the king and queen, &c. in effigy in Holland, but also hi[illegible]ajesty's fleet as it lay disarmed in Chatham.

Therefore, upon the whole matter, I h[illegible] taken off at once that ugly, foul, and unpardonable scandal and ignominy (upwa[illegible] of forty years last past) traiterously cast upon the royal persons of her majesty's [illegible]st sacred uncle and father, but also have cleared the whole body of the Roman [illegible]olics from having a hand in that cruel and unnatural conflagration. And there i[illegible]hing now remaining, but that this relation be the inscription to be placed on th[illegible]otestant Monument, that after ages may remember those most cursed and barb[illegible] proceedings was committed by a company of monstrous villains called protesta[illegible] who, after they had fired the city, did basely (to screen themselves and the Dutc[illegible]m that odium) cast that most horrid villany on the papists.

A Proclamation.

Upon occasion of the great fire of L[illegible], Charles II. was for a time awakened from the lethargy of his pleasures, and exerted his na[illegible]od sense in discovering and applying the means most likely to alleviate the general distre[illegible]care the king took was, that the country might speedily supply markets in all place[illegible]es from burning might not be in danger of starving; and if[illegible]care and diligence used, many would have perished that way.[illegible]d all other sorts of provisions, in those parts where the fire had[illegible]all that people destitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the [illegible]nhabited the other parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their house[illegible]that was portable: Insomuch, as many days passed before they were en[illegible]d in their houses to fall to their occupations; and those parts of the town[illegible]ared and preserved, were many hours without any thing to eat, as well as they[illegible]*ere in the fields.* And yet it can hardly be conceived how great a supply of all kinds wa[illegible]ought from *all* places *within* four-and-twenty hours. And which was more miraculous, in four [illegible]s, in all the fields about the town which had seemed covered with those whose habitations were[illegible]ned, and with the goods which they had saved, there was scarce a man to be seen: All found s[illegible]r in so short a time, either in those parts which remained of the city and in the suburbs[illegible]in the neighbour villages; all kind of people expressing a marvellous charity towards those[illegible]appeared to be undone. And very many, with more expedition than can be conceived, se[illegible]little sheds of brick and timber upon the ruins of their own houses, where they chose rather[illegible]nhabit than in more convenient places, though they knew they could not long reside in [illegible]new buildings."—*Continuation of Clarendon's Life*, Oxford, 1759, p. 351.

CHARLES R.

HIS MAJESTY, in his princely compassion a[illegible]ery tender care, taking into consideration the distressed condition of many his go[illegible]bjects, whom the late dreadful and dismal fire hath made destitute of habitations, [illegible]xposed to many exigencies and necessities; for present remedy and redress where[illegible]is majesty, intending to give further testimony and evidences of his grace and [illegible]r towards them, as occasion shall arise, hath thought fit to declare and publish his [illegible]pleasure. That as great proportions of bread and all other provisions as can pos[illegible]e furnished, shall be daily and constantly brought, not only to the markets form[illegible]use, but also to such markets as by his majesty's late order and declaration to th[illegible]mayor and sheriff of London and Middlesex, have been appointed and ordained, vi[illegible]kenwell, Islington, Finsbury-Fields, Mile-end Green, and Ratcliff; his majesty [illegible]ensible, that this will be for the benefit also of the towns and places adjoining, a[illegible]g the best expedient to prevent the resort of such persons thereunto as may pilt[illegible]disturb them. And whereas also divers of the said distressed persons have saved[illegible]eserved their goods, which nevertheless they know not how to dispose of, it is [illegible]jesty's pleasure, that all churches, chapels, schools, and other like public places[illegible]be free and open to receive the said goods when they shall be brought to be[illegible]id: And all justices of

the peace within the several counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Surrey, are to see the same done accordingly: And likewise, that all cities and towns whatsoever shall, without any contradiction, receive the said distressed persons, and permit them the free exercise of their manual trades; his majesty resolving and promising, that when the present exigent shall be passed over, he will take such care and order, that the said persons shall be no burden to their towns or parishes. And it is his majesty's pleasure, that this his declaration be forthwith published, not only by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, but also by all other sheriffs, mayors, and other chief officers in their respective precincts and limits, and by the constables in every parish. And of this his majesty's pleasure, all persons concerned are to take notice, and thereunto to give due obedience to the utmost of their power, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

Given at our court at Whitehall, this fifth day of September, in the eighteenth year of our reign, one thousand six hundred and six[illegible]

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